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1966

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1901.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

WASHINGTON:
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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., June 11, 1902.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of that association for the year 1901.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary.

Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE,
President pro tempore United States Senate.

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created in the District of Columbia a body corporate and politic, by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and to make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said Secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum; at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., June 10, 1902.

SIR: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, I have the honor to transmit herewith a general report of the proceedings of the seventeenth annual meeting of the Association, held at Washington December 27–31, 1901. Some of the papers read and discussed at that meeting have been printed elsewhere, and some are recommended for publication in this report, as are also several papers read by title only. There is also included a report of considerable length by the Public Archives Commission, showing the condition of the official archives in several States and cities, and particularly the archives of the city and county of Philadelphia. As a paper of unusual interest, there is transmitted an essay on "Georgia and State rights," by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, of Milledgeville, Ga., for which the Justin Winsor prize of the Association has been awarded.

Very respectfully,

A. HOWARD CLARK,
Secretary.

Mr. S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying $3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of $3. On payment of $50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a corresponding secretary, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and of six other members elected by the association with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized in September, 1884. Incorporated by act of Congress, 1889.

OFFICERS FOR 1902.

PRESIDENT:
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D.,
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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT:
HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D.,
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Curator Department American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
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Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

TREASURER:
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130 Fulton street, New York City.

SECRETARY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY SECTION:
SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, D. D., LL. D.,
New York City.

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In addition to the above-named officers.
(Ex-Presidents of the Association members of the Council ex officio.)
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JAMES B. ANGELL, LL. D.,
President of the University of Michigan.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.,
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GEORGE F. HOAR, LL. D.,
Worcester, Mass.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., LL. D.,
Professor in Yale University.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D.,
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Boston, Mass.

(Elected members of the Council.)

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FREDERICK J. TURNER, PH. D.,
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†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887–88.
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HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893–94.
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†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895–96.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D., 1896–97,
GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1897–98.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., 1898–99.
EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1899–1900.
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ALONZO HOWARD CLARK, 1889—
CHARLES H. HASKINS, PH. D., 1900—

TREASURER.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D., 1884—

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(In addition to above-named officers.)

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EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, PH. D., LL. D., 1896–97.
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ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., 1898–1900.
ANDREW C. MCLAUGHLIN, A. M., 1899–1901.
WILLIAM A. DUNNING, PH. D., 1899—
HON. PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899—
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1900—
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL. B., 1900—
HERBERT PUTNAM, LITT. D., 1901—

The term of office is indicated by the dates following the name.
Deceased officers are marked thus †

LIST OF COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES, AND BOARDS.

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Committee on programme for the eighteenth meeting (Philadelphia, December, 1902): John B. McMaster, chairman, Philadelphia; Dana C. Munro, Charles H. Haskins, Samuel Macauley Jackson, Frederick J. Turner.

Local committee for the eighteenth meeting: C. C. Harrison, chairman, Philadelphia; S. W. Pennypacker, J. G. Rosengarten, Talcott Williams, Henry Willis. (With authority to add auxiliary members at the discretion of the chairman.)

Committee on the entertainment of ladies at the eighteenth meeting: Mrs. J. B. McMaster, chairman, Philadelphia; Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Mrs. George O. Robinson. (With authority to add auxiliary members at the discretion of the chairman.)

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VOLUME II.

Georgia and State Rights, Prize Essay by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips.
Report of the Public Archives Commission.

I.—REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 27, 28, 30, 31, 1901.

By CHARLES H. HASKINS,
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.[a]

By CHARLES H. HASKINS, Corresponding Secretary.

In 1901, for the first time since 1895, the American Historical Association held its annual meeting at Washington. Six years ago the meeting was not well attended and interest in the Association did not seem to be growing. With intent of awakening new interest and attracting the attention of students of history, it was determined to hold some of the meetings in other places than Washington, especially under the auspices and general direction of the universities. The migratory plan seems to have proved successful. Doubtless the new life and energy that are everywhere apparent in the work of the Association are due in large measure to other causes, but they are also in part attributable to the fact that by holding sessions in different parts of the country new members have been added, local interest has been awakened, a large number of persons have been enabled to attend its gatherings, and the Association has been recognized as really national in its purpose and scope.

The growth and increasing influence of the Association were well shown by the large attendance at the Washington meeting, December 27 to 31, 1901. It was estimated that nearly, if not quite, 200 members were in attendance. Many of them came long distances. Representatives were present not only from the neighboring States, but from California and Texas, as well as from the States of the Mississippi Valley and the farther northeast. There was an unusually large representation from the Southern colleges and universities, an indication not only of the value of an occasional meeting in the South, but

[a] With some modifications, this general account of the Washington meeting is reproduced from the report prepared for the April, 1902, number of the American Historical Review by the managing editor of the Review, Prof. A. C. McLaughlin.

also of the developing interest in history in that region. One of the most valuable sessions was given to a consideration of topics in Southern history, and after the session those that were especially concerned came together to discuss in an informal conference the general subject of history teaching in the Southern States. The acquaintanceship and mutual cooperation resulting from such a gathering is likely to prove of considerable service in the advancement of historical study.

The local committee, of which Gen. A. W. Greely was chairman and Mr. Gilbert H. Grosvenor was secretary and treasurer, made elaborate preparations to care for the entertainment of the Association. Nothing that could contribute to the comfort and convenience of those in attendance was neglected. Ex-Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson gave a reception to the members of the Association; Mrs. Roosevelt received informally the lady members and wives of members. The privileges of the Cosmos Club, which were generously extended to all, were much appreciated. Arrangements were also made to give the amplest opportunity to visit the places and the collections which had special significance for the historical student. The libraries of the State and War Departments were open to inspection under the courteous supervision of Mr. Andrew H. Allen and Mr. J. W. Cheney. Of unusual interest and value were the opportunities of visiting the various departments of the Library of Congress, notably the departments of documents, of prints, of manuscripts, and of maps. The hours spent in the library were full of profit and a source of inspiration to the visitors. Many students and teachers will go back to their tasks with renewed hope and courage, and with confirmed convictions as to the bright future of historical scholarship in the United States. A great library conducted in the most liberal and enlightened manner, offering its advantages not only willingly but with positive eagerness, will be of incalculable service to historical investigation.

The programme was so arranged as to give to each session a character and interest of its own. The American Economic Association likewise held its meeting in Washington, and the members of the two Associations were thus enabled to meet together, as they did last year at Ann Arbor and on some previous occasions. Two joint sessions were held. In the first the presidents of the two societies delivered the customary

annual addresses; in the other, subjects of common interest to workers in both fields were discussed.

The first session was held Friday evening, December 27, in one of the lecture rooms of Columbian University. The presidential address of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, entitled "An undeveloped function," appeared in the January number of the American Historical Review, and is also printed in the present volume. Mr. Adams gave it as his conviction that the Association should not forbear entirely from considering topics of political moment. He believed that its members, trained historical investigators and students of past politics, should stand ready to discuss live political subjects in the historical spirit and to offer solutions of present problems in accordance with the teachings of history. Professor Ely, president of the Economic Association, spoke on "Industrial Liberty."[a] He declared that complete liberty can not be an absolute ideal, because authority is needed in society in order to secure an harmonious cooperation of its various elements, and without social authority we should have no production of wealth and should be without the material basis for that popular liberty which enables men to use their faculties in the common service. The basis of social authority is institutional in the broadest sense, not merely political. Socialism, on the other hand, does not furnish an ideal industrial condition. The true ideal lies midway between anarchy and socialism. It may be termed the principle of social solidarity. According to this principle the great institutions must be conserved, but developed in the interests of liberty positively conceived.

The session of Saturday morning was held in the assembly room of the Congressional Library in connection with a visit of the Association to the Library. The first paper was read by Miss Lucy M. Salmon, of Vassar College, in advocacy of the establishment of an American school of historical studies at Rome. Miss Salmon pointed out that recent years have worked great changes in American universities; that the time has long passed when one could complain, as did John Quincy Adams, that the footnotes of Gibbon could not be verified in American libraries; that there still exist, however, certain

[a] The address is printed in the report of the proceedings of the American Economic Association.

defects in our educational system, defects due in large measure to our separation from the actual scenes of historical events. The lack of proper correlation of history with other subjects is a noticeable fault in the present situation, and this is especially noteworthy in the absence of proper appreciation of the bearings of classical learning and of archæological study on history. It is plain, too, that the American student needs to have his knowledge vivified by personal acquaintance with monumental records and relics of the past. Above all, the disposition to treat American history as an isolated field of inquiry needs to be counteracted. It is no longer necessary to go to European universities for advanced work, but study in Europe under proper guidance is still to be desired. There is need, then, of an established colony of American students abroad in some center of historical interest, where their researches can be guided and where they can receive the sympathetic instruction and counsel that are adapted to their peculiar wants. Miss Salmon argued that the most suitable site for such a school was the Eternal City, replete as it is with interesting suggestions of the past and with stimulating associations for the American scholar.

Prof. George L. Burr read an interesting paper on European archives.[a] The article did not pretend to be in any respect a detailed description of the public records that are accessible to scholars, but only a general characterization accompanied by practical suggestions to American students who may be contemplating researches in the records of European States. The paper, written with fullness of knowledge and from personal experience, will prove serviceable to those who have not had Professor Burr's opportunities for learning the contents of European archives or the best methods for turning their treasures to account.

Mr. Robert T. Swan, commissioner of public records of Massachusetts, in a valuable paper, printed in the present volume, told an interesting story of the efforts of the commissioners to gather and safeguard the public papers, not only of the State government, but also of the towns and counties of the Commonwealth. A general law has been passed requiring the protection of documents. New buildings have been built and old ones remodeled, vaults have been constructed

[a] Printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1902.

and safes purchased, until now nearly every community has its principal records in safe keeping. Stores of valuable papers have been discovered, examined, and placed under proper protection; printing of the records has been encouraged and many volumes have been published; annual reports have been issued containing information for the custodians of records or for those who seek to use them in investigations. Perhaps the most valuable result of the commission's labors is the fact that the importance of keeping papers has been brought to public attention, while the recording officers, finding themselves clothed with more authority and responsibility, have come to appreciate more fully the significance and value of their tasks.

The last paper of the Saturday morning session was given by Mr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of the Congressional Library. He spoke of the character of the Library and of the desire cherished by those in charge to make it widely useful and to give every possible facility not simply to readers but to investigators. He referred to his forthcoming report, which contained many matters of detailed information in which the members of the Association would naturally be interested. He spoke also of the desirability of cooperation and mutual understanding between local libraries and the National Library, in order that, avoiding injurious competition, each might obtain the material which properly belonged to it. The need of building up the collections of valuable sources was also emphasized, and especially the desirability of obtaining facsimile reproductions or transcripts of American material in foreign archives, an undertaking in which the Historical Association might profitably take active interest. The Library is already engaged in the task of preparing card catalogues of the Library, which are to be deposited in some of the chief cities of the Union and in places where they are likely to be of special service to students; it is also willing to furnish to libraries catalogue cards for such volumes as may be indicated. Publications, like the List of Maps recently prepared by Mr. P. Lee Phillips, are to be issued from time to time, giving students fuller knowledge of the contents of the Library. Mr. Putnam's views in full are found later in this volume. After the morning session a luncheon, served in the restaurant of the Library, was tendered by the

Washington members of the Association. Capt. Alfred T. Mahan and others spoke briefly and informally to those present.

The regular session of the Church History Section was held in the lecture room of Columbian University Saturday afternoon. Prof. Williston Walker spoke most entertainingly of the Sandemanians of the eighteenth century. After outlining the origin of Sandemanianism in the work of John Glas and Robert Sandeman, in Scotland, and describing the theological tenets, worship, and discipline of the Sandemanian churches, the speaker described Sandeman's missionary journey to America in 1764, and gave an account of his preaching and appearance at Newport, Danbury, Portsmouth, and Boston, presenting information derived from the unpublished manuscripts of President Ezra Stiles, of Yale College. He told of the formation of Sandemanian congregations at Portsmouth, Danbury, Boston, New Haven, Taunton, and Halifax, and mentioned some of their leading members. He noticed their prevailing Toryism at the time of the American Revolution, due in part to their confidence in the biblical command of obedience to kings and all others in authority, and pointed out the consequent difficulties in which they were involved. He narrated Sandeman's American experiences down to his death at Danbury in 1771, and traced the story of American Sandemanian churches through internal disputes and consequent schisms to the extinction of all these bodies save that at Danbury, which he described as still consisting of four members far advanced in years. The paper, printed in full in the present volume, presented a curious and little-known episode in eighteenth century religious history. The second paper of the session, by President J. E. Rankin, of Howard University, was a tribute to the life and character of Prof. Edwards Amasa Park. Dr. J. L. Ewell, also of Howard University, read excerpts from a sketch of the history of Byfield, a Massachusetts Country Parish.

Of special interest to college men was the Saturday afternoon conference of teachers to discuss the first year of college work in history. The meeting was intended to be very informal in character and to give opportunity for the frank presentation of theories and practices of those who have had somewhat large experience in the conduct of introductory

courses. The discussion was led by Dr. Clive Day, of Yale University; Dr. Herman V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Earle W. Dow, of the University of Michigan; Prof. E. D. Adams, of the University of Kansas; Prof. K. C. Babcock, of the University of California; and Prof. A. C. Coolidge, of Harvard University. It was clear from their reports that the conduct of the work varies considerably. Though the introductory course is usually given in the field of general European history, in some places it is in English history and in others students have a choice from several different courses. Some teachers have in view principally a knowledge of cardinal facts; others, while requiring such knowledge, lay special emphasis on the historical significance of such facts. Frequently, very special attention is given to the use of books and the library; sometimes, as at Kansas, maps and historical geography have an exceptionally prominent place. Here and there, as at Pennsylvania, stress is laid upon the life of the people, and lantern slides are extensively used. As a rule the work is carried on wholly in small classes; but in some places, as at Harvard and Michigan, lectures are given to a class of several hundred members. Some teachers require much collateral reading and written work; others rely more on the lecture or on a text-book; in some of the colleges each student is quizzed periodically by an assistant; elsewhere, as at Michigan, the large class is divided into sections for a weekly quiz and discussion. This absence of uniformity in method is no doubt due not so much to a variety of pedagogical principles as to varying conditions. But it is clear that though there are numerous differences, there is much agreement. All the teachers insist, in one degree or another, upon a knowledge of facts; they all have in view some measure of training in the study of history; each is accustomed to use not one but a number of means and methods of securing the end in view; text-book work, collateral reading, oral and written exercises are generally, if not always, required as supplementary to the work of the lecture room. It seems probable that as history becomes an older and better organized study in the secondary schools, university professors will be enabled to work under conditions similar in all the higher institutions, and will more nearly agree in their methods than is now the case.

But two papers were read on Saturday evening, both of them treating of subjects in American history. Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, in a carefully prepared paper,[a] treated in a general way the most significant features of the relations between Great Britain and her colonies in the seventeenth century. Professor Osgood is interested not only in the development of the colonies into States and of the colonists into American citizens, but in the growth of the British Empire and in the rise and fall of British dominion. The paper was written from the latter point of view. Colonial history has been treated, even by Englishmen, so persistently as if it were only, or in large measure, the history of the United States in its infancy, that one is furnished a pleasing sensation of novelty when he sees many of the well-known facts fitted cleverly into the history of English colonization, and used to explain in part the great process of empire building. The main theme of the paper was the gradual development of centralized authority in colonial matters during the first century after Jamestown, the gradual substitution of the royal colony for the colony managed by corporations or by personal proprietaries. Of peculiar interest was the account of the method by which Massachusetts Bay was deprived of its charter. A writ of quo warranto, sent out in 1635, was ineffective, because to serve the writ on a company whose officers were across the sea and to make return within proper time proved impossible. In 1684, therefore, resort was finally had to a writ of scire facias, the personal service of which is not required in order that a court may obtain jurisdiction.

In a paper, presented in this volume, on James Madison and Religious Liberty, Mr. Gaillard Hunt traced Madison's connection with the establishment of religious liberty in Virginia, showing that in 1776 he had offered in the Virginia convention an amendment to the Bill of Rights, which, if it had been adopted, would have rendered any subsequent legislation in behalf of religious liberty unnecessary. This amendment was molded by George Mason into that clause of the Bill of Rights relating to religious freedom, but not in the same radical form in which Madison submitted it. Eight years afterwards Madison returned to service in his State, and by means of his memorial and remonstrance, which was sent to every quarter

[a] Printed in the Political Science Quarterly for June, 1902.

of the State of Virginia and signed as a petition by the voters, he defeated the bill for religious assessment which Patrick Henry had introduced. So strong an effect did this have in turning the tide which had been setting toward Henry's bill that the people demanded the enactment of Thomas Jefferson's bill for religious freedom; and yet this bill, Mr. Hunt contended, would have been redundant if Madison's proposed amendment to the Bill of Rights had been accepted in its original form.

The subjects considered in the Monday morning session were in the field of European history, and dealt with the Renaissance and Reformation. Prof. E. L. Stevenson, of Rutgers College, read a paper dealing with the Spirit of German Humanism as it showed itself in the intellectual life of the nation in the period of the Renaissance. He referred to the economic, religious, political, and educational preparation for the humanistic movement, and discussed the Italian influence in the earlier period. Reference was made to the bearing of humanism on the development of education, literature, and the coming of the Reformation. Prof. Ephraim Emerton then presented a scholarly piece of critical work in a paper, appearing in the present volume, dealing with the Chronology of the Erasmus letters. He examined some of the results already reached upon this question, particularly by Richter and Nichols; illustrated especially the disagreements between editions and the methods by which the recent attempts to establish the dates of the letters have proceeded, and pointed out that these attempts show cleverness, but are scarcely convincing. He thus came clearly to the conclusion that the problem of Erasmian chronology is still open to investigation.

The third paper of the morning, on Recent Contributions to the History of the Protestant Revolt, by Prof. James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia University, was devoted to a general estimate of the historical literature from which we obtain knowledge of the Reformation. He declared that the material customarily used greatly embarrasses those who are anxious to reach a reasonable judgment as to the issues and the leaders of the movement, and that the Catholic historian, Janssen, gives on the whole the clearest notion of the spiritual life of Germany before the appearance of Luther.

The second joint session of the Historical and Economic

associations was held Monday evening. Prof. A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, presented a paper on Party Legislation in Parliament, in Congress, and in the State Legislatures, which consisted chiefly in discussing a carefully prepared chart of the divisions or yea or nay votes in the House of Commons, Congress, and some of the State legislatures, lines of a different color indicating the proportion of party votes. For the House of Commons, sessions were taken about every ten years, beginning in 1836 (when the division lists were first printed); the result showed clearly that party voting was at its minimum about 1860, and that from this time it had increased steadily until in the last two sessions taken (1894 and 1899), it was very large. For Congress, the result showed a very irregular amount of party voting, varying with the question which happened to come up for consideration, there being, for example, a great many votes where party lines were nearly strictly drawn whenever a tariff bill was under consideration, while in some other sessions they were very few. On the average, there is more party voting in Congress than there was in the House of Commons in 1860, but less than there is in the House of Commons to-day. The States taken were Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, and in all these, with the exception of New York, the amount of party voting was very slight. Some figures were also given in regard to the proportion of public and private bills enacted by these various legislative bodies on which a party vote had been taken at some stage in their passage. Prof. Lowell's paper is given in full in the present volume.

In commenting on Professor Lowell's paper, Professor Judson spoke chiefly of party voting in State legislatures, pointing out the fact that questions that have a bearing on national party policies or organization are decided on party lines, as are problems that involve new and important policies for the State and imply higher taxation or increased responsibility. But the great mass of State legislation is nonpartisan in character, and very often, on ordinary questions, party feeling will not be manifested as a decisive factor in the voting.

Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, the president-elect of the Economic Association, spoke upon the Economic Interpretation of History, and sought to give a practical estimate of the so-called

"materialistic conception of history."[a] Attention was directed primarily to the five criticisms usually met with. First, that the theory of economic interpretation is a fatalistic doctrine; second, that it rests on the assumption of historical laws, the very existence of which is open to question; third, that it is socialistic; fourth, that it neglects the ethical and spiritual phases of history; fifth, that it leads to absurd exaggerations. While these objections were shown to be in a large measure destitute of foundation, it was pointed out that from the purely philosophical standpoint the theory, especially in its extreme form, is no longer tenable as the universal explanation of all human life; but in the more restricted sense, economic interpretation—in the sense, namely, that the economic factor has been of the utmost importance in history and that the historical factor must be reckoned with in economics—the theory has been and still is of considerable significance. The subject of Professor Seligman's paper was discussed briefly by Prof. Isaac A. Loos, of the University of Iowa, and Prof. E. P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Cheyney objected to the practice of beginning the examination of historical facts with the preconceived notion that the leading causes and influences are economic in their nature, or, indeed, with any theory of interpretation. He contended that the simple but arduous task of the historian was to collect facts, view them objectively, and arrange them as the facts themselves demanded, without reference to any especial operating force beyond that clearly shown by actual conditions. He thought that many students had been led astray because they approached the past with predetermined principles of classification and organization.

The session of Tuesday morning, devoted to Southern History, was held in the lecture hall of the National Museum, all the papers, except Professor Dodd's, being published in the present volume. The first paper, by President Lyon G. Tyler, of William and Mary College, recounted the history of the records of the London Company. Prof. John S. Bassett, of Trinity College, North Carolina, gave an interesting description of the Relations between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchants. The Virginia Company

[a] The paper is printed in the report of the proceedings of The American Economic Association.

attempted unsuccessfully to restrict the trade of Virginia to itself. The fall of the company, in 1624, left the trade entirely open to the world. Then appeared the direct trade between the planter and the London merchant. This system produced some serious evils. It prevented the establishment of strong trading centers in Virginia; it thus gave the colony over to a rural life; it brought about irritating disputes between the planter and the merchant; it fostered the existing system of transportation, which was unsatisfactory and expensive; it had a tendency to breed antagonism to foreign capital. Many Virginians realized the need of towns, but neither the large planters nor the merchants would support the laws made to encourage towns.

The Place of Nathaniel Macon in Southern History[a] was the title of a paper by Prof. William E. Dodd, of Randolph-Macon College. After giving a brief outline of Macon's life the speaker selected for emphasis the most significant of his political tenets and the influence of the doctrines which he tenaciously held and boldly advocated. Macon was consistently and without variation a supporter of State rights, and is justly entitled to a place beside the members of the Southern triumvirate, Jefferson, Randolph, and Calhoun. Opposed to Federalism in all its forms, standing firmly against everything sought for by the commercialists of the North, he was the typical Southern agrarian; and yet, like other agriculturists and supporters of local rights, an advocate of territorial expansion. Even before Randolph announced his notion of the interdependence of State rights and slavery, Macon had proclaimed a like doctrine and had gone so far as to anticipate Calhoun's dogma concerning the necessity of perpetual balance between the sections.

Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, of Johns Hopkins University, spoke on the Early Courts of Maryland, closing his paper with the year 1657. The period was selected because it covered the published volumes of the provincial court records, because in it were laid the foundations of the jurisprudence of the province, and because within it occurred the numerous tumults and oppositions to the authority of the lord proprietor. Attention was called to the wide judicial powers conferred upon the

[a] Printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1902.

proprietor by the provincial charter, and to the organization of the courts both by ordinance of the proprietary and by act of the general assembly. The governor was supreme judge and sat in provincial court with his counselors. At times judicial functions were exercised by the general assembly, especially when there was no law to cover the case; manorial courts were provided for by the charter and some of them were actually organized. The paper closed with a brief summary of the procedure of the courts and of the kinds of cases that were chiefly found in the records.

Prof. George P. Garrison, of the University of Texas, gave the last paper of the meeting, an interesting description of the work that was being done by men of the Southwest in studying and writing the history of that section of the country. By the Southwest was meant the old Spanish territory south and west of the line of 1819. After speaking of the courses that were given in other schools and universities, he discussed at greater length the work and ambitions of his own university and the Texas Historical Association, showing how much was being accomplished in the way of adding to our scant knowledge of the early history of that region. Of chief interest to historical students were his remarks concerning the abundance of manuscript material of the greatest value to the investigator, such material as that contained in the Bexar archives, which were described by Mr. Lester G. Bugbee in a small pamphlet issued in 1899. In that collection alone there are some 350,000 pages. The Austin Papers, which have just been transferred to the custody of the university, are "the most important repository of documents relating to the Anglo-American colonization of Texas." Unlimited opportunity for profitable research is offered by these collections, which fortunately are now placed where they can be wisely used and industriously exploited.

At the close of this session, as we have said, the persons that were specially interested in Southern history met informally to consider the subject of history and the teaching of history in the South. The formation of a Southern section within the Association was thought to be inadvisable; but the conference determined to make a beginning in the examination of Southern conditions by investigating the methods of teaching history in the schools. Prof. Frederick W. Moore,

of Vanderbilt University, was chosen chairman of the committee that will undertake this investigation.

At the business meeting of the Association, which was held Monday afternoon, papers were read upon the life and work of two men who had held positions of honor and usefulness in the Association, and who by their persistent labor had done much to promote its prosperity. Prof. George L. Burr, who intends to write a life of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, gave a short sketch of Professor Tyler's career, speaking of the charming personality and lovable traits which endeared him to so many, and paying the tribute of a friend and admirer to literary works which were the result of painstaking and laborious research, were constructed with scrupulous accuracy and regard for truth, and were written withal in a singularly felicitous and brilliant style. The chief events in the life of Herbert B. Adams were told in a paper by Prof. John M. Vincent, of Johns Hopkins University. It recounted the early school and college days of Mr. Adams, his years of study in Europe, his success in founding and carrying forward the historical work at Johns Hopkins, his own enthusiastic zeal which he imparted to the young men who came under his instruction, his skill and vigor as a teacher, his unremitting toil in the interests of the Historical Association, and his own contributions to scholarship. The speaker fittingly called to mind the personal qualities of one who exerted a remarkable influence in the encouragement and promotion of historical studies in America. Both of these biographical sketches appear later in the present volume.

The American Historical Association in account with Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer.

Dr.			Cr.		
1901.			1900.		
Dec. 24	To paid treasurer's clerk hire, vouchers 1, 18, 34, 51, 68, 80, 88, 89	$137.00	Dec. 24	By balance cash on hand	$1,404.72
	secretary's clerk hire, vouchers 42, 43, 73, 84	301.05	1901.		
	corresponding secretary's clerk hire, vouchers 50, 81	74.63	Dec. 24	1,653 annual dues, at $3	4,959.00
	postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 5, 12, 18, 20, 24, 31, 32, 34, 41, 45, 48, 57, 61, 63, 68, 77	172.97		2 annual dues, at $3.02	6.04
				3 annual dues, at $3.05	9.15
	American Historical Review, vouchers 9, 11, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29, 33, 38, 39, 44, 46, 52, 53, 55, 56, 60, 62, 66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 78, 82, 87	3,346.50		1 annual dues	3.09
				6 annual dues, at $3.10	18.60
	account annual report 1900, vouchers 59, 83	53.52		1 annual dues	3.12
	Public Archives Commission, vouchers 2, 30, 36, 47, 67, 70, 79	183.08		1 annual dues	3.50
				½ annual dues	1.00
				3 life memberships, at $50	150.00
	Historical Manuscripts Commission, vouchers 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17	219.18		sales of publications	58.60
				interest on bonds and mortgage	600.00
	Winsor prize committee, vouchers 19, 27	107.55		Political Science Association	48.03
	committee on publications, voucher 40	3.40		royalty on The Study of History in Schools	18.45
	expenses sixteenth annual meeting, vouchers 3, 28	111.82			
	expenses seventeenth annual meeting, vouchers 85, 86	47.65			
	expenses executive council, voucher 75	9.10			
	engraving certificates, vouchers 10, 25, 65	3.00			
	bank collection charges, vouchers 35, 49, 54, 58, 64, 90	10.20			
	flowers and engrossing resolutions deceased members, Moses Coit Tyler and Herbert B. Adams, vouchers 4, 37	25.00			
	Balance cash on hand	2,477.65			
		7,283.30			7,283.30
			1901.		
			Dec. 24	By balance cash on hand	2,477.65

The assets of the Association are: Bond and mortgage, $12,000; cash, $2,477.65; total, $14,477.65, an increase during the year of $1,072.93.

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 30, 1901.*

We have examined the accompanying report, and find the same correct. Vouchers have been exhibited to us covering the disbursements, and satisfactory evidence of the ownership of the investments and cash assets has been exhibited to us.

A. McF. DAVIS,
RIPLEY HITCHCOCK,
Auditing Committee.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *December 28, 1901.*

PRESENT ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The following list enumerates the present leading activites of the American Historical Association:

(1) The annual meeting of the Association held during the Christmas holidays in the East or the West or the District of Columbia in triennial succession.

(2) The annual report of the secretary of the Association concerning the annual meeting and its proceedings, with the papers, bibliographies, and other historical materials submitted through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for publication by Congress.

(3) The Historical Manuscripts Commission of five members, established in 1895, and now receiving from the Association a subsidy of $500 a year for the collection and editing of important manuscripts, Prof. Edward G. Bourne, New Haven, Conn., chairman.

(4) The preservation of historical exchanges, books, pamphlets, reports, and papers of the Association in the National Museum at Washington, D. C., in the keeping of Mr. A. Howard Clark, secretary of the Association and curator of the historical collections.

(5) The Public Archives Commission, established in 1899, for investigating the public archives of the several States and of the United States, under the chairmanship of Prof. William MacDonald, of Brown University.

(6) The committee on publications, to pass upon papers and monographs submitted to the Association for publication, Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman.

(7) Committee on bibliography, to advise the executive council and to cooperate with the American Library Association upon matters of bibliographical interest, Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, chairman.

(8) A general committee, representing the local and State historical interests of the Association, Prof. Charles H. Haskins, chairman.

(9) The "Justin Winsor prize" of $100 for the best unpublished monographic work, based upon original investigation in American history, Prof. Charles M. Andrews, chairman of the committee.

(10) The church history section, which continues the work of the American Society of Church History, originally an offshoot of the American Historical Association in 1888, but since 1896 an organic part of the Association, Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson as secretary of the section.

(11) The American Historical Review, published quarterly, and subsidized by the American Historical Association, whose executive council fill vacancies in the board of editors.

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., AT 3 P. M. DECEMBER 30, 1901.

President Charles Francis Adams in the chair. In the absence of the secretary, his duties were performed by the corresponding secretary.

On behalf of the council, the corresponding secretary announced the following committees for the ensuing year:

ANNUAL COMMITTEES.

Committee on programme for the eighteenth meeting.—John B. McMaster, Dana C. Munro, Charles H. Haskins, Samuel M. Jackson, Frederick J. Turner.

Local committee for the eighteenth meeting.—C. C. Harrison, S. W. Pennypacker, J. G. Rosengarten, Talcott Williams, Henry Willis. (With authority to add auxiliary members at the discretion of the chairman.)

Committee on the entertainment of ladies at the eighteenth meeting.—Mrs. J. B. McMaster, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, Mrs. George O. Robinson. (With authority to add auxiliary members at the discretion of the chairman.)

Delegates to the International Congress of Historical Studies at Rome, April, 1902.—Herbert Putnam, Henry E. Bourne, Dana C. Munro, Charles H. Haskins, Ernest C. Richardson.

STANDING COMMITTEES, COMMISSIONS, AND BOARDS.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—William M. Sloane, Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, H. Morse Stephens, George B. Adams, Harry Pratt Judson (reelected for term expiring January 1, 1907).

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, William E. Foster, A. P. C. Griffin, George Iles, William C. Lane, J. N. Larned, Charles Gross.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Edward G. Bourne, Reuben G. Thwaites, Frederick W. Moore, Theodore C. Smith, George P. Garrison.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Charles M. Andrews, Edward P. Cheyney, Roger Foster, Charles H. Hull, Williston Walker.

Public archives commission.—William MacDonald, Herbert L. Osgood, John M. Vincent, Charles M. Andrews, Edwin E. Sparks. (With power to add auxiliary members and to fill vacancies till the next meeting of the council.)

Committee on publications.—George L. Burr, A. Howard Clark, Fred M. Fling, Samuel Macauley Jackson, Anson D. Morse, Miss Elizabeth Kendall, George W. Knight.

General committee.—The corresponding secretary, Miss Lucy M. Salmon, George E. Howard, John S. Bassett, William MacDonald, James H. Robinson, George B. Adams, Henry E. Bourne. (With power to add auxiliary members.)

Finance committee.—Elbridge T. Gerry, George S. Bowdoin.

The council proposed the following resolution, which was adopted and ordered to be transmitted to the Senate and House of Representatives through the appropriate channels:

"In view of the recommendations of the different Executive Departments for a hall of records, where the documents no longer needed may be deposited for safe-keeping, The American Historical Association desires respectfully to draw the attention of Congress to the importance for American history that such a hall of records would possess. It would ultimately bring together a vast quantity of papers, and among them great stores of valuable material, where they would be available for scholars."

The following resolution was also proposed by the council and unanimously adopted by the Association:

"The American Historical Association, as the national organization of those who are interested in the study of history, desires to express its high appreciation of the wise and liberal action of Congress, not merely in providing for the preservation of the materials of history in a library building of which the country is justly proud, but also in making possible the scientific organization of that material which promises to render it in the near future unusually accessible to the student. The work of setting forth the achievements of the nation and the public services of her distinguished sons in fitting and permanent form, which is the task of the historian, can only be performed when the sources of information in regard to past events are freely at his disposal. Not the least important of the good results of this meeting is the stimulus which we have all received to renewed activity in our individual work from the knowledge we have gained of the rapidly enlarging opportunity offered in the Library of Congress for the successful completion of that work."

The report of the treasurer and the auditing committee was presented by Dr. Bowen and accepted.

The treasurer announced that a bequest of $5,000 had been made to the Association in the will of its late secretary and vice-president, Dr. Herbert B. Adams, and on motion the Association adopted a resolution of thanks, to be transmitted to Professor Adams's executors.

The following commissions and committees made brief reports: The historical manuscripts commission, Prof. E. G. Bourne, chairman; the public archives commission, Prof. William MacDonald, chairman; the board of editors of the American Historical Review, through Prof. George B. Adams; the committee on publications, Prof. E. G. Bourne, chairman; the general committee, Prof. Charles H. Haskins, chairman.

In the absence of its chairman, Mr. A. Howard Clark, no report was presented by the bibliographical committee.

On behalf of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize, Prof. Charles M. Andrews reported that the prize for the year 1901 had been awarded to Mr. Ulrich B. Phillips for a monograph on the subject of "Georgia and State Rights," and that honorable mention had been made of a monograph by Miss M. Louise Greene on "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in Connecticut." The chairman also reported the following recommenda-

tions regarding the prize, which had been accepted by the council, and were approved by the Association:

"1. That the names of all former prize winners be added to the yearly announcements.

"2. That if it be found impossible to print the successful essay as a separate volume of the annual report, as was done in the case of Mr. Ames' monograph and in the opinion of the committee, ought to be done now, the following regulation be adopted: 'A certain number of copies, not less than 50, shall be struck off at the expense of the Association and bound as separate volumes in cloth. These shall be sold at the rate of 50 cents a volume to anyone desiring the work in the form of a separate volume.'

"3. That in case the work be published as a separate volume of the report, the author shall be given 50 copies so bound; but in case the work is not so published, but is issued as part of the volume containing the report, then the author shall be given 25 copies of his work bound in paper, and 25 copies bound in cloth, at the expense of the Association.

"4. That the successful competitor, in case he or she shall want additional copies of the work to present in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the doctor's degree, shall pay for the cost of striking off the extra copies.

"5. That the council approve of the action of the chairman of the committee, taken on his own responsibility, authorizing the secretary of the Association to cause 200 additional copies of Mr. Schaper's monograph to be printed, of which 150 were for the use of the author and the other 50 to be bound in cloth and sold to those who might desire separate volumes."

The council reported that at a meeting held in New York, November 29, the proposition of a cooperative history of America was carefully considered, and in view of the difficulties involved, the council had voted that it would not be expedient for the American Historical Association to take part in forming or carrying out a plan for the composition or publication of a cooperative history of the United States. On motion, the action of the council was unanimously approved by the Association.

On the recommendation of the committee on time and place of next meeting, Prof. George E. Howard, chairman, the Association voted to accept the invitations received from the University of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the American Philosophical Society, and hold its next meeting in Philadelphia in the Christmas holidays of 1902, the exact date to be determined by the committee on programme.

On behalf of the committee on nominations, Prof. J. H. Robinson reported the following officers for the ensuing year, and the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for them: President, Alfred Thayer Mahan, D. C., L., LL. D., New York City; first vice-president, Henry Charles Lea, LL. D., Philadelphia; second vice-president, Goldwin Smith, D. C. L., LL. D., Toronto, Canada; treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen, Ph. D., New York City; secretary and curator, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.;[a] corresponding secretary, Charles H. Haskins, Ph. D., Madison, Wis.; secretary of the church history section,

[a] The nomination and election of Mr. Clark took place at the session of the Association on Tuesday morning, December 31.

Samuel Macauley Jackson, D. D., LL. D., New York City; councilors, William A. Dunning, Ph. D., Peter White, A. M., J. Franklin Jameson, Ph. D., A. Lawrence Lowell, LL. B., Herbert Putnam,[a] Litt. D., Library of Congress, Washington, and Frederick J. Turner,[a] Ph. D., Madison, Wis.

The following resolutions were reported by the committee on resolutions, through its chairman, Professor Garrison, and unanimously adopted by the Association:

"That the Association hereby expresses its profound sorrow for the death of its first vice-president and, until the regular meeting in 1900, its secretary since its organization, Prof. Herbert B. Adams, whose career has been a splendid example of productive scholarship and professional devotion, whose work in the training of investigators and the teaching of teachers deserves the most grateful recognition, and whose loss comes as a personal bereavement to so many of his students and coworkers.

"That the Association tenders its most hearty thanks to the various local committees that have had in charge the arrangements for this meeting, for the patient thoroughness with which they have discharged their duties, and for their kind attention to visiting members; and that it makes specially grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy and hospitality of Mrs. Roosevelt; of ex-Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson; of Mr. Herbert Putnam, of the Congressional Library; of the president and faculties of the Columbian University; of the officers and members of the Cosmos Club and of the Washington Club, and of the resident members of the Association in general."

CHARLES H. HASKINS,
Acting Secretary.

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[a] New nominations. The other four councilors were renominated.

THE JUSTIN WINSOR PRIZE.

[Committee: Charles M. Andrews (chairman), Bryn Mawr College; Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania; Roger Foster, New York; Williston Walker, Yale University; Charles H. Hull, Cornell University.]

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, D.C.*

The Justin Winsor prize of $100, offered by the American Historical Association for the encouragement of historical research, will be awarded for the year 1902 to the best unpublished monograph in the field of American history that shall be submitted to the committee of award on or before October 1, 1902.

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1776, of other portions of the continent which have since been included in the territory of the United States, and of the United States. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The subject-matter of the monograph must be of more than personal or local interest, and in its conclusions and results must be a distinct contribution to knowledge. In its statements it must attain a high degree of accuracy and in its treatment of the facts collected it must show on the part of the writer powers of original and suggestive interpretation.

IV. The work must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism. It must be presented in what is commonly understood as a scientific manner, and must contain the necessary apparatus of critical bibliography (a mere list of titles will not be deemed sufficient), references to all authorities, and footnotes. In length the work should not be less than 30,000 words, or about 100 pages of print. It may be more. If not typewritten, the work must be written legibly upon only one side of the sheet, and must be in form ready for publication. In making the award the committee will take into consideration not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and literary form. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

V. The successful monograph will be published by the American Historical Association in its annual report. The author will be given 20

copies of his work bound separately in paper and 25 bound in cloth; but in case he desire additional copies for personal distribution, or to present as part of the requirement for the doctor's degree, he shall pay the cost of striking off the extra copies. Separate copies of the monograph, bound in cloth, may be obtained of the secretary, by anyone desiring them, at a cost of 50 cents each. Address all correspondence to the chairman of the committee, Prof. Charles M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The prize has been awarded as follows: In 1896, to Herman V. Ames, Ph. D., instructor in American constitutional history, University of Pennsylvania, for his work entitled The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States during the First Century of its History; in 1897, not awarded; in 1898, not awarded; in 1899, not awarded; in 1900, to William A. Schaper, Ph. D., instructor in history, University of Minnesota, for his work entitled Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina; in 1901, to Ulrich B. Phillips, Milledgeville, Ga., for his work entitled Georgia and State Rights.

PROGRAMME OF EXERCISES AT THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 27, 28, 30, 31, 1901.

Persons not members of the Association will be cordially welcomed to the public sessions.

Papers are limited to twenty minutes and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker.

Those who read papers, as well as those who take part in the discussions, are requested to send abstracts of their papers or remarks to the secretary before the meeting.

The executive council of the Association will meet at the Arlington, Friday, December 27, 1901, at 4.30 p. m.

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 27.

8 p. m.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

(Columbian University.)

Presidents' addresses.

1. Industrial Liberty. By Prof. Richard T. Ely, president of the American Economic Association.
2. An Undeveloped Function. By Mr. Charles Francis Adams, president of the American Historical Association.

SATURDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 28.

9.30 a. m.

The Association will visit the Library of Congress at 9.30 a. m., and in connection with the visit opportunity will be offered at 10.30 to listen to the following papers on—

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

1. An American School of History at Rome. By Prof. Lucy M. Salmon, Vassar College.
2. European Archives. By Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University.
3. The Massachusetts Public Record Commission and its Work. By Mr. Robert T. Swan, commissioner of public records of Massachusetts.
4. The Relation of the National Library to Historical Research in the United States. By Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress.

12.30 p. m.

Members will be entertained at luncheon at the restaurant of the Congressional Library.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 28.

2.30 p. m.

PUBLIC SESSION OF THE CHURCH HISTORY SECTION.

(Columbian University.)

1. Edwards Amasa Park. By President J. E. Rankin, Howard University.
2. The Sandemanians of the Eighteenth Century. By Prof. Williston Walker, Yale University.
3. Byfield Parish, Massachusetts, and its First Three Pastorates, 1702–1825. By Prof. J. L. Ewell, Howard University.

3.30 p. m.

CONFERENCE OF COLLEGE TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

(Columbian University.)

The First Year of College Work in History. A discussion led by Dr. Clive Day, Yale University; Prof. Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Earle W. Dow, University of Michigan; Prof. E. D. Adams, University of Kansas; Prof. K. C. Babcock, University of California; Prof. A. C. Coolidge, Harvard University.

4.30 p. m.

PRIVATE MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEES, COMMISSIONS, AND BOARDS.

(Columbian University.)

4 to 7 p. m.

Members of the Association are invited to a reception tendered by ex-Senator and Mrs. John B. Henderson at their residence, Florida avenue and Sixteenth street.

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 28.

8 p. m.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

(Columbian University.)

1. Relations between Great Britain and the American Colonies during the Seventeenth Century, by Prof. Herbert L. Osgood, Columbia University.
2. The Diplomatic Antecedents of the Louisiana Purchase, by Prof. Frederick J. Turner, University of Wisconsin.
3. James Madison and Religious Liberty, by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Department of State.

MONDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 30.

10.30 a. m.

EUROPEAN HISTORY.

(Columbian University.)

1. The Spirit of German Humanism, by Prof. E. L. Stevenson, Rutgers College.
2. The Chronology of the Erasmus Letters, by Prof. Ephraim Emerton, Harvard University.
3. Recent Contributions to the History of the Protestant Revolt, by Prof. James Harvey Robinson, Columbia University.
4. Discussion.

MONDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 30.

3 p. m.

BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

(Columbian University.)

1. Memorial addresses:
   Moses Coit Tyler, by Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University.
   Herbert Baxter Adams, by Prof. John M. Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.
2. Report of the council.
3. Report of the treasurer and auditing committee.
4. Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.
5. Report of the Public Archives Commission.
6. Report of the committee on the Justin Winsor prize.
7. Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review.
8. Report of the bibliographical committee.
9. Report of the committee on publications.
10. Report of the general committee.
11. Election of officers.
12. Report on the proposed monographic history of America.

At a meeting of the executive council held in New York, November 29, the proposition of a cooperative history of America was carefully considered, and in view of all the difficulties involved the council voted that it would not be expedient for the American Historical Association to take part in forming or carrying out a plan for the composition or publication of a cooperative history of the United States.

MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 30.

8 p. m.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

(Columbian University.)

1. Party Legislation, in Parliament, in Congress, and in the State Legislatures, by Prof. A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.
2. Discussion, opened by Prof. Harry Pratt Judson, University of Chicago.

3. Historical Materialism and the Economic Interpretation of History, by Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman, Columbia University.
4. Discussion, opened by Prof. Isaac A. Loos, University of Iowa, and Prof. E. P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania.

9.30 p. m.

An informal gathering at the Cosmos Club.

TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 31.

10.30 a. m.

SOUTHERN HISTORY.

(National Museum.)

1. The Records of the London Company, by President Lyon G. Tyler, William and Mary College.
2. The Relations of the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant, by Prof. John S. Bassett, Trinity College.
3. The Place of Nathaniel Macon in Southern History, by Prof. William E. Dodd, Randolph-Macon College.
4. Maryland's First Courts, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, Johns Hopkins University.
5. Southwestern History in the Southwest, by Prof. George P. Garrison, University of Texas.
6. Closing reports and announcements.

PAPERS TO BE READ BY TITLE.

1. Committees of Correspondence of the American Revolution, by Edward D. Collins, Ph. D., Barton Landing, Vt.
2. Jay's Treaty and the Slavery Interests of the United States, by Frederic Austin Ogg, A. M., Indianapolis, Ind.
3. The Public Services of Governor Jacob D. Cox, by James R. Ewing, Ph. D., Washington, D. C.
4. The Legislative History of Naturalization in the United States, 1776–1795, by F. G. Franklin, Ph. D., Knightstown, Ind.
5. The Assumption of State Debts and the Location of the Federal Capital, by Dr. O. G. Libby, University of Wisconsin.

COMMITTEES FOR THE WASHINGTON MEETING.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM.

Charles H. Haskins, chairman; George B. Adams, Samuel Macauley Jackson, William MacDonald, J. M. Vincent, Lyon G. Tyler.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

A. W. Greely, chairman; Gilbert H. Grosvenor, secretary and treasurer.

Entertainment. Herbert Putnam, Frederic Bancroft, Cyrus Adler, Teunis S. Hamlin, Perry B. Pierce.

Finance.—J. L. M. Curry, George C. Gorham, George W. McLanahan.

Place of meetings.—Carroll D. Wright, Andrew H. Allen, A. Howard Clark.

Press.—Charles Moore.

Public comfort.—Gaillard Hunt, James Q. Howard, P. Lee Phillips.

Transportation.—A. Howard Clark.

Social welfare.—David J. Hill, A. B. Hagner, James McMillan, Merrill E. Gates, J. B. Henderson, jr., William C. Sanger, Thomas J. Shahan.

II.—AN UNDEVELOPED FUNCTION.

By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

AN UNDEVELOPED FUNCTION.[a]

By Charles Francis Adams.

History is past politics, and politics are present history.—*Edward A. Freeman.*
Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics.—*Sir John Seeley.*

Here are aphorisms from two writers, both justly distinguished in the field of modern historical research. Sententious utterances, they would probably, like most sententious utterances, go to pieces to a greater or less extent under the test of severe analysis. They will, however, now serve me sufficiently well as texts.

That politics should find no place at its meetings is, I believe, the unwritten law of this association; and, by politics, I refer to the discussion of those questions of public conduct and policy for the time being uppermost in the mind of the community. Taking into consideration the character and purpose of our body, and the broad basis on which its somewhat loose membership rests, the rule may be salutary. But there are not many general propositions not open to debate; and so I propose on this occasion to call this unwritten law of ours in question. While so doing, moreover, I shall distinctly impinge upon it.

Let us come at once to the point. May it not be possible that the unwritten law,—perhaps it would be better to speak of it as the tacit understanding,—I have referred to, admits of limitations and exceptions both useful and desirable? Is it, after all, necessary, or, even from a point of large view, well-considered, thus to exclude from the list of topics to be discussed at meetings of historical associations, and especially of this Association, the problems at the time uppermost in man's thoughts? Do we not, indeed, by so doing abdicate a useful

[a] President's address before the American Historical Association, December 27, 1901.

public function,—surrender an educational office; practically admitting by our act that we can not trust ourselves to discuss political issues in a scholarly and historical spirit? In one word, are not those composing a body of this sort under a species of obligation, in a community like ours, to contribute their share, from the point of view they occupy, to the better understanding of the questions in active political debate? This proposition, as I have said, I now propose to discuss; and, in so doing, I shall, for purposes of illustration, draw freely on present practical politics,—using as object lessons the issues now, or very recently, agitating the minds of not a few of those composing this audience,—indeed, I hope, of all.

I start from a fundamental proposition. The American Historical Association, like all other associations, whether similar in character or not, either exists for a purpose, or it had better cease to be. That purpose is, presumably, to do the best and most effective work in its power in the historical field. I then further, and with much confidence, submit that the standard of American political discussion is not now so high as not to admit of elevation. On the contrary, while, comparatively speaking, it ranks well both in tone and conduct, yet its deficiencies are many and obvious. That, taken as a whole, it is of a lower grade now than formerly, I do not assert; though I do assert, and propose presently to show, that in recent years it has been markedly lower than it was in some periods of the past, and periods within my own recollection. That, however, it is not so high as it should be,—that it is by no manner of means ideal,—all will, I think, admit. If so, that admission suffices for present purposes.

My next contention is perhaps more open to dispute. It is a favorite theory now with a certain class of philosophers, somewhat inclined to the happy-go-lucky school, that in all things every community gets about what it asks for, and is qualified to appreciate. In political discussion—as in railroad or hotel service, and in literature or religion—the supply, as respects both quality and quantity, responds with sufficient closeness to the demand. There is, however, good reason for thinking that, with the American community which to-day is, or at least with some sections and elements thereof, this at best specious theory does not at the present time hold true. Our recent political debates have, I submit, been conducted on a

level distinctly below the intelligence of the constituency; the participants in the debate have not been equal to the occasion offered them. Evidence of this is found in the absence of response. I think I am justified in the assertion that no recent political utterance has produced a real echo, much less a reverberation; and it would not probably be rash to challenge an immediate reference to a single speech, or pointed expression even, which, during the last presidental campaign, for instance, impressed itself on the public memory. That campaign, seen through the vista of a twelvemonth, was, on the contrary, from beginning to end, with a single exception, creditable neither to the parties conducting it, nor to the audience to whose level it was presumably gauged.

Recall, I pray you, its incidents; already almost forgotten, they come back, when revived by an effort of memory, with a remote, far away echo, as of mockery. In the first place, on neither side were the issues of 1900 clearly defined or well presented; indeed, the long indecision as to what should be accepted as the "paramount issue" was, not remotely, suggestive of a certain very memorable "Hunting of the Snark." Ignoring the personal element which entered so largely into it, as it enters into all canvasses, the favorite argument with one set of orators was the *post ergo propter*, as illustrated in "the Full Dinner Pail;" which argument those of the other side met by fierce denunciation of "Department Stores," and the manifestly pertinent inquiry, addressed to the general auditory, as to what they proposed to do with their sons. The fate in store for their daughters, it was gloomily intimated, would admit of little question, should the opposing candidate be chosen. So far as what is known as "Labor" is concerned, one candidate posed as the prescriptive protector of American industry, while the other warmly declared himself in favor of "The Man against the Dollar." The talk from the hustings under this head was irresistibly suggestive of the scene in Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop*,—the adherents of both candidates stoutly maintained that Codlin was the workingman's friend, not Short; Short might be very well as far as he went, but the real friend was Codlin.

But, apart from this, the one noticeable feature, possibly the single significant feature of the canvass, was that it distinctly deteriorated as it progressed. It was opened by Mr.

Bryan, on the 8th of August, with a speech at Indianapolis which struck a lofty note, promising a high level of discussion. That speech fairly startled the reflecting portion of the community. It seemed for the moment as if the party in power would be forced to reckon seriously with the opposition throughout a sustained debate. How completely this promise failed of realization is fresh in memory. No subsequent utterance on either side made any impression on the public mind. Mr. Bryan, using his audience as a sounding-board, seemed thereafter to bid continually down; and, finally, the contest degenerated into a mere trial of endurance between himself and the talking candidate of the other side, the telegraph day by day recording the number of speeches made by each. A less inspiring competition could hardly be imagined; and, as the papers, in flaring, modern-time headlines, declared that Mr. Roosevelt had the previous day broken all records by making eighteen speeches, they went on gravely to announce that Mr. Bryan had arranged a programme for the morrow under which he would "see" his opponent and "go him two better," orating to a square score of distinct audiences between 10 a. m. and midnight.

But was this all the occasion called for? Did our much vaunted American intelligence demand nothing better? *Credat Judæus!* Not for a moment do I believe it. To that canvass, then, I propose presently to return, using it as an object lesson. I shall seek to revive the memory of its issues,—for already they are far advanced on the road to oblivion,—and I shall contrast what I have described as actually occurring with what was easily possible, had that same debate been actively participated in by organizations such as this of ours; organizations whose representative spokesmen would have at least approached the discussion, not in a partisan, but in a scientific spirit. For even active political issues, I contend, freed from the deflection always incident to party prejudice and personal feeling, may be viewed in the light of principle, precedent and experience.

Perhaps, however, I can best illustrate what I have to say,—enforce the lesson I would fain this evening teach,—by approaching it through retrospect. So doing, also, if there is any skill in my treatment, cannot well be otherwise than interesting, for I shall deal with events almost all within the recol-

lection of those yet in middle life. But while those events are sufficiently removed from us to admit of the necessary perspective, having assumed their true proportions to what preceded and has followed, they have an advantage over the occurrences of a year ago; for the controversial embers of 1900 may still be glowing in 1901,—though, I must say, to me the ashes seem white and cold and dead enough. Still, I do not propose to go back to any very remote period, and I shall confine myself to my own recollection, speaking of that only of which I know, and in which I took part. My review will begin with the year 1856,—the year of my graduation, and that in which I cast my first vote; also one in which a President was chosen, James Buchanan being the successful candidate.

Under the provisions of our Constitution, a great national debate is preordained for every fourth year. The whole policy of the government is thus at fixed periods challenged and reviewed. Whether, as the country has expanded and its population multiplied, while the questions involved in material interests of ever growing volume have become more complex and difficult of comprehension, this fixed Olympic period is wise, or, if wise, that assigned is not too short, are open questions. I think the period at any rate too short. Large bodies proverbially move slowly, and considerable stages of fixity are necessary to adjustment. In the case of so large and complex a body politic as the United States has now become, four years are manifestly insufficient for that purpose. Recent experience has shown such to be the case. But this is not now to be discussed. For our present purpose we must take things as they are; and the fundamental law imposes on us a national political debate every fourth year, wholly irrespective of circumstance. As 1856 was one of the years thus in advance assigned, I have now taken part in no less than twelve presidential canvasses. Approaching them in a spirit strictly historical, these I propose briefly to review.

Yet it must be premised that each election does not represent a debate,—not infrequently it is merely a stage in a debate. It was so in 1856; it has been so several times since. Indeed, since 1840,—the famous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of "Coon-Skin Caps," and "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too,"—probably the most humorous, not to say grotesque, episode in our whole national history, that in which the plane of

discussion reached its lowest recorded level,—since 1840 there have been only six real debates; the average period of a debate being, therefore, ten years. These debates were (1) that over Slavery, from 1844 to 1864; (2) that over Reconstruction, from 1868 to 1872; (3) Legal Tenders, or "Fiat Money," and Resumption of Specie Payments were the issues in 1876 and 1880; (4) the issue of 1888 and 1892 was over Protection and Free Trade; (5) the debate over Bimetallism and the Demonetization of Silver occurred in 1896; and, finally, (6) Imperialism, as it is called, came to the front in 1900. Since 1856, therefore, the field of discussion has been wide and diversified,—presenting several issues of great moment. Of necessity, also, the debates have assumed many and diverse aspects,—ethical, ethnological, legal, military, economical, financial, historical. The last-named aspect is that which interests us.

In every one of the debates,—and it goes almost without saying,—the historical aspect has been prominent; it is, indeed, the one aspect which is all-pervasive. And this must be the case just so long as men, yielding respect to precedent, seek guidance from the experience of the past. My purpose is, briefly passing these debates in review, to measure the degree to which the trained historical element in the American community entered into them as an influencing factor, and to estimate the extent to which such an element might have entered into them, with results manifestly beneficial. I shall endeavor to show the great benefit, the elevating influence, which in all these debates, though far more in some than in others, would have been derived from the active participation therein of such an organization as this,—an organization wholly free from party lines, but divided in opinion, which would approach the questions at issue from a point of view distinctly scholarly and scientific. In doing this, let it be always borne in mind that, in scholarship and in science also, unanimity is not to be expected, scarcely to be desired. In the study of history, as in religion and in science, schools differ. The record is voluminous and full of precedents from which very contradictory conclusions, all more or less plausible, may be drawn. In this field, as in others, the great desideratum is to have every side fully and vigorously presented, with a full assurance that the soundest conclusions will survive as being, here also, always the most fit.

The first of these debates, that involving the slavery issue, is now far removed. We can pass upon it historically; for the young man who threw his maiden vote in 1860, when it came to its close, is now nearing his grand climacteric. Of all the debates in our national history that was the longest, the most elevated, the most momentous and the best sustained. It looms up in memory; it projects itself from history. As a whole, it was immensely creditable to the people,—the community at large,—for whose instruction it was conducted. It has left a literature of its own,—economical, legal, moral, political, imaginative. In fiction it produced *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, still, if one can judge by the test of demand at the desks of our public libraries, one of the most popular books in the English tongue. In the law, it rose to the height of the Dred Scott decision; and, while the rulings in that case laid down have since been reversed, it will not be denied that the discussion of constitutional principles involved, whether at the bar, in the halls of legislatures, in the columns of the press or on the rostrum, was intelligent, of an order extraordinarily high, and of a very sustained interest. It was to the utmost degree educational.

So far as the historical aspect of that great debate is concerned, two things are to be specially noted. In the first place, the moral and economical aspects predominated; and, in the second place, what may be called the historical element as an influencing factor was then in its infancy. Neither in this country nor in Europe had that factor been organized, as it now is. The slavery debate was so long and intense that all the forces then existing were drawn into it. The pulpit, for instance, participated actively. The physiologist was much concerned over ethnological problems, trying to decide whether the African was a human being or an animal; and, if the former, was he of the family of Cain? Thus all contributed to the discussion; and yet I am unable to point out any distinctly historical contribution of a high order; though, on both sides, the issue was discussed historically with intelligence and research. Especially was this the case in the arguments made before the courts and in the Scriptural dissertations; while, on the political side, the speeches of Seward and Sumner, of Jefferson Davis and A. H. Stephens, leave little

to be desired. The climax was, perhaps, reached in the memorable joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas, of which it is not too much to say the country was the auditory. The whole constituted a fit prologue to the great tragedy which ensued.

Beginning, in its closing stage, in January, 1854, when the measure repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was introduced into the Senate of the United States, and closing in December, 1860, with the passage of its ordinance of secession by South Carolina, this debate was continuous for seven years, covering two presidential elections, those of 1856 and 1860. So far as I know, it was *sui generis*; for it would, I fancy, be useless to look for anything with which to institute a comparison, except in the history of Great Britain. Even there, the discussion which preceded the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, or that which led up to the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, or, finally, the Irish Home Rule agitation between 1871 and 1893,—one and all sink into insignificance beside it. Of the great slavery debate it may then, in fine, be said that, while the study of history and the lessons to be deduced from history contributed not much to it, it made history, and on history has left a permanent mark.

Of the canvass of 1864, from our point of view little need be said. There was in it no field fruitful for the historical investigator, the issue then presented to the people being of a character altogether exceptional. The result depended less on argument than on the outcome of operations in the field. There was, I presume, during August and September of that year, a wordy debate; but the people were too intent on Sherman as he circumvented Atlanta, and on Sheridan as he sent Early whirling up the valley of the Shenandoah, to give much ear to it. Had this association then been in existence, and devoted all its energies to elucidating the questions at issue, I can not pretend to think it would perceptibly have affected the result.

Nor was it greatly otherwise in the canvass of 1868. The country was then stirred to its very depths over the questions growing out of the war. The shattered Union was to be reconstructed; the slave system was to be eradicated. These were great political problems; problems as pressing as they

were momentous. For their proper solution it was above all else necessary that they should be approached in a calm, scholarly spirit, observant of the teachings of history. Never was there a greater occasion; rarely has one been so completely lost. The assassination of Lincoln silenced reason; and to reason, and to reason only, does history make its appeal. The unfortunate personality of Andrew Johnson now intruded itself; and, almost at once, what should have been a calm debate degenerated into a furious wrangle. Looking back over the canvass of 1868, and excepting General Grant's singularly felicitous closing of his brief letter of acceptance,—"Let us have peace!"—I think it would be difficult for anyone to recall a single utterance of that campaign which produced any lasting impression. The name even of the candidate nominated in opposition to Grant is not readily recalled. In that canvass, as in the preceding one, I should say there was no room for the economist, the philosopher, or the historian. The country had, for the time being, cut loose from both principle and precedent.

The debate over Reconstruction, begun in 1865, did not wear itself out until 1876. In no respect will it bear comparison with that debate over slavery which preceded it. Sufficiently momentous, it was less sustained, less thorough, far less judicial. Towards its close, moreover, as the country wearied, it was gravely complicated by a new issue; for, in 1867, began that currency discussion, destined to last in its various phases through the lifetime of a generation. It thereafter entered, in greater or less degree, into no less than nine consecutive presidential elections, two of which, those of 1876 and 1896, actually turned upon it.

The currency debate presented three distinct phases; first, the proposition, broached in 1867, known as the Greenback theory, under which the interest-bearing bonds of the United States, issued during the Rebellion, were to be paid at maturity in United States legal tender notes, bearing no interest at all. This somewhat amazing proposition was speedily disposed of; for, early in 1869, an act was passed declaring the bonds payable "in coin." But, as was sure to be the case, the so-called "Fiat Money" delusion had obtained a firm lodgment in the minds of a large part of the community, and to drive it out was the work of time. It assumed, too, all sorts of aspects.

Dispelled in one form, it reappeared in another. When, for instance, the act of 1869 settled the question as respects the redemption of the bonds, the financial crisis of 1873 reopened it by creating an almost irresistible popular demand for a government paper currency as a permanent substitute for specie. Finally, when, seven years later, this issue was put to rest by a return to specie payments, the overproduction of silver, as compared with gold, already foreshadowed the rise of one of the most serious and far-reaching questions which has perplexed modern times. Thus as the ethical and legal issues, which were the staples of public discussion from 1844 to 1872, were disposed of, or by degrees settled themselves, a series of monetary questions arose, destined, even if at times in a somewhat languid way, to occupy public attention through thirty years.

Yet there is, in connection with the canvasses of 1876, 1880, and 1884, a suggestive reflection, which, if laid properly to heart, ought to bear fruit in future quadrennials. It is not now easy for those who took part—perhaps an eager and interested part—in those elections, to name off-hand the opposing candidates, much less to state the issues upon which the country then divided. It is curious to note how much less momentous the average presidential choice becomes, the further we get away from it. Finally, we even get to realize that, in world development, and even in national life, it would have been very much the same whichever candidate was elected. Perhaps, after all, this lesson is that of not least historical value to be deduced from the study of well-nigh forgotten presidential campaigns.

It is difficult to say what the dividing issue of 1876 really was. The country was then slowly recovering from the business prostration which followed the collapse of 1873. The issues involved in reconstruction, if not disposed of, were clearly worn out. The country, weary of them, would not respond, turning impatiently from further discussion. Those issues might now settle themselves, or go unsettled; and, though that conclusion was reached thirty years ago, they are not settled yet. The living debate was over material questions,—the cause of the prolonged business depression, and the remedy for it. The favorite specific was, at first, a recourse to paper money: the government printing-press was to set it

in motion; and even hard-money Democrats of the Jacksonian school united with radical Republicans of the Reconstruction period in guaranteeing a resultant prosperity. Again the teachings of history were ignored. What, it was contemptuously exclaimed in the Senate, do we care for "abroad"? From this calamity the country had been saved by the veto of President Grant in 1874; and, the following year, an act was passed looking to the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879. Seventeen years of suspension were then to close. Over this measure, the parties nominally joined issue in 1876. The Republicans, nominating Governor Hayes, of Ohio, demanded the fulfilment of the promise; the Democrats, nominating Governor Tilden, of New York, insisted on the repeal of the law. Yet it was well understood that the candidate of the Democracy favored the policy of which the law in debate was the concrete expression. The contest was thus in reality one between the "ins" and the "outs." We all remember how it resulted, and the terrible strain to which our machinery of government was in consequence subjected. In the wrangle which ensued, the material and business interests of the country recuperated in a natural way, just as had repeatedly been the case before, and more than once since; and the United States then entered on a new era of increased prosperity. This brought the paper money debate to a close. The issues presented had, in the course of events, settled themselves.

But, not the less for that, in the canvass of 1876 a field of great political usefulness was opened up to the historical investigator; a field which, I submit, he failed adequately to develop. A public duty was left unperformed. It was in connection with what John Stuart Mill has in one of his *Dissertations and Discussions* happily denominated "The Currency Juggle." From time immemorial, to tamper with the established measures of value has been the constant practice of men of restless and unstable mind, honest or dishonest, whether rulers or aspirants to rule. History is replete with instances. To cite them was the function of the historical investigator; to marshal them, and bring them to bear on the sophistries of the day, was the business of the politician. A professorial discussion in a meeting of such an organization as this would then have been much to the point; and yet, curiously enough, a

new historical precedent was about to be worked out. That was then to be done which had never been done before; a country which had gone to the length the United States had gone in the direction of "fiat money" -two-thirds of the way to repudiation—was actually to retrace its steps, and resume payments in specie at the former standards of value. History would have been searched in vain for a parallel experience.

The administration of President Hayes was curiously epochal. During it the so-called "carpet-bag governments" disappeared from the southern states; the country resumed payments in specie; and, on the 28th of February, 1878, Congress passed, over the veto of the President, an act renewing the coinage of silver dollars, the stoppage of which, five years before, constituted what was destined thereafter to be referred to as "the crime of 1873." This issue, however, matured slowly. Public men, having recourse to palliatives, temporized with it; and, through four presidential elections it lay dormant, except in so far as parties pledged themselves to action calculated, in the well-nigh idiotic formula of politicians, to "do something for silver." The canvasses of 1880 and 1884 are, therefore, devoid of historical interest. The first turned largely on the tariff; and yet, curiously enough, the single utterance in that debate which has left a mark on the public memory was the wonderful dictum of General Hancock, the candidate of the defeated opposition, that the tariff was a local issue, which, a number of years before, had excited a good deal of interest in his native State of Pennsylvania. The gallant and picturesque soldier, metamorphosed into a political leader *pro hâc vice*, simply harked back to the "Log Cabin" and "Coon-Skin" campaign of 1840, when, a youth of sixteen, he was on his way to West Point.

Nor is the recollection of the debate of 1884 much more inspiring. It was a lively contest enough, under Grover Cleveland and James G. Blaine as opposing candidates;—a struggle between the "outs" to get in, and the "ins" not to go out. But a single formula connected with it comes echoing down the corridors of time, the alliterative "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" of the unfortunate Burchard. An interlude in the succession of great national debates, the canvass of 1884 called for no application of the lessons of history.

That of 1888, presenting at last an issue, rose to the dignity

of debate. In his annual message of the previous December, the President, in disregard of all precedent, had confined his attention not only to the tariff, but to a single feature in the tariff, the duty on wool. In so doing he had, as the well-understood candidate of his party for reelection, flung down the gauntlet; for, only three years before, the Republican party, in its quadrennial declaration of articles of cardinal political faith, had laid heavy emphasis on "the importance of sheep industry" and "the danger threatening its future prosperity." The opposition had thus pledged itself to "do something" for wool, as well as for silver; and the President now struck at wool as "the Tariff-arch Keystone." But, while in this debate the economist came to the front, there was no pronounced call and, indeed, small opportunity for the historian. The silver issue was in abeyance; the pension list and civil service were not calculated to incite to investigation; nor had history much to say on either topic. As to the "sheep industry," now so much in evidence, the British woolsack might afford a text suggestive of curious learning in connection with England's once greatest staple,—how, for instance, as a protective measure, it was by one Parliament solemnly ordained that the dead should be buried in woolens. But it will readily be admitted that the historic spirit does not kindle over tariff schedules. The lessons of experience to be drawn from revenue tables appeal rather to the school of Adam Smith than to the disciples of Gibbon.

Returning to the review of our national debates, in that of 1892 the shadow of coming events was plainly perceptible. The tariff issue had now lost its old significance; for the infant industries had developed into trade and legislation-compelling trusts. These were suggestive of new and, as yet, inchoate problems; but to them the constituency was not yet prepared intelligently to address itself. Populism was rife, with its crude and restless theories; a crisis in the history of the precious metals was clearly impending, with the outcome in doubt; indiscriminate and unprecedented pension-giving had reduced an overflowing exchequer to the verge of bankruptcy. The debate of 1892 accordingly dropped back to the politician's level,—that of 1876, 1880, and 1884. In it there was nothing of any educational value; nothing that history will dwell upon. The "ins" pointed with pride; the

"outs" sternly arraigned the "ins;" while the student, whether of economics or history, there found small place and a listless audience. The memory of the canvass which resulted in the second administration of Cleveland is quite obliterated by the issues, altogether unexpected, which the ensuing years precipitated.

Of quite another character were the two canvasses of 1896 and 1900. Still fresh in memory, the echoes of these have indeed not yet ceased to reverberate;—and I assert without hesitation that, not since 1856 and 1860, has this people passed through two such wholesome and educational experiences. In 1896 and in 1900, as in the debates of forty years previous, there was a place, and a large place, for the student, whether investigator or philosopher. Great problems,—problems of law, of economics, and ethics; problems involving peace and war and the course of development in the oldest as in the newest civilizations,—had to be discussed, on the way to a solution. That the prolonged debate running through those eight years was at all equal to the occasion, I do not think can be claimed. Even his most ardent admirers will hardly suggest that Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1900 rose to the level reached by Lincoln forty years before; nor do the utterances of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Depew, or Mr. Hanna bear well a comparison with those of Seward, Trumbull, and Sumner. And that this momentous, many-sided debate failed to rise to the proper height was due, I now unhesitatingly submit, to the predominance in it of the political "Boss," and the absence from it of the scholar. In it, those belonging to this association, and to other associations similar in character to this, did not play their proper part,—they proved themselves unequal to the occasion. Indeed, in the whole wordy canvass of 1896, I now recall but two instances of the professor or philosopher distinctively taking the floor; but both of those were memorable. They imparted an elevation of tone to discussion, immediately and distinctly perceptible, in the press and on the platform. I refer to the single utterance of Carl Schurz before a small audience at Chicago on the 5th of September, and to the subsequent publications of President Andrew D. White, in which, from his library at Ithaca, he drew freely on the stores of historical experience in crushing refutation of demagogical campaign sophistry. Amid the petulant chat-

tering of the political magpies, it was refreshing to hear those clear-cut, incisive utterances, —calm, thoughtful, well-reasoned. I have been told that in its various forms of republication, no less than five millions, and some authorities say ten millions, of copies of that Chicago speech of Mr. Schurz were then put in circulation. It was indeed a masterly production,—a production in which a high keynote was struck, and sustained. But the suggestive and extremely encouraging fact in connection with it was the response it elicited. Delivering himself at the highest level to which he could attain, Mr. Schurz was only on a level with his audience. To the political optimist that fact spoke volumes; it revealed infinite possibilities.

Twelve presidential canvasses and six great national debates have thus been passed in rapid review. It is as if, in the earlier history of the country, we had run the gamut from Washington to Van Buren. Taken as a whole,—viewed in gross and perspective, the retrospect leaves much to be desired. That the debates held in Ireland and France during the same time have been on a distinctly lower level, I at once concede. Those held in Great Britain and Germany have not been on a higher. Yet ours have at best been only relatively educational; as a rule extremely partisan, they have been personal, often scurrilous, and more frequently still, I regret greatly to find myself compelled to say, intentionally deceptive. A singular feature in them has been the noticeable fact that where, from time to time, the clergy have intervened, their so doing has not tended to elevate. They have been conspicuous neither for moderation nor for charity, while they actually seemed to revel in their ignorance of the teachings of the past. One fact in the review is, however, salient. With the exception of the first,—that of 1856–1860,—not one of the debates reviewed has left an utterance which, were it to die from human memory, would by posterity be accounted a loss. This, I am aware, is a sweeping allegation; in itself almost an indictment. Yet, with some confidence, I challenge a denial. Those here are not, as a rule, in their first youth, and they have all of them been, more or less, students of history. Let each pass in rapid mental review the presidential canvasses in which he has in any degree participated, and endeavor to recall a single utterance which has stood the

test of time, as marking a distinct addition to mankind's intellectual belongings,—the classics of the race. It has been at best a babel of the commonplace. I do not believe one utterance can be named for which a life of ten years will be predicted. Such a record undeniably admits of improvement. Two questions, then, naturally suggest themselves:—To what has this shortcoming been due?—Wherein lies the remedy for it?

The shortcoming, I submit, is in greatest part due to the fact that the work of discussion has been left almost wholly to the journalist and the politician,—the professional journalist and the professional politician. And in the case of both, there has in this country, during the last forty years, been, so far as grasp of principle is concerned, a marked tendency to deterioration. Nor, I fancy, is the cause of this far to seek. It is found in the growth, increased complexity, and irresistible power of organization as opposed to individuality,—in the parlance of the day, it is the all-potency of the machine over the man; equally noticeable whether by that word, "machine," we refer to the political organization or to the newspaper.

Let the last be considered first. The daily journal—the newspaper—is indisputably the one far-reaching organ of popular political education. Through its columns, as a medium, the teachings of those who think on all subjects—educational, religious, moral, political—percolate slowly, and, as a rule, in a very diluted form, finding thus at last lodgment and acceptance in the public thought. They are slowly assimilated. But the newspaper of to-day is altogether the product of the last century—almost of the last half of the century. Practically brought into being by James Gordon Bennett and Horace Greeley during "the forties," it then, and for nearly thirty years after, represented an editorial individuality, of which Greeley was the highest type. From 1841 to 1872, Horace Greeley was the New York *Tribune;* and the New York *Tribune* during those years was the greatest educational factor—economically and morally—this country has ever known. The protective tariff is its monument, *ære perennius.* The *Tribune* still exists; but the *Tribune* of to-day is no longer the organ of one man. A news medium, owned by a syndicate, its utterances, shaped by a business management—an editorial Aulic Council—are turned out by the yard by salaried

ready writers,—quill drivers of fortune,—whose necessary fate it is always to strive to reduce superficiality to a system. "By journalism," a modern writer of much acumen says, "is to be understood, I suppose, writing for pay on matters of which you are ignorant;"[a] and, as an evolution, the modern newspaper is the necessary outcome of existing conditions. A financial combination controls a most intricate, costly and influential machine. Since 1872 the intense, widely pervasive personality of Horace Greeley has given place to the ordered and stereotyped utterances of the *Tribune's* editorial staff.

Mutatis mutandis, it is the same in politics. As Tennyson wrote two generations ago:

> "The individual withers, and the world is more and more."

The intricacy of modern political life, the magnitude of interests and expenditure, the cohesive power of plunder, the number of those who make of political life a breadwinning trade, the size of the constituency,—all these concurring conditions have resulted in a state of affairs in which "the machine," of necessity, predominates. Among the qualities which go to constitute that natural aptitude calculated to win success in public life,—to secure office and retention in office,—grasp of principle, or a philosophical or statesmanlike turn of mind, no longer find a place. What is needed is the faculty of managing men, combining interests, or conforming to tendencies. In a word, what is vulgarly but most expressively known as the "Boss" is, in our American public life, the logical outcome of the syndicate and machine principle applied to existing political conditions. The "Boss" is, in fact, to America what the Imperator was to Rome. It is the mraste mechanic with his hand on the lever; but, as the machine responds to his touch, the individual is eliminated.

This tendency of the day, few, I think, deny. Indeed, all must recognize the growth of combination. It can be studied everywhere, save in the highest forms of art and thought. Syndicates can not turn out great poems, or noble statues, or attain to a deep insight. In letters, their power is confined to the profuse manufacture of printed matter,—dictionaries, blue books, cooperative histories, and the like. But we have now to do only with the political life, and the higher educa-

[a] Leslie Stephen, *Letters of John Richard Green*, p. 66.

tional forces there in action, or possible to bring into action in an emergency; and the increased power of the machine in that field, I take to be one of the indications of the time, not less unmistakable than significant. Machine work always has a degenerating tendency. The more powerful the machine, the more it inclines to self-aggrandization and the perpetuation of abuse. A perfect machine is as nearly soulless as may be. Such a machine was the Church of Rome in the days of Voltaire and the Calas tragedy; such a machine is the French army now, as exemplified in the Dreyfus affair, and the experience therein of Zola. The tendency from the individual towards the machine, in American journalism and public life, can not be denied. It distinctly does not promote a loftier, a more liberal and scholarly tone of discussion; on the contrary, it works always in the opposite way.

This being so, in what direction may we look for the corrective agency? In a body politic, so full of vitality, so instinct with life, as that of ours, each evil works its own cure. The remedial action is apt to reveal itself in unexpected quarters, and in shapes not at once recognized; but, unless the body politic is decadent, it is as sure to assert itself as it is in the case of disease in a physical organization not moribund.

That those who philosophize and prescribe in this and kindred cases generally reach wrong conclusions is quite indisputable; it is safe, indeed, to say that they do so in more than nine cases out of ten. As Mr. Disraeli long since sagely observed, "It is the unexpected which is apt to occur." In the present case I wish, therefore, in advance, to acknowledge that I am probably quite wide of the mark in both my diagnosis of the disease and my forecast of the remedy. That remedy, moreover, when it comes, will, I am confident, not be in the nature of some ingenious discovery,—an invention which might admit of letters patent. On the contrary, it will be an evolution,—the natural development of internal healing force asserting itself to meet a pathological condition. Not posing here, therefore, as a physician prescribing a sure cure of his own devising, but as an observer of conditions and symptoms, I propose to point out, so far as my observation and insight enable me so to do, the indications of a self-curative process already asserting itself.

The source of trouble being located in the tendency to excessive organization, it would seem natural that the counteracting agency should be looked for in an exactly opposite direction; that is, in the increased efficacy of individualism. Of this, I submit, it is not necessary to go far in search of indications. Take, for instance, the examples already referred to, of Mr. Schurz and President White, in the canvass of 1896; and suppose, for a moment, efforts such as theirs then were, made more effective as resulting from the organized action of an association like this. Our platform at once becomes a rostrum,—and a rostrum from which a speaker of reputation and character is insured a wide hearing. His audience, too, is present to listen and repeat. From such a rostrum, the observer, the professor, the student—be it of economy, of history, or of philosophy—might readily be brought into immediate contact with the issues of the day. So bringing him is but a step. He would appear, also, in his proper character and place,—the scholar having his say in politics; but always as a scholar, not as an officeholder, nor an aspirant for office. His appeal would be to intelligence and judgment, not to passion or self-interest, or even to patriotism. The elements are all there; the question is only as to a method of effective concentration. It must, I submit, be sought for here on the floor of the academy, and not in the confusion of the caucus.

A due sense of political proportion might then become possible. Heretofore, the view customarily taken has been too narrow and too close. The continuity of movement has been ignored, and the true relation of things intentionally distorted. The effort has uniformly been to give each contest, in so far as possible, a crucial aspect. All has been made to depend on that particular cast of the dice. The future of the race, one would suppose, rests on the outcome of some struggle, in which, in fact, those immediately participating are alone concerned. The retrospect I have just invited you to, tells a very different story. Sixteen presidential elections, and only six national debates in sixty years! The issues, moreover, involved in those debates have in most cases been settled, not on the hustings or in Congress, but by the course of events,—the logic of the philosopher, the scientist, or the economist. Illustrations of this, also, are not far to seek. In

the journal of the day on which I am writing these words, I find, for instance, a confession of faith by a United States Senator, in which he indulges in this, for a politician, refreshing form of speech: "In 1896 we had a campaign on the money question. Everything was depressed,—idleness, discontent, distrust and misery everywhere. We were told that the salvation of the country depended upon the free coinage of silver. I believed then, and I believe now, that theoretically we were right; but new and unforeseen forces came into play, and I have enough sense to recognize the fact that the restoration of confidence about which Mr. Cleveland talked, and about which I did not know enough at the time to understand, the discovery of gold in the Klondike, the influx of money seeking investment from abroad, and the increase of banking facilities, have, for the time being at least, settled the money question, and nobody but a fool would make a 'free-silver' speech now." What did the politicians have to do with the restoration of confidence? It was the work of time, and of the producing and business community. What did they have to do with the discoveries in the Klondike? or with the cyanide treatment of refractory ores? or with the increase of capital, seeking employment itself and giving employment to labor? Throughout that long and momentous debate, I submit, so far as the result was concerned and the record shows, our statesmen and journalists remind us only of Burke's famous metaphor of the dozen grasshoppers making the field ring with their importunate chink, while thousands of great cattle, chewing the cud, silently repose under the shadow of the British oak. Looking back over the whole period that is gone since that April day thirty-six years ago, when Grant and Lee, at Appomattox, brought the conflict in the field to a close, and speaking in perfect moderation, I can not point to one single beneficial result of a positive character which can properly be classed as political. As a species of safety-valve, political debate has, I admit, been of infinite service. Unending, and mostly idle in character, it has prevented ill-considered and precipitate action, and given natural influences time in which to work out their results. Beyond this, what can be put to its credit? Take the debates in their order. The political Congressional reconstruction of the slaveholding and rebellious South has certainly

failed to bear the test of time. What was then done has since been undone, and the section concerned is even now groping its way, painfully, and with no excess of intelligence and humanity, towards a more practical and better-considered solution. Thanks to a providential veto, the great currency debate ended in an absolutely do-nothing policy. Of the tariff debate I will not speak. Stretching through a whole century, it once brought the country to the verge of civil war, and its history is read in a vast literature of its own, —a veritable Serbonian bog of sophistry, saturated with bad rhetoric. The practical outcome, as studied in our last general tariff revision, has not been deemed specially creditable to American political disinterestedness or scientific fiscal thought. Our pension list is, indeed, a monument, but scarcely of public liberality judiciously exercised. Finally, the advocates of free-silver coinage, having erased from the statute book that "Sherman bill" which they themselves had inscribed there, confess that "a fool" only would be guilty of "a silver speech" now. Congress has all along been but a clumsy recording machine of conclusions worked out in the laboratory and machine-shop; and yet the idea is still deeply seated in the minds of men, otherwise intelligent, that, to effect political results, it is necessary to hold office, or at least to be a politician, and to be heard from the hustings. Is not the exact reverse more truly the case? The situation may not be, indeed it certainly is not, as it should be; it may be, I hold that it is, unfortunate that the scholar and investigator are finding themselves more and more excluded from public life by the professional with an aptitude for the machine: but the result is none the less patent. On all the issues of real moment,—issues affecting anything more than a division of the spoils, or the concession of some privilege of exaction from the community,—it is the student, the man of affairs and the scientist who, to-day, in last resort, closes debate and shapes public policy. His, the last word. How to organize and develop his means of influence is the question.

> "Here's what should strike, could one handle it cunningly:
> Help the axe; give it a helve!"

So far as the historian is concerned, this association is, I submit, the helve to the axe.

Of this the presidential election which closed just a year ago affords an apt illustration, ready at hand. No better could be asked for. What might then well have been? The American Historical Association, as I have already said, is composed of those who have felt a call for the investigation and treatment of historical problems. Its members largely instructors in our advanced education—feel that keen interest in the issues of the day, natural and proper in all good citizens, irrespective of calling. They want to contribute their share to discussion; and, in that way, to influence results, so far as in them lies. From every conceivable point of view it is most desirable that they should have facilities for so doing. I hold, therefore, that, in the last presidential canvass, a special meeting of this association, called to discuss the issues then pending, might well have tended to the better general and popular comprehension of those issues, and to the elevation of that debate. Conducted on academic principles, and looking to no formal expression of results in any enunciated platform of principles, such a gathering would have exercised an influence, as perceptible as beneficial, in lifting the discussion up into the domain of philosophy and research. It would have brought to bear the lessons of the past on the questions of the day. In any event, it would certainly not have descended to that contemptible *post ergo propter* formula, which, on the one side or the other, has in every presidential canvass been the main staple of argument.

What were the issues of the last presidential canvass?—on what questions did its debate turn? Three in number, they were, I think, singularly inviting to those historically minded. To the reflecting man the matter first in importance was what is known as "Imperialism,"—the problem forced upon our consideration by the outcome of the war with Spain. Next I should place the questions of public policy involved in the rapid agglomerations of capital, popularly denominated "Trusts." Finally, the silver issue still lingered at the front, a legacy from the canvass of four years previous. The debate of 1900 is a thing of the past. Each of those issues can now be discussed, as it might well then have been discussed, in the pure historical spirit. Let us take them up in their inverse order.

Historically speaking, I hold there were two distinct sides to the silver question; and, moreover, on the face of the

record, the advocates of bimetallism, as it was called, had in 1896 the weight of the argument wholly in their favor. In his very suggestive work, entitled "Democracy and Liberty," Mr. Lecky referred to the discovery of America as producing, among other far-reaching effects, one which he considers most momentous of all. To quote his words:

> The produce of the American mines created, in the most extreme form ever known in Europe, the change which beyond all others affects most deeply and universally the material well-being of man: it revolutionized the value of the precious metals, and, in consequence, the price of all articles, the effects of all contracts, the burden of all debts.

This was during the sixteenth century,—the years following the great event of 1492. Again, the world went through a similar experience within our own memories, in consequence of the California and Australia gold-finds, between 1848 and 1852. These revolutions were due to natural causes, and came about gradually. They were also of a stimulating character. From the beginning of modern commercial times, however, to the close of the last century, the exchanges of all civilized communities had been based on the precious metals; and silver had been quite as much as gold a precious metal for monetary purposes. Shortly after 1870 the policy of demonetizing silver was entered upon; and, in 1873, the United States gave in its adhesion to that policy. Thereafter, in the great system of international exchanges, silver ceased to be counted a part of that specie reserve on which drafts were made. Thenceforth, the drain, as among the financial centers, was to be on gold alone. In the whole history of man, no precedent for such a step was to be found. So far as the United States was concerned, the basis on which its complex and delicate financial fabric rested was weakened by one-half; and the cheaper and more accessible metal, that to which the debtor would naturally have recourse in discharge of his obligations, was made unavailable. It could further be demonstrated that, without a complete readjustment of our currencies and values, the world's accumulated stock and annual production of gold could not, as a monetary basis, be made to suffice for its needs. A continually recurring contest for gold among the great financial centers was inevitable. A change which, in the language of Lecky, "beyond all others affects most deeply and universally the material well-being of man,"

had been unwittingly challenged. The only question was,—Would the unexpected occur?—Then, if it did occur, what might be anticipated? Such was the silver issue, as it presented itself in 1896. On the facts, the weight of argument was clearly with the advocates of the continued use of silver.

Four years later, in 1900, the unexpected had occurred. As then resumed, the debate was replete with interest. The lessons of 1492 and 1848 had a direct bearing on the present, and, in the light by them shed, the outcome could be forecast almost with certainty; but it was a world-question. Japan, China, Hindostan entered into the problem, in which also both Americas were factors. It was a theme to inspire Burke, stretching back, as it did, from this latter day light to the middle age darkness, and involving the whole circling globe. Rarely has any subject called for more intelligent and comprehensive investigation; rarely has one been more confused and befogged by a denser misinformation. The discoverer and scientist, moving hand in hand, had, during the remission of the debate, been getting in their work, and, under the magic touch of their silent influence, the world's gold production rose by leaps and bounds. Less than ten millions of ounces in 1896, in 1899 it had nearly touched fifteen millions; and, in money value, it alone then exceeded the combined value of the gold and silver production of the earlier period. What did this signify?—History was only repeating itself. The experiences of the first half of the sixteenth century and the middle decennaries of the nineteenth century were to be emphasized on the threshold of the twentieth.

So much for the silver question and its possible treatment. In the discussion of 1900, the last word in the debate of 1896 remained to be uttered. A page in history, both memorable and instructive, was to be turned. Next, trusts,—those vast aggregations of capital in the hands of private combinations, constituting practical monopolies of whole branches of industry, and of commodities necessary to man. Was the world to be subject to taxation at the will of a moneyed syndicate? The debate of a year ago over this issue, if debate it may be called, is still very recent. In it the lessons of history were effectually ignored; and yet, if applied, they would have been sufficiently suggestive. The historian was as conspicuous for his absence as the demagogue was in evidence. The cry was

against monopoly and the monopolist,—a cry which, as it has been ringing through all recorded times, suggests for the historical investigator a wide and fruitful field. Curiously enough, the first lesson to be derived from labor in that field is a paradox. Practically, so far as extortion is concerned, there is almost nothing in common between the old-time monopoly and the modern trust. Of examples of the first, the record is monotonously full. Mere agents of the government, sometimes the favorites of the Crown, the whole machinery of the state has time out of mind been put at the service of monopolists to enable them to exact tribute from all. To the student of English history the names and misdeeds of Sir Francis Michell and Sir Giles Mompesson at once suggest themselves; while others, more familiar with the drama, recall Sir Giles Overreach, or that powerful scene in Ruy Blas in which the Spanish courtiers wrangle together, coming almost to blows, over a partition among themselves of the right to extort. The old system still survives. For example, in France to-day the manufacture and sale of salt is a government monopoly. A prime necessity of life, no person not specially authorized may engage in the production of salt, or import it into France. If a peasant woman, living on the sea-coast of Brittany or Normandy, endeavors to procure salt for her family by the slow process of evaporating a pailful of sea-water in the sun, she is engaged in an illicit trade, and becomes amenable to law. Her salt will certainly, if found, be confiscate. So of improved pocket matches. In France, their manufacture is a government revenue monopoly. They are notoriously bad. Those made and sold in Great Britain are, on the contrary, noted for excellence. If, however, passing from England to France, a box of British matches is found in the pocket of a traveler, it is taken from him and the contents are destroyed at once; indeed, he is fortunate if he escapes the payment of a fine. This is monopoly; the whole strength of a government being put forth to exact an artificial profit on the sale of a commodity in general use. There is an historical literature pertaining to the subject,—a lamentation, and an ancient tale of wrong.

Into that literature I do not propose to enter. It is familiar; and fully explains the deadly effect of the word "Monopoly" to-day, or of the opprobrious term "Monopolist," when flung

as a missile from the hustings. It is an epithet suggestive of a branding iron, and of the scars of burns, the recollection of which is imbedded in the popular mind.

The curious feature in the present discussion,—that which in the thought of the student of things as opposed to words imparts a special interest to it,—is that, while the trust, or vast aggregation of capital and machinery of production in the hands of individuals designed to the end that competition may be brought under control, is in fact the modern form of monopoly, it is in its methods and results the direct opposite of the old-time monopoly; for, whereas the purpose and practice of that was to extort from all purchasers an artificial price for an inferior article, through the suppression of competitors, the first law of its existence for the modern trust is, through economies and magnitude of production, to supply to all buyers a better article at a price so low that other producers are driven from the market. The ground of popular complaint against the trust is, not that it exacts an inordinate profit on what it sells, but that it sells so low that the small manufacturer or merchant is deprived of his trade. This distinction, with a difference, explains at once the wholly futile character of the politician's outcry against trusts. It is easy, for instance, to denounce from the platform the magnates of the Sugar Trust to a sympathizing audience; and yet not one human being in that audience, his sympathies to the contrary notwithstanding, will the next morning pay a fraction of a cent more per pound for his sugar, that, by so doing, he may help to keep alive some struggling manufacturer, who advertises that his product does not bear the trust stamp.

As to the outcome of conflicts of this character, history is a monotony. They can have but one result,—an industrial readjustment. A single familiar illustration will suffice. Anyone who chooses to turn back to it can read the story of the long conflict between the spinning-wheel and the loom. Formerly, and not so very far back, the distaff and spinning wheel were to be seen in every house; homespun was the common wear. To-day, the average man or woman has never seen a distaff nor heard the hum of a spinning-wheel. Ceasing long since to be a commodity, homespun would be sought for in vain. Yet the struggle between the loom of the manufacturing trust and the old dame's spinning-wheel was, literally, for the latter, a

fight to the death; for, in that case, the livelihood of the operator was at stake. Her time was worth absolutely nothing, except at the wheel. She must needs work for any wage; on it depended her bread. A vast domestic, industrial readjustment was involved; one implying untold human suffering. The result was, however, never for an instant in doubt. The trust of that day was left in undisputed control of the field; and it always must, and always will be, just so long as it supplies purchasers with a better article, at a lower price than they had to pay before. The process does not vary; the only difference is that each succeeding readjustment is on a larger scale, and more far-reaching in its effects.

Such, stripped of its verbiage and appeals to sympathy, is the trust proposition. But the popular apprehension always has been, as it now is, that this supply of the better article at a lower price will continue only until the producer—the monopolist—has secured a complete mastery of the situation. Capital, it is argued, is selfish and greedy; corporations are proverbially soulless and insatiable; and, as soon as competition is eliminated, nature will assert itself. Prices will then be raised so as to assure inordinate gains; and when, in consequence of such profits, fresh competitors enter the field, they will either be crushed out of existence by a temporary reduction in price, or absorbed in the trust.

All this has a plausible sound; and of it, as a theory of practical outcome, the politician can be relied upon to make the most. On this head, however, what has the historical investigator to say? His will be the last word in that debate also; his, the verdict which will be final. The lessons bearing on this contention to be drawn from the record, cover a wide field of both time and space; they also silence discussion. They tend indisputably to show that the dangers depicted are imaginary. The subject must, of course, be approached in an unprejudiced spirit, and studied in a large, comprehensive way. Permanent tendencies are to be dealt with; and exceptional cases must be instanced, classified, and allowed for. Attempts, more or less successful, at extortion, in a confidence of mastery, can unquestionably be pointed out; but, in the history of economical development, it is no less unquestionable that, on the large scale and in the long run, every new concentration has been followed by a permanent reduction of price in the commodity affected thereby.

The world's needs are continually supplied at a lower cost to the world. Again, the larger the concentration, the cheaper the product; until now a new truth of the market-place has become established and obtained general acceptance, —a truth of the most far-reaching consequence,—the truth that the largest returns are found in quick sales at small profits. To manage successfully one of those great and complex industrial combinations calls for exceptional administrative capacity in individuals,—for men of quick perception, and masterful tempers. These men must be able correctly to read the lessons of experience, and, accepting the facts of the situation, they must find out how most exactly to adapt themselves to those facts. No theorist, be he politician or philosopher, appreciates so clearly as does the successful trust executive the fundamental laws of being of the interests he has in charge. Such have good cause to know that, under conditions now prevailing, competition is the sure corollary of the attempted abuse of control; and, moreover, that the largest ultimate returns on capital, as well as the only real security from competition, are found, not in the disposal of a small product at a large profit, but in a large output at prices which encourage consumption. Throwing exceptional cases and temporary conditions out of consideration, as not affecting final results, the historical investigator will probably on this subject find himself much at variance with the political canvasser. That the last will get worsted in the argument hardly need be said.

Does history furnish any instance of a financial, an industrial, or a commercial enterprise—a bank, a factory, or an importing company—ever having been powerful enough long to regulate the price of any commodity regardless of competition, except when acting in harmony with and supported by governmental power? Is not the monopolist practically impotent, unless he has the constable at his call? To answer this question absolutely would be to deduce a law of the first importance from the general experience of mankind. So doing would call for a far more careful examination than is now in my power to make, were it even within the scope of my ability; but, if my supposition prove correct, the corollary to be drawn therefrom is to us as a body politic, and at just this juncture, one of the first and most far-reaching import. In such case, the modern American trust, also, so far as it

enjoys any power as a monopoly, or admits of abuse as such, must depend for that power, and the opportunity for abuse, solely on governmental support and cooperation. Its citadel is then the custom-house. The moment the aid of the United States revenue officer is withheld, the American monopolist would cease to monopolize except in so far as he could defy competition by always supplying a better article at a price lower than any other producer in the whole world. And here, having deduced and formulated this law, the purely historical investigator would find himself trenching on the province of the economist. The so-called protective system would now be in question. Thus again, as so often before, the tariff would become the paramount issue. But the tariff would no longer stand in the popular mind as the beneficent protector of domestic enterprise; it would, on the contrary, be there closely associated with the idea of monopoly, it would be assailed as the stronghold of the trust. From the historical and economical point of view, however, the debate would not because of that undergo any diminution of interest. Whatever the politician might in the course of that debate assert, or the opportunist incorporate into legislation, we may rest assured that this issue will ultimately settle itself in accordance with the irresistible underlying influences which result in what we know as natural evolution. History is but the record of the adjustment of mankind in the past to the outcome of those influences and, in this respect, when all is said and done, it is tolerably safe to predict that the future will present no features of novelty. If, then, we can measure correctly the nature of the influences at work, the character, as well as the extent, of the impending readjustment may be surmised. For such a diagnosis the historian and economist are requisite.

It remains to pass on to the third and last of the matters in debate during 1900—that known as Imperialism. This was the really great issue before the American people then, and, I submit, it is the really great issue before them now. That issue, moreover, I with confidence submit, can be intelligently considered only from the historical standpoint. Indeed, unless approached through the avenues of human experience, it is not even at once apparent how the question, as it now confronts us, arose, and injected itself into our political action; and, accordingly, it is in some quarters even currently assumed that it is

there only fortuitously, – a feature in the great chapter of accidents,—a passing incident, which may well disappear as mysteriously and as suddenly as it came. Studied historically, I do not think this view of the situation will bear examination. On the contrary, I fancy even the most superficial investigator, if actuated in his inquiry by the true historical spirit, would soon reach the conclusion that the issue so recently forced upon us had been long in preparation, was logical and inevitable, and, for our good or our evil, must be decided, rightly or wrongly, on a large view of great and complex conditions. In other words, there may be reason to conclude that an inscrutable law of nature, at last involving us, has long been, and now is, evolving results. It is one more phase of natural evolution, working itself out, as in the case of Rome twenty-five centuries ago, through the survival and supremacy of the fittest.

I need hardly say, I feel myself now venturing on a dangerous generalization; and yet I do not see how the American investigator, who endeavors to draw his conclusions from history, can recoil from the venture. His deductions will probably be erroneous,—indeed, they are sure to be so to some extent;—and, in making them, he is more than likely to make a not inconsiderable display of superficial knowledge. None the less, even if it be of small value, he is bound to offer what he has. If the seed that sower sows bears no fruit, it can do small harm.

Mr. Leslie Stephen, in one of his essays, truly enough says:

> The Catholic and the Protestant, the Conservative and the Radical, the Individualist and the Socialist, have equal facility in proving their own doctrines with arguments, which habitually begin, "All history shows." Printers should be instructed always to strike out that phrase as an erratum; and to substitute, "I choose to take for granted."

And elsewhere the same writer lays it down as a general proposition that "Arguments beginning 'All history shows' are always sophistical."[a] What is by some known as the doctrine of Manifest Destiny is, I take it, identical with what others, more piously minded, refer to as the Will, or Call, of God. The Mohammedan and the modern Christian gospel-monger say, "God clearly calls us" to this or that work; and with a conscience perfectly clear, they then proceed to rob,

[a] Social Rights and Duties, Vol. I, p. 129: An agnostic's apology, p. 260.

oppress and slay. In like manner, the political buccaneer and land-pirate proclaims that the possession of his neighbor's territory is rightfully his by Manifest Destiny. The philosophical politician next drugs the conscience of his fellow-men by declaring solemnly that "all history shows" that might is right; and with time, the court of last appeal, it must be admitted possession is nine points in the law's ten. It can not be denied, also, that quite as many crimes have been perpetrated in the name of God and of Manifest Destiny as in that of Liberty; and that, at least, "all history shows;" but, all the same, just as Liberty is a good and desirable thing, so God does live, and there is something in Manifest Destiny. As applied to the development of the races inhabiting the earth, it is, I take it, merely an unscientific form of speech,—the word now in vogue is evolution,—the phrase "survival of the fittest." When all is said and done, that unreasoning instinct of a people which carries it forward in spite of and over theories to its Manifest Destiny, amid the despairing outcries and long-drawn protestations of theorists and ethical philosophers, is a very considerable factor in making history; and, consequently, one to be reckoned with.

In plain words, then, and Mr. Stephen to the contrary notwithstanding, "all history shows" that every great, aggressive and masterful race tends at times irresistibly towards the practical assertion of its supremacy, usually at the cost of those not so well adapted to existing conditions. In his great work, Mommsen formulates the law with a brutal directness distinctly Germanic:

> By virtue of the law, that a people which has grown into a state absorbs its neighbors who are in political nonage, and a civilized people absorbs its neighbors who are in intellectual nonage—by virtue of this law, which is as universally valid and as much a law of nature as the law of gravity,—the Italian nation (the only one in antiquity which was able to combine a superior political development and a superior civilization, though it presented the latter only in an imperfect and external manner) was entitled to reduce to subjection the Greek states of the East which were ripe for destruction, and to dispossess the peoples of lower grades of culture in the West—Libyans, Iberians, Celts, Germans—by means of its settlers; just as England, with equal right, has in Asia reduced to subjection a civilization of rival standing, but politically impotent, and in America and Australia has marked and ennobled, and still continues to mark and ennoble, extensive barbarian countries with the impress of its nationality.[a]

[a] History of Rome, Book V, chap. 7.

Professor Von Holst again states a corollary from the law thus laid down in terms scarcely less explicit, in connection with a well-known and much discussed act of foreign spoliation in our own comparatively recent history:

It is as easy to bid a ball that has flown from the mouth of the gun to stop in its flight, and return on its path, as to terminate a successful war of conquest by a voluntary surrender of all conquests, because it has been found out that the spoil will be a source of dissension at home.[a]

And then Von Holst quotes a very significant as well as philosophical utterance of William H. Seward's, which a portion of our earnest protestants of to-day would do well to ponder:

I abhor war, as I detest slavery. I would not give one human life for all the continent that remains to be annexed. But I can not exclude the conviction that the popular passion for territorial aggrandizement is irresistible. Prudence, justice, cowardice, may check it for a season, but it will gain strength by its subjugation. * * * It behooves us, then, to qualify ourselves for our mission. We must dare our destiny.[b]

One more, and I have done with quotations. The last I just now commended to the thoughtful consideration of those classified in the political nomenclature of the day as Anti-Imperialists. A most conscientious and high-minded class,—possessed with the full courage of their convictions,—the efforts of the Anti-Imperialists will not fail, we and they may rest assured, to make themselves felt as they enter into the grand result. Nevertheless, for them also there is food for thought, perhaps for consolation, in this other general law, laid down in 1862 by Richard Cobden, than whose, in my judgment, the utterances of no English-speaking man in the nineteenth century were more replete with shrewd sense expressed in plain, terse English:

From the moment the first shot is fired, or the first blow is struck, in a dispute, then farewell to all reason and argument; you might as well attempt to reason with mad dogs as with men when they have begun to spill each other's blood in mortal combat. I was so convinced of the fact during the Crimean war, which, you know, I opposed,—I was so convinced of the utter uselessness of raising one's voice in opposition to war when it has once begun, that I made up my mind that as long as I was in political life, should a war again break out between England and a great power, I would never open my mouth upon the subject from the time the first gun was fired until the peace was made, because, when a war is once

[a] History of the United States, Vol. III, p. 304.
[b] Works, Vol. III, p. 409.

commenced, it will only be by the exhaustion of one party that a termination will be arrived at. If you look back at our history, what did eloquence, in the persons of Chatham or Burke, do to prevent a war with our first American colonies? What did eloquence, in the persons of Fox and his friends, do to prevent the French revolution, or bring it to a close? And there was a man who, at the commencement of the Crimean war, in terms of eloquence, in power, and pathos, and argument equal—in terms, I believe, fit to compare with anything that fell from the lips of Chatham and Burke—I mean your distinguished townsman, my friend Mr. Bright—and what was his success? Why, they burnt him in effigy for his pains.[a]

Turning from the authorities, and the lessons by them deduced from the record called History, let us now consider the problem precipitated on the American people by the Spanish war of 1898. There has of late been much talk of the sudden development of the United States as a "World Power," and of the new and prominent part it henceforth has to play,—talk, as I hold it, empty, idle and wearisome,—closely bordering on cant. The United States without question is a world power; but that it has been such a power hard upon a century, I hold not more open to denial. The United States became a world power in the eyes of all nations between five minutes after 6 o'clock p. m. of the 19th of August, 1812, and the following half hour; the frigate *Constitution*, within those twenty-five minutes, having by her broadsides put the frigate *Guerrière* in such a position that the British flag had to come down. Since the hands of the *Constitution's* chronometer marked the half hour after 6 o'clock of that eventful afternoon, there has been, I hold, no room for debate as to the United States as a world power.

For more than eighty years afterwards, the efforts of that power at supremacy were, in obedience to the law of its being and subject to the conditions of its environment, confined to filling up the waste spaces in its immediate neighborhood or to aggressive attitude, sometimes resulting in action, towards the less well adapted who chanced to find themselves in its path. But, as the world's solidarity increased, and trade and intercourse, assuming new forms, forced their way into fresh fields, it became inevitable, as the prescriptive barriers, one by one, gave way, that a new and larger policy would evolve itself for the United States also. That policy, moreover,

[a] Speeches, Vol. II, p. 314.

would not well fail to find expression soon or late in some assertion of supremacy. It was only a question of place, time, and degree.

We all know how it came about. It is needless for me here and now to refer in detail to the war with Spain, and the fight in Manila Bay. Suffice it to say that, if human experience goes for anything in such cases, what has since resulted was, in its larger scope, inevitable,—in the nature of a logical outcome. Nor in thus stating a conclusion do I imply a spirit of fatalism, or say anything calculated to disparage opposition at the beginning, or discourage discussion now. On the contrary, "all history shows"—and this time, I submit, shows indisputably and conclusively—that final results are the outcome, not of some of the antecedent influences, or even of those among them most preponderating, but of all of them, combined and forever interacting. Every ingredient goes into the grand total, there making its presence felt. This being premised, it must next be admitted that there are few things which, when they first confront perplexed mankind, call more emphatically for challenge than the apparitions of manifest destiny. Such invariably come in questionable shapes. As our own experience teaches,—"as all history shows,"—not one time in ten that manifest destiny is heralded does the thing so confidently pronounced as destined come to pass. How many times within our own memories it has been appealed to, and in behalf of what causes,—Ostend manifestoes, Fenian raids, servile insurrections, "Naboth's vineyard," miscegenation, and the like,—the record indicates. It can not, therefore, and should not even for an instant be assumed that the appeal to God's will or Manifest Destiny, is entitled to consideration until it has so proved itself by actually overcoming the most strenuous opposition. That puts its reality to the test. Nor when, in the matter of so-called expansion, the given manifestation has in the outcome proved itself genuine, and remains an established fact,—as, citing our own experience, in the cases of Texas, California, Alaska, Porto Rico, and Hawaii,—a condition, and no longer a theory,—not then even is the struggle necessarily over. The details remain to be settled; and the details, including all questions of form, involve the whole final character of the development. It is then to be decided whether the inevitable is to assume shape in harmony with our tradi-

tions, or in defiance of them. This is the final outcome of conflicting views and opposing forces. In the case now under discussion, therefore, while the battle of Manila Bay and the treaty of Paris did, as is now apparent, settle the main issue, and finally committed the United States to a new phase and sphere of expansion,—a peopled, trans-Pacific acquisition,—to that expansion a shape was, and is yet to be given. It was in debate during the last presidential canvass; it is in debate now.

That question—the burning political issue of the hour—I propose here and now to discuss. I propose, however, to discuss it from the purely historical standpoint, and not at all in its moral or economical aspects. So far, then, as this question is concerned, the last presidential vote—that of 1900—settled nothing, except that the policy which had assumed a certain degree of form in the Treaty of Paris should not be reversed. All else was left for debate and ulterior settlement. Certain lessons, calculated greatly to influence the character of that settlement, can, I submit, now be most advantageously drawn from history. At formulating those lessons, I propose here to try my hand.

The first and most important lesson is one which, in theory at least, is undisputed; though to live up to it practically calls for a courage of conviction not yet in evidence. That a dependency is not merely a possession, but a trust—a trust for the future, for itself and for humanity—is accepted;—accordingly it is in no wise to be exploited for the general benefit of the alien owner, or that of individual components of that owner, but it is to be dealt with in a large and altruistic spirit, with an unselfish view to its own utmost development, materially, morally, and politically. And, through a process of negatives, "all history shows" that only when this course is hereafter wisely and consecutively pursued—should that blessed consummation ever be attained—will the dominating power itself derive the largest and truest benefit from its possession.

As yet no American of any character, much less of authority, has come forward to controvert this proposition. That it will be controverted, and attempts made by interested parties to sophisticate it away through the cunningly arranged display of exceptional circumstances, can with safety be predicted. In this respect, to use a cant phrase, "we know how

it is ourselves." We all remember, for instance, the unspeakable code of factitious morals and deceptive philosophy manufactured to order in these United States as a "Gospel of Niggerdom" less than half a century ago. Coming down to more recent times, we can, none of us, yet have forgotten the wretched sophistry ignorantly resurrected from French Revolution and assignat days in glorification of "Fiat Money," and a business world emancipated at last from any heretofore accepted measures of value. The leopard, rest assured, has not changed its spots since either 1860 or 1876. The "New Gospel" phase of the debate now on is, however, yet to develop itself. But assuming the correctness of the proposition I have just formulated, a corollary follows from it. A formidable proposition, I state it without limitations, meaning to challenge contradiction. I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history, from the earliest precedent to that now making, where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining and self-governing,—or even put on the way to that result,—through a condition of dependency or tutelage. I say "inferior race;" but, I fancy, I might state the proposition even more broadly. I might, without much danger, assert that the condition of dependency, even for communities of the same race and blood, always exercises an emasculating and deteriorating influence. I would undertake, if called upon, to show also that the rule is invariable,—that, from the inherent and fundamental conditions of human nature it has known, and can know, no exceptions. Of this history affords well-nigh innumerable examples, —ourselves among them. In our case, it required a century to do away in our minds and hearts with our colonial traditions. The Civil War, and not what we call the Revolution, was our real war of Independence. And yet in our dependency days you will remember we were not emasculated into a resigned and even cheerful self-incapacity as the natural result of a kindly, paternal and protective policy; but, as Burke, with profound insight, expressed it, with us the spirit of independence and self-support was fostered "through a wise and salutary neglect." But, for present purposes, all this is unnecessary, and could lead but to a poor display of commonplace learning. The problem to-day engaging the attention of the American people is more limited. It relates solely to what are called "inferior races;" those of the same race, or

of cognate races, we as yet do not propose to hold in a condition of permanent dependency; those we absorb, or assimilate. Only those of "inferior race"—the less developed or decadent—do we propose to hold in subjection, dealing with them, in theory at least, as a guardian deals with a family of wards.

My proposition, then, broadens. If history teaches anything in this regard, it is that race elevation, the capacity, in a word, for political self-support, can not be imparted through tutelage. Moreover, the milder, the more paternal, kindly and protective the guardianship, the more emasculating it will prove. A "wise and salutary neglect" is in the end the more beneficent policy; for, with races as with individuals, a state of dependency breeds the spirit of dependency. Take Great Britain, for instance. That people,—working at it now consecutively through three whole centuries,—after well-nigh innumerable experiences and as many costly blunders,—Great Britain has, I say, developed a genius for dealing with dependencies,—for the government of "inferior races;"—a genius far in advance of anything the world has seen before. Yet my contention is that, to-day, after three rounded centuries of British rule, the Hindus,—the natives of India,—in spite of all material, industrial and educational improvements,—roads, schools, justice, and peace,—are in 1900 less capable of independent and ordered self-government than they were in the year 1600,—the year when the East India Company was incorporated under a patent of Elizabeth. The native Indian dynasties—those natural to the Hindus—have disappeared; accustomed to foreign rule, the people have no rulers of their own, nor could they rule themselves. The rule of aliens has with Hindostan thus become a domestic necessity. Remove it,—and the highest and most recent authorities declare it surely will some day be removed,—chaos would inevitably ensue. What is true of India is true of Egypt. That, under British rule, Egypt is to-day in better material and political case than ever before in its history—modern, biblical, hieroglyphic or legendary—scarcely admits of dispute. Schools, roads, irrigation, law and order, and protection from attack, she has them all;—

> "But what avail the plow or sail,
> Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

The capacity for self-government is not acquired in that school.

This fact is to-day more than ever before forcing itself on the attention and engaging the anxious thought of those Englishmen most familiar with the imperial system. "As yet there is no sign that the British are accomplishing [in Hindostan] more than the Romans accomplished in Britain, that they will spread any permanently successful ideas, or that they will found anything whatever. It is still true that if they departed, or were driven out, they would leave behind them, as the Romans did in Britain, splendid roads, many useless buildings, an increased weakness in the subject people, and a memory which in a century of new events would be extinct. . . . So far as one can see, not a European idea, not a European habit, not a distinctively European branch of knowledge, ever penetrated into Asia. . . . We are told every day how Europe has influenced Japan, and forget that the change in those islands was entirely self-generated, that Europeans did not teach Japan, but that Japan of herself chose to learn from Europe methods of organization, civil and military, which have so far proved successful."[a]

Such is the recent testimony of one closely observing Englishman, the larger portion of whose life has been passed in Asia. Another says, to the same effect, "The very peace and security which a great empire establishes may prove a deadening influence. . . . In India peace reigns to-day, and order, but there is certainly less scope for the Eastern patriotism of race and class, less romance and food for poetry, less motive for heroic self-sacrifice, less to stir the heart and imagination of Rajput and Sikh, of Mahratta and Pathan, than there was in those years of glorious turbulence in the breaking up of the Mogul Empire. British rule tends to destroy native originality, vigor and initiative. How to replace that which our rule takes away is the great Indian problem."[b] Evidence on this head might be accumulated to any desired extent; and yet to-day a vague idea, almost an aspiration, is floating through our American popular mind that a single generation of our beneficent rule will suffice to convert Malays into self-governing communities of the Anglo-Saxon type.

But England, in its own two thousand years of history,

[a] Meredith Townsend: Asia and Europe, pp. 25, 27, 28.
[b] Bernard Holland: Imperium et Libertas, p. 12.

furnishes an example of what I have been asserting,—an example well-nigh forgotten. In fundamentals human nature is much the same now as twenty centuries back. During the first century of the present era, the Romans, acting in obedience to the law laid down by Mommsen, the law quoted by me in full, and of which Thomas Carlyle is the latest and most eloquent exponent,—the law known as the divine right of the most masterful, acting in obedience to that law, the Romans in the year of grace 43 crossed the British Channel, overthrew the Celts and Gauls gathered in defense of what they mistakenly deemed their own, and, after reducing them to subjection, permanently occupied the land. They remained there four centuries,—a hundred years longer than the English have been in Calcutta. During that period they introduced civilization, established Christianity, constructed roads, dwellings and fortifications. Materially, the condition of the country vastly improved. The Romans protected the inhabitants against their enemies; also against themselves. During four hundred years they benevolently assimilated them. Doubtless, on the banks of the Tiber, the inhabitants of what is now England were deemed incapable of self-government. Probably they were; unquestionably they became so. When the legions were at last withdrawn, the results of a kindly paternalism, secure protection, and intelligent tutelage became apparent. The race was wholly emasculate. It cursed its independence; it deplored its lost dependency. As the English historian now records the result, "crushing all local independence, crushed all local vigor. Men forgot how to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it."[a]

There is a familiar saying to the effect that, while Man is always in a hurry, God never is. Certainly, Nature works with a discouraging indifference to time. Each passing generation of reformers does love to witness some results of its efforts; but, in the case of England, in consequence of the emasculation incident to tutelage, and dependency on a powerful, a benevolent and beneficent foreign rule, after that rule ended,—as soon or late such rule always must end,—throughout the lives of eighteen successive generations emasculated

[a] Green, Short History of the English People, Vol. I, p. 9.

England was overrun. At last, with some half dozen intermediate rulers, the Normans succeeded the Romans. They were conquering masters; but they domesticated themselves in the British Islands, and in time assimilated the inhabitants thereof,—Saxons, Picts, and Celts,—benevolently, or otherwise. But, as nearly as the historian can fix it, it required eight centuries of direst tribulation to educate the people of England out of that spirit of self-distrust and dependency into which they had been reduced by four centuries of paternalism, at once Roman and temporarily beneficent. Twelve centuries is certainly a discouraging term to which to look forward. But steam and electricity have since then been developed to a manifest quickening of results. Even the pace of Nature was in the nineteenth century vastly accelerated.

Briefly stated, then, the historical deduction would seem to be somewhat as follows: Where a race has itself, whether implanted there by nature or as the result of education, the elevating instinct and energy,—the capacity of mastership,—a state of dependency will tend to educate that capacity out of existence; and the more beneficent, paternal and protecting the guardian power is, the more pernicious its influence becomes. In such cases, the course most beneficial in the end to the dependency, now as a century ago, would be that characterized by "a wise and salutary neglect." Where, however, a race is for any cause not possessed of the self-innate saving capacity,—being stationary or decadent,—a state of dependency, while it may improve material conditions, tends yet further to deteriorate the spirit and to diminish the capacity of self-government: if severe, it brutalizes; if kindly, it enervates. History records no instance in which it develops and strengthens.

Following yet further the teachings of experience, we are thus brought to a parting of the ways,—a parting distinct, unmistakable. Heretofore the policy of the United States, as a nationality, has, so far as the so-called inferior races are concerned, been confined in its operation to the North American continent; but, as a whole and in its large aspects, it has been well defined and consistent. We have proceeded on the theory that all government should in the end rest on the consent of the governed; that any given people is competent to govern itself in some fashion; and that, in the long run, any

fashion of self-imposed government works better results than will probably be worked by a government imposed from without. In other words, the American theory has been that, in the process of nature and looking to ultimate, perhaps remote, conditions, any given people, not admitting of assimilation, will best work out its destiny when left free to work it out in its own way. Moreover, so far as outside influence is concerned, it could, in the grand result, be more effectively exercised through example than by means of active intervention. Where we have not, therefore, forcibly absorbed into our system foreign and inferior races alien in character and more or less completely assimilated them, we have, up to very recently, adopted and applied what may perhaps in homely speech best be described as a "Hands-off and Walk-alone" doctrine, relying in our policy toward others on the theory practiced at our private firesides,—the theory that self-government results from example, and is self-taught.

I have already quoted Richard Cobden in this connection; I will quote him again. Referring, in 1864, to the British foreign policy, then by him as by us denounced, though by us now imitated, Cobden said:

> I maintain that a man is best doing his duty at home in striving to extend the sphere of liberty—commercial, literary, political, religious, and in all directions; for if he is working for liberty at home, he is working for the advancement of the principles of liberty all over the world.[a]

Mexico and Haiti afford striking illustrations of a long and rigid adherence to this policy on our part, and of the results of that adherence. Conquering and dismembering Mexico in 1847, we, in 1848, left it to its own devices. So completely had the work of subjugation been done that our representatives had actually to call into being a Mexican government with which to arrange terms of peace. With that simulacrum of a national authority we made a solemn treaty; and, after so doing, left the Aztec land to work out its destiny, if it could, as it could.[b] In spite of numerous domestic convulsions and much internal anarchy, from that day to this we have neither ourselves intervened in the internal affairs of our southern

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[a] Speeches, Vol. II, p. 353.

[b] See the very suggestive paper entitled "The Proposed Absorption of Mexico in 1847-48," by Prof. E. G. Bourne: *Essays in Historical Criticism*, pp 227-242.

continental neighbor, nor long permitted such interference by others. To Mexico, we have said, "Walk alone;" to France, "Hands off." The result we all know. It has gone far to justify our theory of the true path of human advancement. Forty years is, in matters of race development, a short time, a period much too short to admit of drawing positive, or final, inferences. Dr. Holmes was once asked by an anxious mother when the education of a child should begin; his prompt, if perhaps unexpected, reply was: "Not less than two hundred and fifty years before it is born." To-day, and under existing conditions, Mexico, though republican in name and form only, is self-governing in reality. It is manifestly working its problem out in its own way. The statement carries with it implications hardly consistent with the Might-is-Right, latter-day dispensation voiced by Mommsen and Carlyle.

Haiti presents another case in point, with results far more trying to our theory. We have toward Haiti pursued exactly the policy pursued by us with Mexico. Not interfering ourselves in the internal affairs of the island, we have not permitted interference by others. Occupied by an inferior race, apparently lapsing steadily toward barbarism, for the condition of affairs prevailing in Haiti, the United States is morally responsible. Acting on the law laid down in the extract I have given from the pages of Mommsen, we might at any time during the last quarter of a century have intervened in the name of humanity, and to the great temporary advantage of the inhabitants of the one region "Where Black rules White." The United States, in pursuance of its theories, has abstained from so doing. It has abstained in the belief that, in the long run and grand result, the inhabitants of Haiti will best work out their problem, if left to work it out themselves. In any event, however, exceptional cases are the rocks on which sound principles come to wreck; and, so far as the race of man on earth is concerned, it is better that Haiti should suffer self-caused misfortune for centuries, as did England before, than that a precedent should be created for the frequent violation of a great principle of natural development. Yet the case of Haiti is crucial. Persistently to apply our policy there evinces, it must be admitted, a robust faith in the wisdom of its universal application. The logical inference, so far as the Philippine Islands are concerned, is obvious.

The rule guiding, or that should guide, the United States in its dealings with alien races, probably inferior, as being either as yet undeveloped or else in a state of arrested development, is simple. The capacity for self-government, and, consequently, the consent of the governed, should be assumed, until, as the result of experience, a negative is proved; the interference should then be the least necessary to arrest decay or secure stability. The assumption should ever be in favor of a tendency to progressive self-development. The British rule is the reverse. Incapacity is assumed, until capacity is proved.

Historically speaking, those now referred to are the only two theories of a national policy to be pursued in dealing with practical dependencies, which challenge consideration,—the American and the British. The others, whether ancient and abandoned, or modern and in use,—Phœnician, Roman, Spanish, French, Dutch, German, or Russian,—may be dismissed from the discussion. They none of them ever did, nor do any of them now, look to an altruistic result. In all, the dependency is confessedly exploited on business principles, with an eye to the trade development of the alien proprietor. Setting these aside, there remain only the American, or "Walk-alone and Hands-off" theory; and the British, or "Ward-in-Chancery" theory. The first is exemplified in Mexico and Haiti; the last in Hindostan and Egypt. The question now in debate for the United States may, therefore, be concisely stated, thus: Taking the Philippine Islands as a subject for treatment, and the ultimate elevation of the inhabitants of those islands to self-government as the end in view, which is the policy best calculated to lead to the result desired,—the traditional and distinctively American system, as exemplified in the cases of Mexico and Haiti, or the modern and improved British system, to be studied in Hindostan and Egypt?

Subject to limitations of time and space, I have now passed in review the great political debates which have occupied the attention of the American public during the last half century. I have endeavored to call attention to the plane on which those debates have been conducted, and to the noticeable absence from them of a scholarly spirit. The judicial temper and the patience necessary to any thorough investigation have in them, I submit, been conspicuously lacking. Then, starting

from the point of view peculiar to this Association, I have examined the issues presented to the country in the last presidential canvass, and, for purposes of illustration, I have discussed them, always in a purely historical temper.

While the result of my experiment is for others to pass upon, my own judgment is clear and decided. I hold that the time has now come when organizations such as this of ours, instead of, as heretofore, scrupulously standing aloof from the political debate, are under obligation to participate in it. As citizens, we most assuredly should, in so far as we may properly so do, contribute to results, whether immediate, or more or less remote. As scholars and students, the conclusions we have to present should be deserving of thoughtful consideration. The historical point of view, moreover, is, politically, an important point of view; for only when approached historically—by one looking before, as well as after—can any issue be understood in its manifold relations with a complex civilization. Indeed, the moral point of view can in its importance alone compare with the historical. The economical, vital as it unquestionably often is, comes much lower in the scale; for, while an approach through both these avenues is not infrequently necessary to the intelligent comprehension of questions of a certain class,—such, for instance, as the tariff or currency,—it is very noticeable that, though many issues present themselves,—slavery or imperialism, for example,—into which economical considerations do not enter as controlling factors, there is scarcely any matter of political debate which does not, to some extent at least, have to be discussed historically. Still, though our retrospect has proven this to be the case, the scarcely less significant fact also appears that not more than one presidential canvass in two involves any real issue at all,—moral or economical. Of the last twelve elections, covering the half century,—six were mere struggles for political control; and, so far as can now be seen, the course of subsequent events would have been in no material respect other than it was, whichever party prevailed. Judging by experience, therefore, in only one future canvass out of two will any occasion arise for a careful historical presentation of facts. The investigator will not be called upon; and, if he rises to take part in the discussion, he will do no harm, for the excellent reason that no one will listen to him. In the other

of each two canvasses it is not so. There is then apt to be a real debate over a paramount issue; and, in all such, the strong searchlight of experience should be thrown, clearly and fully, over the road we are called upon to traverse. In every such case, the presentation, provided always it be made in the true historical spirit, should by no means be of one side only. On the contrary, every phase of the record should have its advocate: every plausible lesson should be drawn. The facts are many, complicated and open to a varied construction; and it is only through the clash of opposing views that they can be reduced to comparative system, and compelled to yield their lessons for guidance.

As I have also more than once already observed, this Association is largely made up of those occupying the chairs of instruction in our seminaries of the higher education. From their lecture rooms the discussion of current political issues is of necessity excluded. There it is manifestly out of place. Others here are scholars, for whom no place exists on the political platform. Still others are historical investigators and writers, interested only incidentally in political discussion. Finally, some are merely public-spirited citizens, on whom the oratory of the stump palls. They crave discussion of another order. They are the men whose faces are seen only at those gatherings which some one eminent for thought or in character is invited to address. To all these, the suggestion I now make can not but be grateful. It is that, in future, this Association, as such, shall so arrange its meetings that one at least shall be held in the month of July preceding each presidential election. The issues of that election will then have been presented, and the opposing candidates named. It should be understood that the meeting is held for the purpose of discussing those issues from the historical point of view, and in their historical connection. Absolute freedom of debate should be insisted on, and the participation of those best qualified to deal with the particular class of problems under discussion should be solicited. Such authorities, speaking from so lofty a rostrum to a select audience of appreciative men and women, could, I confidently submit, hardly fail to elevate the standard of discussion, bringing the calm lessons of history to bear on the angry wrangles and distorted presentations of those whose chief, if not only, aim is a mere party supremacy.

III.—THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC RECORD COMMISSION AND ITS WORK.

By ROBERT T. SWAN,

COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC RECORDS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC RECORD COMMISSION AND ITS WORK.

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Massachusetts has been the first to establish most of, if not all, the boards or commissions into whose care the chief interests of the State have been committed, and her example has been followed by nearly all the States. Among the latest commissions established is the commission on public records, which has the supervision of the records of the counties, cities, and towns. That other States may know what has been accomplished by the commission and be led to take action in providing for the care of their records is the object of this paper.

Rhode Island is the only other State which has established a similar permanent commission. A temporary commission in Connecticut in 1899 reported the need of one there, but the recommendation was not adopted, although the provisions of the resolve creating the commission were extended to July, 1903. New Jersey established a commission in 1897, but its work is upon different lines, and is not supervisory.

The Massachusetts commission was the result of the efforts of a few persons who, building better than they knew, secured in 1884 the passage of a resolve requiring the governor and council to appoint a person, to serve without compensation, "who should report to the succeeding legislature upon the condition of the public records of the parishes, towns, and counties of the Commonwealth." Hon. Carroll D. Wright was appointed commissioner, and by means of a small appropriation of $500, and an appeal to the patriotism of the enumerators engaged in taking, under his supervision, the State census of 1885, blanks were distributed by them to the church officials and the town and city clerks, asking certain information in regard to their records.

The blanks were collected by the enumerators from the church officials and the town clerks, but the information was very meager, and much, evidently, incorrect.

Upon the completion in 1888 of the principal part of the work of the census an appropriation of $1,500 was obtained for securing the missing information, obtaining returns from the city and county recording officers, and in compiling and tabulating the returns, and in 1889 the first report of the commission was issued.

This report showed the need of more work in the same direction, and on June 7, 1889, the legislature authorized the commission—

> to take such action as may be necessary in order to complete the work begun * * * and to put the public records of the parishes, towns, and counties of the Commonwealth in the custody and condition contemplated by the various laws relating to such records, and in order to secure their preservation.

The commissioner was appointed for three years, and his compensation fixed by the governor and council, $4,000 being appropriated for the total expenditure. Colonel Wright resigned at that time, and the present commissioner was appointed.

The conditions attaching to the records in the towns were so far from the requirements of the statutes that attention was first given to them. Since 1857 the statutes had required that all records be kept in fireproof receptacles, and penalties were provided for failure to so keep them, but it was the exception where a town or even a city had adequate protection for its records, very many not making the slightest pretense toward it.

City governments and selectmen were notified by circular of their reported neglect and of the requirements of the statutes, the response often being a denial of the report or a request for a copy of the new law. Investigation showed that while provision had been made for the safety of the current records, which in the minds of many are the records, none had been made for the older. (One official gave as the excuse for not keeping certain records in a safe that they were old ones.)

Visits were then commenced by the commissioner to the offices of the recording officers in the counties and cities, and to the towns, few of which had, what the statutes assume to

be maintained, and constantly refer to as, the office of the town clerk.

If Massachusetts were not in advance of the other of the older States in her care of the records, the conditions existing when these visits commenced would not be told here; but to emphasize the need in other States of what she has done, and is doing, it seems necessary to disclose them.

Many county buildings, where so-called fireproof construction had been relied upon for safety, were not fireproof; or, if they had been reasonably so, the change in the surroundings, or the introduction of modern heating and ventilating apparatus, or of electric wires into partitions or obscure places, had made them so no longer. If modern buildings had been erected with fireproof rooms, these had been fitted with highly inflammable wooden fittings. Files of papers had been stored in out of the way places, where they had been eaten by mice or fish moths, and many were in cellars, where they had rotted.

The cities were flagrant violators of the law, no pretense having been made of protection of records of many departments.

In some of the towns the state of affairs was so bad that one's reputation for veracity is almost doubted if he narrates it, consequently the commissioner has preserved evidences of his. The town clerk was often the keeper of a country store, licensed to sell gunpowder, and carrying a miscellaneous stock, including kerosene, alcohol, oilskin garments (which, out of their native element, may set themselves on fire), excelsior, straw, and other highly inflammable goods. Packed away with these were the ancient records in all stages of dilapidation, the current ones being piled with the small wares at hand, as being more convenient for reference, and being open to the use or abuse of anyone. If there were a safe it was an old one, unfit for the size of the building and the heat it would be subjected to in case of fire. (In one instance the safe and the stock of soap which had been piled on and around it fell into the cellar, where, in the absence of a fire department, it lay for days before it could be reached.)

If the clerk had no business office the records were usually at his dwelling, where, if he had a safe it was sufficient for only a part of his records. More often there was none. If a safe too large for the house had been provided, that also

was old and was in the barn, the woodshed, or some smaller shop or outbuilding which would furnish less material for a fire. The safe sometimes made a good support for one end of a large woodpile, which would have made a fire sufficient to ruin it when it otherwise might have escaped. Boxes and barrels containing records were found in which squirrels or rats had made nests, partially of the records.

In many cases the clerk knew of no records except those in use during his term of office, and many of the older were found upon premises of former clerks or other officials, or in attics or closets of almshouses, or buildings once used for meetings of the town officers. Files of papers were universally considered as unimportant, and the whereabouts of such as had not been sold or destroyed was unknown. Papers had been stolen, and many were known to have been sold at the high price of paper during the civil war.

All town officials had access to the records, and in a few cases all persons, no one being considered responsible for them, and they had been placed at the disposal of anyone desiring to consult them. Some had been carried out of the town, and even out of the State, for use by copyists or historians, and the stubs of cut-out leaves show the abuse to which they were subjected.

Most of the recording officers desired better conditions, but they were powerless to improve them. The authorities upon whom they depended had not advanced beyond public demand, and the public cared little for the records. Individuals or communities finding themselves pecuniarily benefited by the production of certain record evidence, or at a disadvantage for the want of it, had become interested and cared for the records, but these cases were few.

Notwithstanding deficiencies, absurdities, and inconsistencies in the law, the commissioner required, as far as possible, compliance with it, but relied largely upon awakened interest. The attention of the legislature was annually called to the need of legislation, and some acts were passed, but there was little interest in the matter. In fact, in 1893 an attempt was made to abolish the commission. This was not only overwhelmingly defeated, but the agitation brought the work of the commission into prominence; it was made permanent, and the salary of the commissioner was increased.

About this time an interest in the records began to be aroused through the influence of the patriotic and historical societies. The search for ancestries revealed the deplorable condition of the records and stirred members to take action toward improvement in their own towns or those of their ancestors. Members of these societies in the legislature gave valuable aid.

In 1897, after six years of urging the legislature (the most disagreeable and discouraging part of the work of a public officer, who, knowing needed legislation, must, if he does his whole duty, persist in his recommendations), a practical act relating to records was passed. This repealed the law of 1857 and embodied acts passed since the establishment of the commission. By that act the public records are for the first time defined, and include the files of papers, no longer leaving it to individual opinion as to what it is necessary to preserve. The records of each department now have their own custodian, who is held responsible for their condition, must keep them in the receptacles to be furnished at the expense of the county, city, or town, and have them always under his supervision. He must have records becoming worn, mutilated, or illegible bound and copied, and the cost must be paid by the county, city, or town, even if an appropriation for the purpose is refused passage. No papers belonging to the files can be destroyed without the approval of the commissioner, and certain papers must always be preserved. No fireproof rooms can hereafter be fitted with combustible material. Every person who should have the custody of a public record must demand it from any person having it in his possession, and any person who unlawfully keeps, removes, mutilates, or destroys a public record may be punished by a fine not exceeding $500. Compliance with the law can now be insisted upon.

The compulsory part of the work of the commissioner has been but a small portion of it. The recording officers, who at first were inclined to look upon the office of commissioner as a useless one, soon changed their minds and are now constantly asking assistance. Local differences in matters pertaining to the custody or use of the records are referred to the commissioner for adjustment; missing records which the clerks can not afford time or money to trace and recover are

traced from place to place, sometimes out of the State, and recovered. Advice upon methods is asked and good ones noted in one office are recommended for others; requests made by the commissioner are complied with which if made by a local official would occasion ill feeling and possibly cause his defeat at the next election for having done his duty; information is given to the commissioner which would not be given to a local official, and records and papers are secured. Some have been anonymously returned when it was learned that the commissioner was searching for them.

The discovery among the effects of former town officials of papers belonging to the town, especially of tax lists which it had been the custom of the chairman of the assessors to keep in his possession, led to a search for such, and cards asking that persons knowing of any should notify the commissioner were placed in every post-office in the State. Valuable papers have thus been secured.

Much negative information has been secured. Statements made by persons in position to speak authoritatively which have been accepted as fact for years have been disproved by the commissioner. For instance, records prior to the date of the burning of a building said to have been destroyed in it have been found to have been, by chance or custom, elsewhere at the time and have been recovered and placed in proper custody. Bibliographical catalogues have wrongly described records, causing searchers useless correspondence or travel. An example is furnished by the publication in the report of this Association for 1898 of the fact that a volume of the records of Barnstable county court, from 1663 to 1673, was in possession of the New Hampshire Historical Society. This was hailed as valuable information, locating a volume supposed to have been burned with the court-house in Barnstable in 1827. But inspection proves it to be a scrapbook of unimportant papers, some of which did belong to the court files.

A volume in the New Hampshire State library labeled and known as the "Norfolk County Book," and naturally supposed to have belonged to the records of the ancient Norfolk County, in Massachusetts, extinct since 1680, is a private record kept by Samuel Dalton as commissioner and as county

treasurer from 1671 to 1680, containing, however, a record of 25 deeds and a will, from 1679 to 1681, not recorded elsewhere.

The most important work next to securing the records from the danger from fire has been the binding. There were scattered through the State hundreds of volumes of records in all stages of dilapidation, some having lost all semblance of having been bound. Edges of the leaves were wearing away, the paper had been exposed to dampness until it had decayed, and nothing was left stable enough to bind. Many of these records had been considered past redemption, and were put away as worthless material, their existence often being unknown to their rightful custodian. This fortunately has proved for their ultimate benefit, as they are now being properly bound, whereas many such records bound by ordinary process have been mutilated by the trimming necessary before binding and by gluing and sewing into the text.

The attention of the commissioner was early called to the possibility of binding these records by the Emery or silk process, by which the leaves are placed between silk or tissue paper, making a transparent covering, or, if the paper has not badly deteriorated, edged with silk giving a firm edge to sew and glue. Under the law of 1897, requiring the recording officers to have such records rebound, and the binding now being possible, the commissioner is insisting upon it. About 200 volumes have thus far been bound. The Revolutionary rolls in the State archives and several thousand rolls of the war of the rebellion, in the office of the Adjutant-General, have also been bound by this process.

All volumes bound under the supervision of the commissioner are bound in canvas, inspection of numerous safes which have been exposed to severe heat having disclosed the fact that canvas has not been injured, while leather has melted, forming, in conjunction with the glue, a substance resembling coal tar, which adheres to the leaves and injures them.

Inspection of the records had but commenced when it became evident that much of the later writing would fade in time, some not older than five years having become almost illegible and some made about 1855, a transition period in ink manufacture, having entirely disappeared.

Little attention seems to have been given in this country to the durability of writing inks for records, although some foreign countries require the use of certain inks, and no results of any investigation in the public interest could be found. In 1890 the commissioner commenced such an investigation.

An examination of ink purchased in the open market, made by George F. H. Markoe, Ph. G., professor of general chemistry, and J. W. Baird, A. M., Ph. C., M. D., professor of analytical chemistry, Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, showed that of 67 inks only 17 were permanent. Tests made by the commissioner by exposure of handwriting to diffused light, and to direct light and weather (the test most depended upon by ink manufacturers), confirmed the report of the chemists, inks of the same class varying in their resistance according to their specific gravity or amount of added color.

Eleven of the condemned inks were in use upon the records of the counties and cities, and undoubtedly more on those of the towns, whose recording officers had purchased the ink most conveniently obtained of local dealers. Some of the poorest of the 67 inks tested had been purchased at country stores.

The manufacturers admitted the accuracy of the report, and said had the question been asked they should have advised against the use on the records of some of their inks, made of aniline compounds for commercial purposes.

The report upon ink printed in the annual report for 1891 awakened an interest among the more careful recording officers, who commenced the use of some of the approved inks, and in the community generally, lawyers especially admitting that they had not given the matter a thought, but had written wills and other important papers or allowed signatures with inks that might disappear before the documents were unsealed.

As a result of the report the legislature of 1894 (three years after) established a State standard ink, the manufacture and distribution of which was first placed with the secretary of the Commonwealth and later with the commissioner of public records. Its use upon the public records is compulsory.

The plan was suggested, and has been adopted in at least one State, of legalizing the use of several inks approved by some State official, which could be purchased in the ordinary course of trade. This is not advisable, as no guaranty of

genuineness or of maintenance of standard can be secured which will make the use of such inks safe.

Frequent requests from different arts of the country for the method adopted for establishing and procuring the standard ink make it seem well to present an extract from the annual report of the commissioner in 1901:

Upon the death of Prof. George F. H. Markoe, one of the chemists who made the first examination of inks for this office in 1890, and who afterwards prepared the formula for the first standard ink, Dr. Bennett F. Davenport, a chemist of acknowledged reputation and an expert on inks, was engaged by the honorable secretary of the Commonwealth to supervise the matter. Upon its transference to this office Dr. Davenport was asked to furnish a formula for the new ink, and the following was prepared and specifications for its manufacture distributed. The contract was awarded to The Carter's Ink Company, their samples being the best and their price also the lowest:

"*Specifications for a standard record ink, to be furnished under chapter 354 of the acts of 1899.*

"It must be a gallo-tannate of iron ink, not inferior in any essential quality to one properly prepared after the following formula, in which all the ingredients are of the quality prescribed by the United States Pharmacopœia, and the percentage of true acid present in the sample of tannic acid used has been determined by the Loewenthal and Schroeder method: Take of pure, dry tannic acid, 23.4 parts by weight; crystal gallic acid, 7.7 parts; ferrous sulphate, 30 parts; gum arabic, 10 parts; diluted hydrochloric acid, 25 parts; carbolic acid, 1 part; water, sufficient to make up the mixture at the temperature of 60° F. to the volume of 1,000 parts by weight of water.

"Inks submitted will be subjected to the following tests, as compared with the standard ink described above:

"1. A fluid ounce allowed to stand at rest in a white glass vessel, freely exposed in diffused daylight for two weeks to the light and air at a temperature of 50° to 60° F., protected against the entrance of dust, must remain as free from deposit upon the surface of the ink or on the bottom or sides of the vessel.

"2. It must contain no less iron and must have a specific gravity of 1.035 to 1.040 at 60° F.

"3. It must develop its color as quickly.

"4. After a week's exposure to diffused daylight the color must be as intense a black when used upon the standard record paper, and it must equally resist changes from exposure to light, air, water, or alcohol.

"5. It must be as fluid, flow as well, strike no more through the paper, nor remain more sticky immediately after drying.

"The ink must be securely packed for shipment in quart, pint, and half-pint bottles, of a pattern to be approved by the Commissioner of Public

Records, the bids to give price of quarts, pints, and half pints per dozen bottles delivered at any designated places in Boston.

"With each bid there must be submitted, in a plain flint-glass packing bottle, without name or mark to designate the name of the manufacturer, one quart of the ink intended to be furnished, said bottle to be inclosed in a wrapper marked 'Sample of standard ink submitted by ———.'

"The right is reserved to reject any bid.

ROBERT T. SWAN,
Commissioner.

* * * * * * *

Samples of ink, taken at random, are submitted for examination, and have been found to keep up to the standard.

For the benefit of any desiring to pursue the chemical study of the inks, especially persons who are considering the adoption of a standard in other States, it may be stated that a publication entitled "Die Eisengallustinten," by Osw. Schluttig and Dr. G. S. Neumann, published in Dresden in 1890, gives the method followed for the examination to determine whether the ink conformed to the requirements of the specifications, and the formula of the specifications will also be there found.

Attention is called to an apparent variation between the formula of Schluttig and Neumann and that in the specifications, the former containing the item "2.5g H.Cl.," while the specification calls for "diluted hydrochloric acid, 25 parts," an apparent difference between 2.5 and 25. There is, however, no difference, the former being the proportion of true acid and the latter an equivalent amount of the diluted solution prescribed in the United States Pharmacopœia under the title "diluted acid."

It should be noted that the specifications do not require that the ink be compounded out of the particular ingredients mentioned in the formula, but only that it shall be a gallo-tannate of iron (commonly called nutgall and iron) ink, not inferior in any essential quality to one prepared with the particular ingredients mentioned in the formula. The qualities deemed especially essential are mentioned under the tests to which it is to be subjected in comparison with the standard ink sample.

Whether such a formula has been exactly adhered to would be very difficult to determine, but whether the ink supplied is equal to the standard can always be determined.

The poor quality of the paper in later record books was found to be a danger to the records. As early as 1816 the legislature had required that the public records should be "entered or recorded on paper made wholly of linen of a firm texture, well glazed, and well finished." In 1836 the word "glazed" was changed to "sized," and that was the law until 1891.

The law had been a dead letter, and necessarily so, as no paper was made wholly of linen except for special purposes, and such was unfit for records. Good linen and cotton

paper had been used, but with the advent of the cheap wood papers that was being superseded. A report upon the subject to the legislature of 1891 resulted in the passage of a law requiring for use upon the records paper made of linen and new cotton clippings, well sized with animal sizing. As the introduction of chemicals for cleaning may have a deleterious effect upon the ink, new was stipulated for the cotton rags, but as worn linen is better adapted for paper than new, the stipulation was not extended to linen, the advantage outweighing the objection.

The typewriter, which has become almost indispensable in ordinary business, found its way into the recording offices, and records were being written with it, and legislation legalizing its use was asked by representatives of a book-typewriting machine. Knowing the fugitiveness of most of the inks used upon the typewriter ribbons, and fearing the use of these, the most popular, the purple, being the most fugitive, the commissioner reported at length upon the subject to the legislature of 1899, and an act was passed requiring the approval by the commissioner of all ribbons to be used upon the public records.

New York in 1894, Pennsylvania in 1895, and New Jersey in 1898 had legalized the use of the typewriter; Mississippi had provided that the official stenographer might make the copy of his notes with one, and required that certain court papers be typewritten, but in neither of these States had the permanency of the writing been safeguarded. In compliance with the requirements of the Massachusetts statute, the commissioner approved certain specified ribbons made by nine of the leading manufacturers, a list of which is to be found in the annual report for 1900.

As has been stated, records may be placed in the custody of the commissioner for copying. No copying has been urged under this arrangement, for the reason that copyists competent to do copying of local records are few, and the expense would be borne by the cities or towns, and if properly done would be considerable, and it has seemed more important to have the money expended for the preservation of the originals. But the provision has led to consultations between clerks and the commissioner, sometimes resulting in the making of good copies, and preventing the worse than useless expenditure for copies that are not true copies. Few of the copies that have

come to the notice of the commissioner are accurate, there having been a tendency on the part of copyists to try to solve doubtful words rather than note the doubt for others to solve, thereby establishing a false record.

Good penmen have been considered good copyists, and have made so-called copies of ancient chirography which was as difficult for them to read as the Chinese alphabet. One copyist was so well satisfied with the copy that he destroyed the original. One prefaced his copy with the declaration that in justice to himself he could not copy such bad spelling, and added this astonishing statement:

> I have, therefore, corrected throughout the bad spelling of these old records, and have given the words in the current, modern, true orthography, as justified by the standard authorities. Whereas the language was incoherent, indefinite, and bungling, where bad grammar was used, where the style was deplorably bad, and where the true meaning was evidently not given, I have not hesitated to amend expressions so far at least as to make it correct, intelligible, and decent. I have, in many instances, abridged the records, * * * never changing the sense, but expressing it by a more concise and transparent phraseology.

Think of a copyist changing the style of Stephen Winthrop, who in 1639 was chosen to record things in Boston; or of undertaking to improve upon the description of a stray cow recorded as having "a little of the lower end of her tail gon, and ye hare of her tail of on ye under side suposed to be eight or nine years old;" or of changing the spelling of Beriah from Brer to the present style. Inversely shall some future copyist or historian write "Brer Rabbit" as "Beriah Rabbit?"

Copyists ignorant of double dating have put their own construction upon double dates, confusing marriages and births and ancestral lines, copying births in January, February, or March of one year as if prior to marriages in later months of the previous year, thereby making a record of immorality if not illegitimacy. In one copy the second figure (which is the true modern date) was always omitted. If the commissioner has done nothing else, he has prevented the writing of history by such historians.

The neglect of the records, and the lack of interest in the community and the legislature, has made much of the work discouraging and almost depressing, but there has fortunately been an amusing and consequently inspiriting side.

A citizen who learned the object of the commissioner's visit to the city was glad the subject was receiving attention, for if the records were to be kept they ought to be "null and void." Here was an ally who gave encouragement. In one town the clerk had the key of the safe, but the key of the town hall was with a selectman more than a mile away, and access was burglariously obtained. A boy left in charge of the farmhouse during the absence of the family would not open the door to the commissioner, and was very noncommittal in his replies, but to the question, "Is there a safe in the house?" the dreadful thought of burglars evidently occurred to him and he quickly replied, "Yes, but there ain't nothin' in it but a lot o' old books." The object of the visit was chiefly obtained, and a card thrust under the door explained the situation to the clerk.

A new town safe was placed in the section of the clerk's store called the post-office, and the commissioner was told that any record he desired to see would be "passed out," as the United States laws would not allow access to the office. Realizing the possible consequences of a conflict over State rights, a cursory inspection was made of the safe through the letter boxes, and the records were "passed out."

Much trouble has been experienced from dampness in new vaults, and it was suggested by circular that lime be placed in metal receptacles and left in the vault until it slacked, that being more efficacious than heat from flame. In pursuance of this plan three wooden barrels of slacked lime were left in one vault.

The presence of the commissioner in a small town has sometimes been a matter of curiosity, and he has been variously supposed to be post-office inspector, if the clerk were postmaster, or a theatrical advance agent, if the clerk were at the town hall. This supposition has been made known by hints for passes. At times of a local tragedy he has passed for a detective, and once was pronounced, after mature deliberation of two young men whose discussion was overheard, as a "book agent, sure."

It is often asked whether the records are not now in good condition, and if the work of the commission is not about done. It will not be done until the communities take sufficient interest in their records to be willing to spend enough to

properly care for them. For over thirty years there was no one to enforce the law, and the consequences have been shown. With supervision removed the same condition would prevail in many places. Even now the best results can not be obtained, nor can they be until there is a State public record office where all records to a certain date can be deposited, there to be bound, classified, indexed, copied, and carefully preserved. They would then be available to searchers, and correspondents could easily obtain certified copies at comparatively slight expense. The wholesale stealing of the public papers could be stopped, and the State could take action to recover what has already been stolen, much of which is being offered at auction. Local authorities will not do this. Money wasted in printing useless public documents could well be applied to printing the records there deposited, and hundreds of volumes now virtually sealed could add their contribution to the history of the Commonwealth.

The town records would be the town histories, histories no longer being such extracts as historians choose to make from records at hand, each enlarging upon the subject which most appeals to him, be it early settlement, the Indian, Revolutionary, or civil wars, churches, lands, or genealogy, with portraits, at so much per page.

To any having in mind the establishment of a commission the question of expense will arise. The annual amount authorized for salary, clerk hire, travel, and all other expenses is $5,000. The annual expenditure has been about $4,000, exclusive of whatever amount in excess, within the appropriation, the commissioner expends at his discretion to assist poor towns to put their records in condition. This is allowed by recent legislation, and should not properly be called an expense of the commission. A trifling sum for printing the annual reports is not charged to the commission. Incidentally it may be said that the expense of a little over 48,000 miles of travel is included in the cost of the commission to date.

As Massachusetts was the first to inaugurate this work, she was obliged to make the preliminary investigation and present the results at length at considerable cost. The same state of affairs, if not worse, is known to exist in some of the other States, and the work there can begin with correction. New legislation will be necessary, as few States require as complete

records or as great care of them as Massachusetts does. The better plan would be the establishment of the public record office first and the depositing there of the records under the care of the commissioner.

That historical societies should in any way be an obstacle to the work of the commission may seem strange, but it is true. Some of these have in their possession public records and papers properly belonging in public custody which they decline to surrender. The claim is made that they would have been destroyed if the society had not preserved them, and while this may be true, conditions have changed. These societies often have as their headquarters ancient buildings, which in the usual course of events are more than likely to be burned with their collection of records and relics. (As these words were being written an ancient building which was being renovated for a historical museum burned, fortunately before occupancy.) The records in possession of the smaller societies are not accessible, and the public are deprived of their right to inspect them. Whenever a city or a town has made provision for the safe-keeping of the records, it would seem as if the societies, in the interest of safety, would be glad to transfer the records, but where they do not, compulsion must be tried.

Despite obstacles and discouragements the establishment of the commission shows the following results, some of which, however, are indirect:

A general law has been passed dealing practically with the records, and what was intended can now be required. New buildings have been erected; old ones remodeled to contain fireproof receptacles; metallic fixtures have been quite generally introduced, vaults built, and safes purchased until every county, city, and town, with a few exceptions, where extensive changes are necessary and under consideration, has its principal records safe, and all soon will be. Many records have been rebound, and all needing it will be as fast as practicable. Thousands of papers have been discovered and examined, and important ones are now safe. Records are now made on durable paper with ink whose basis is that of the ink used on the ancient records now legible. Printing of the records has been encouraged and many volumes published. New methods have been adopted and conditions in the record-

ing offices improved. Annual reports have been issued and have gone to most of the States of the Union, giving information important alike to the custodians and searchers of records. Cities and towns may now elect clerks for terms of three years, thus helping to take the office out of politics, and during the present month 27 of the 33 cities have accepted the act authorizing such elections. Many of the towns probably will accept it.

Finally and chiefly, the records have been brought into prominence and have acquired more of the importance with which they ought to be regarded, and the recording officers, seeing this and finding themselves clothed with more authority and responsibility, and having an ally in a commissioner, are realizing the importance of their position and responsibilities, and are correspondingly improving the conditions surrounding the records.

IV.—THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

By HERBERT PUTNAM,
LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS.

THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Herbert Putnam.

A national library is primarily a library of record. It has a duty to gather and preserve every procurable literary memorial, every evidence of the literary activity of the country which maintains it. As to the literature of that country, its scope is comprehensive. It accumulates without reference to present interest, and it considers future rather than present use.

The Library of Congress has such a duty. It has also an opportunity not given to any local library. It has a collection of three-quarters of a million volumes, representing to a considerable degree American imprints. It has by law without cost two copies of every book or other article entered for copyright in the United States; and it has now a substantial annual appropriation for purchase which will enable it to make good many of its deficiencies in the publications of the past.

A library for research must cover a far wider area; and it has an affirmative duty to be useful not imposed upon a mere record office. Certainly a national library is expected in scope to be as nearly as possible comprehensive. It is not exempt by the fact that there are local collections of importance in certain departments of literature already preeminent. The existence of these, maintained by local authorities, having a duty to a local constituency, does not obviate the necessity of one great central library which shall utilize the resources of the National Government to form, at one convenient point, a collection universal in scope, which shall have a duty to the country as a whole.

The Library of Congress was established as a legislative library for the use of Congress. But it has grown far beyond such a limit. The dimension and character of its present collections, its resources and equipment, all point to an ampler service than is indicated by its title. We have now no hesitation in discussing this as a possible service to scholarship at large. It may include a service to investigation in every department of knowledge. But we are at the moment concerned only with investigations in history.

How far is the Library likely to be competent (1) in scope; (2) in facilities for aiding research upon its premises; (3) in endeavors to promote research in the country at large?

What the Library is, and in a measure what it has, is set forth in the Annual Report and Manual which is placed in your hands this morning. The report proper (Part I) deals with the operations of the past fiscal year; it includes, however, as an appendix, a list of the more important miscellaneous accessions of the past two years significant of current tendencies in purchase. The Manual (Part II), after a brief historical résumé, outlines the present constitution and organization of the library, describes the functions of each division and its processes, and then attempts an analysis of the existing collections. The analysis is but summary and necessarily superficial, especially as to the material of history. The manuscript collections are, however, treated more systematically. The maps relating to America are, for the most part, listed in the recently issued List of Maps of America in the Library of Congress. This volume of 1,137 pages is also before you, and a copy of it is at the service of every member of the association who can put it to practical use. The collection of maps comprises in all 60,000 items, of which the American section numbers over one-half. The list includes, moreover, maps in books,—atlases, monographs, and serials,—thus bringing to the surface much material hitherto submerged. Among the 106,000 items in the collection designated "prints" are, of course, many—engravings, photographs, cartoons—which have illustrative value in connection with certain periods of American history, particularly the civil war; and with personages and affairs at the national capital since the location here of the Federal Government.

The documents are treated separately in the Manual. They

do not yet form a collection such as should be in the National, or even in the Congressional, Library of the United States. They do not comprise a complete representation even of the documents printed by order of Congress. Many documents of the first fourteen Congresses, listed by General Greely, are lacking here. Of those of later date many failed to reach the Library, owing to the imperfection of the law regulating distribution. The law failed to specify with precision departmental publications; it did not cover bills introduced but not enacted, nor documents printed by order of Congressional committees or Congressional commissions. A joint resolution passed at the last session substitutes a definite and more comprehensive provision. Under this the Library receives every Federal document of importance, and copies of every bill introduced into Congress. The reports of all hearings before Congressional committees are not included, but these may in general be secured by specific application. The organization last year of a division of the Library to devote attention solely to the acquisition and care of documents gives a greater certainty than has ever been possible heretofore that such material will be acquired promptly and cared for adequately. This division is endeavoring to complete our files throughout of Federal documents, of State documents, and of those of municipalities having 100,000 or more inhabitants, or important as concerned in some special undertaking which may have interest for the historian, the economist, or the scientist. In its efforts to secure the documents of foreign countries, the Library has the advantage of 100 sets of Federal publications placed at its disposal for international exchange.

The material in the Library classed as "documents" now consists of about 90,000 volumes, in itself no small, though admittedly an imperfect, collection. The resources of the Library for perfecting the collection in the publications of the past and in securing the appropriate publications of the future are greater than those of any other library on this side of the Atlantic. They would be improved if it were in title, as well as in fact, the National Library of the United States; but even under its present title it is becoming well known abroad as in effect the National Library; it has the aid of the diplomatic and consular representatives in securing foreign publications, and it is greatly aided by the franking privilege in securing domestic ones.

Its collection of miscellaneous serials will benefit by similar advantages, as well as by direct expenditure. Of the 7,000 serials currently received, only about 800 have to be subscribed for; 1,300 come from copyright; 2,000 from the Smithsonian exchanges, and 2,600 as gifts from the publishers. It has already the largest existing collection of files of American newspapers, including at least two of the leading papers representing different political parties published in each State of the Union since 1870; including, also, more or less complete files of leading papers from a much earlier date. For instance, the National Intelligencer, 1800–1878; the New York Evening Post from 1801; the New York Tribune from 1841; the New York Times from 1851; the New York World from 1860; the New York Herald from 1846; the Cincinnati Commercial from 1860; the Richmond Enquirer from 1808; the Arkansas Gazette from 1820; the Charleston Courier, Savannah Republican, etc. These are but examples, though the most notable ones. In papers prior to 1800 the Library is inferior to several other institutions, e. g., the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Three hundred and fifty volumes of eighteenth-century papers came to it with the Force Collection, and it has acquired, and is acquiring, others wherever the opportunity offers. It has just added largely to its file of the Pennsylvania Gazette. Of the 22,000 volumes of newspapers in the Library the larger portion are American. Of foreign there are, however, several files of great importance practically complete. Among these are: The London Gazette, 1665 to date; London Times, 1796 to date; London Chronicle, 1757 to 1795; Moniteur Universel, 1789 to date; Journal des Débats, 1789 to date, and the Allgemeine Zeitung, 1789 to date. There is the Gaçeta de Madrid, 1870–1900; the Diario de la Marina (Habana), 1844–1882; the Gaçeta de la Habana, 1883–1894, and from 1900. There is El Diario de la República de Mexico for the period of the Mexican war.

The Library is now currently receiving over 900 newspapers, of which all of the American, and part of the foreign, are retained and preserved and in part bound. In its purchases it omits no item within its means which can aid to make this section of its collection as nearly as possible complete. Its appropriation for serials is $5,000 a year.

In three classes of material of more or less concern to his-

torical research, the National Library is, therefore, likely to be pre-eminent: In documents, in serials, and in the miscellaneous publications copyrighted in the United States. For other miscellaneous printed material in enlargement of its present collection, it must depend chiefly upon purchase. Its appropriation for purchase (excluding serials and law books) amounts, this year, to $60,000. Had such a sum been available from the beginning, the Library might now, except as to manuscripts and material which can not be acquired through purchase, be on a par with most of the great collections abroad. Down to 1897, however, the appropriation never exceeded $10,000 a year. When, therefore, we refer to the existing collection as comprising three-quarters of a million volumes of printed books and pamphlets, and over 400,000 other items, we must add that to a large degree it has not been the result of deliberate selection and systematic purchase. If you will glance, however, at the list of significant recent accessions as given in Part I of the report, you will see that endeavor is now being made to secure every standard publication of interest to scholarship, and among these all publications which are fundamental in the study or investigation of history. With the appropriation at a normal,—and considering that the Library comes into the market so late, $100,000 a year seems to me but a normal,—there should be good hope of accumulating here the most nearly comprehensive collection in the United States of secondary material that concerns the student of history as well as the student of those other departments of literature in which the National Library, which is also the Library of Congress, would be expected to be pre-eminent, i. e., political and social science, economics, administration, public and international law, and jurisprudence in general.

A library which is to aid historical research adequately, which is to be a laboratory, must, of course, contain something besides the secondary material. Within its province it should be able to offer original sources—the material which is primary as against that which is merely secondary.

But in the case of the primary sources there are difficulties which form an absolute bar to a library starting its deliberate accumulations at the end of the nineteenth century. There is scarcely a printed book or pamphlet which such a library may not at some time, by some expenditure, hope to secure.

But the manuscript material is for the most part already in public institutions and no longer procurable. It was once held largely by private families; it has in times past come into the market through the pecuniary necessities of the owners; but where it has been acquired by a public institution it is not likely again to emerge.

It is pleasant to conjecture the National Library of the United States accumulating at Washington a collection of manuscripts which would accomplish for the student of American history what is accomplished by the Bodleian and British museums combined for the student of British history. But such a consummation is impossible.

The manuscript material of concern to the student of American history is now for the most part in libraries or in archive offices either in this country or abroad. It will remain with its present custodians. It can not be centralized at Washington, and it can not be duplicated there. One can not say that all of it is most useful where it is. The convenience of investigation requires that the material bearing upon a particular subject or relating to a particular area should be concentrated. At present it is more or less scattered. But we can not readjust existing collections. It does seem, however, as if in future acquisitions some differentiation might be observed. The material relating to a particular locality should be left to the local library having a particular duty to that locality. The material relating to the country as a whole, to the origins, history, and operations of the Federal Government should be left to the Library of the nation.

No student of the colonial history of New York can study it without a visit to New York City; no student of the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay can study it without a visit to Boston. His convenience requires that the material in each case shall be concentrated as far as possible. It is impossible for either of these places to duplicate the material in the other. It is inconsiderate for the two to compete for other material coming later into the market. It would be inconsiderate, not to the same degree, but in kind, for the National Library to come in as a competitor. When Boston and Philadelphia compete for Franklin imprints, the competition may double the price; but so far from doubling the material, it reduces by one-half the material which either can acquire. A

similar result attends all the present extravagant competition among libraries, and it is, of course, exaggerated where the material is manuscript and unique. The funds of any one library are limited. The prices for manuscript material are artificial, depending entirely upon competition. If, instead of the present competition which raises them to exorbitance, each library would recognize an area appropriate to the others and abstain from the competition, a larger amount of material would be secured for the investigator and placed where he could use it (with cognate material) to the greatest advantage.

I conceive it to be the duty of the National Library, not merely to abstain from such competition, but to exert itself affirmatively to complete the local collections in all that relates to the particular locality prior to the Revolution, and in all that relates exclusively to it since the Revolution. In so far as the appropriate local institution having the opportunity to acquire the material can not afford it, the National Library should clearly have the preference as against the library of any other locality. And it should be able to count upon the aid of the local authorities to secure what is obviously within its own province. I am happy to mention a recent notable instance where this aid was extended: the New York Public Library generously transferring to the National Library its opportunity to acquire the Robert Morris papers, which, though invaluable anywhere, were, as the original records of our first Federal Department of Finance, of paramount appropriateness to the collection at Washington.

To determine the material purely local is not indeed easy. We certainly can not divide American history at 1776 or at 1783 or at 1789, and say that the National Library should concern itself only with what occurred subsequently to any one of these dates. Still there is a line of demarcation; there is an area peculiarly appropriate to it, and in part exclusively appropriate. Its present collections, so far as they are of significance, fall within it.

They are analyzed in Part II of the report which you have before you. As you see, the manuscripts now in the possession of the Library relate almost exclusively to the revolutionary and post-revolutionary period. Of material of earlier date there is nothing of significance, except some 500 official letters and documents relating to New Hampshire,

1629–1809; 300 documents relating to Massachusetts (including some 50 letters and papers regarding the French and Indian war); seven bundles of Colonial Records, 1606–1700; two folio volumes of public documents relating to New York, 1664–1713; some documents relating to the Dutch Colonies, 1649–1650; some miscellaneous papers relating to New Jersey, 1676–1757, and various documents of much greater import relating to Virginia; the records of the London Company, 1619–1624; eight volumes of the laws and orders of the General Assembly, 1622–1712. There are also the Vernon-Wager papers, 12 volumes, dealing with English colonization in the West Indies.

Of post-revolutionary manuscript material, the Library contains little of significance to the historian; of manuscripts relating to other parts of America, only two or three items: and of manuscripts of foreign countries, practically none. Its great strength is in material relating to the revolutionary period. This is due to the fact that its only important acquisitions of manuscripts were incidental to the purchase of the Peter Force and of the De Rochambeau collections. The gift by Dr. Toner brought the large collection of Washington's writings, but these are in transcript.

A fortunate recent acquisition to which I have already referred was that of the Morris papers. These comprise the official diary and letter books of Robert Morris while superintendent of finance, 1781–1784; and his personal letter books, 1794–1798. The official diary and letter books contain an accurate and an almost complete record of the financial undertakings of the Government at its critical period. They are, of course, indispensable to the historian of the Revolution, but they have not till now been accessible to him.

As to future efforts, there will naturally come within the scope of the National Library material relating to the discovery and general efforts at colonization; and to the affairs of the colonies as a whole; all material bearing upon the history of the United States from its origins in the revolutionary movement; and finally, of material dealing with particular sections of the United States any that can not be afforded, or, if acquired, can not be made adequately available to investigators by the local library which has the particular duty to that section. There is also the great area in the Western

Hemisphere outside of the United States; especially Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies. As yet little has, I believe, been done to gather and make conveniently available to American investigators the records of these States. The duty naturally belongs to the National Library. As yet it has not been entered upon. There is here not even a large representation of the imprints of these countries, nor of the material printed elsewhere relating to them. The Bureau of American Republics is a potent agency for securing at Washington full and exact information as to their present condition, resources, and activities. It will certainly aid in securing to the Library the fullest obtainable record of their past.

Where the originals can not be acquired, facsimiles or transcripts will render the next most useful service. It seems probable that the Library of Congress can do a great deal in the acquisition of these. The originals of concern to the student of American history are largely in the libraries or record offices of London, Paris, Versailles, Madrid, Seville, Simancas, and Rome. Part of them have been printed in full; part have been, or are to be, communicated in the calendars issued or in process; part of them have been published in facsimile; part of them have been already transcribed. It would be wasteful at the outset to transcribe documents whose contents are sufficiently indicated in the calendars of Sainsbury and Fortesque,[a] or given in part or in full in the documents relating to the colonial history of New York, or in the North Carolina colonial records, edited by Mr. Saunders, or in the publications of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and other State historical societies. It would be absurd to attempt to duplicate, at Washington, the transcripts of the Haldiman and other papers, including those in France, which Mr. Brymner has, with such superb industry and enthusiasm, secured for the archives at Ottawa. Nor could the selection of material to be transcribed be made without an examination of the transcripts in the New York Public Library. But the aggregate of the material thus either fully or partially accessible to the American investigator does not by any means correspond with the area of opportunity. Among the Egerton, the Stowe, and the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum there are certainly

[a] Colonial Papers, America and West Indies, 8 vols., including the period 1576–1688.

other papers of importance to the student of American history which ought to be made available in this country. There are such papers in the private collections of Lord Dartmouth and of the Earl of Shelbourne, to say nothing of the collections in the Public Record Office. The transcripts of the New York Public Library are chiefly those which came with the Bancroft Collection. Very little of the material thus far published, calendared, or transcribed relates to a period later than 1783. The files of the Public Record Office are now, I believe, open down to 1802.

As to France: The archives of the marine and of the colonies kept at Versailles contain over 20,000 registers and 4,000 boxes of manuscripts. So much of this material as relates to the French colonies will doubtless be transcribed for the Canadian archives under the direction of Mr. Brymner, and there will be included, not merely all the material touching the area of the present Dominion of Canada, but also that which touches the area of Louisiana down to 1755. There must be avoided unnecessary duplication of the Sparks and Parkman transcripts at Harvard and of the documents published in the Margry Collection. But in both the Government archives and in the Bibliothèque Nationale there exists material of a later date upon which transcribers could, it seems, be kept busy to advantage; for instance, the reports which the French ministers to the United States made to their Government of the debates in the American Congress, 1778–1789.

In Spain there undoubtedly remain many documents as yet unprinted. In 1898–1899 Miss A. M. Brooks of Florida, under the encouragement, I believe, of the State authorties, searched the collections in the Columbian Library, at Seville, for manuscripts relating to the Spanish discovery and occupation of Florida. Such as she found she transcribed, and in part had translated. The transcripts and translations were last spring acquired by the Library of Congress. Of the 327 documents included very few have been printed in any collection available to the American student.

If in a short period, without special credentials or facilities, except those of informal access, Miss Brooks was able to find so many documents hitherto inaccessible, it is probable that a thoroughly organized search under the auspices of the United States Government would reveal a very large mass of further

material, touching the entire Spanish occupation and the Spanish relations in general with this country. The hydrographic office at Madrid is said to contain maps that would be of great service to us in facsimile. The treaty of peace after the Spanish-American War ceded to the United States "all documents exclusively referring to the sovereignty relinquished or ceded that may exist in the archives of the Peninsula," and copies of documents relating in part to such sovereignty. So far as I know, this provision has never fully been taken advantage of. It should at least convey a title to make an examination. But I have no reason to believe that it need be invoked; I have reason to believe that any material in the Spanish archives or collections not within a period which brings it under the customary diplomatic seal would be accessible to any duly accredited representative of our Government or of the Library of Congress, having a purpose in aid of historical research.

At Rome there is, of course, a mass of material in the Vatican Library, but there is intimated to be also a very large mass in the archives of the College of the Propaganda. The British Government retains at Rome an agent who is permanently occupied with the identification there of material that may be of value to the archives of Great Britain. The United States has, I believe, thus far done nothing in a similar way in its own behalf. Could not, perhaps, some university scholarship in aid of post-graduate work be directed to such a purpose? A student in history who could spend a year at Madrid or at Rome or at Paris, similarly examining and perhaps digesting these papers and selecting out such as have not been made available, could doubtless arrange for and supervise the transcripts themselves. He might be vested with some discretion as to omissions,—a discretion that could not be vested in an ordinary transcriber. The Library of Congress, while not compensating the transcriber as such, could buy the completed transcript at a sum which would take full account of the labor involved.

Now the Library of Congress will have a certain amount of money to apply to manuscript material. Can it not, perhaps, accomplish more for historical research by limiting its purchases of original manuscripts to those within a limited field which have significance in content as contributions to history;

and to transcripts of the remainder? At the prices now asked a thousand dollars goes but a little way in the purchase of an original. It will go a very great way in the work of transcribing, especially abroad, where clerical service is cheap.

But in any such work we shall hope for the counsel of the American Historical Association in selecting the material to be transcribed and in determining the order of relative importance. Our funds are pressed, and we do not wish to undertake any work which has already been done or is being projected by this or other societies. Your Historical Manuscripts Commission may have in view transcripts and publications which will render effort on our part unnecessary. Thus far, I believe, the Commission has issued of the material abroad only the Genet correspondence and the Phineas Bond letters. We should undertake nothing without information as to its plans for the future.

There are, indeed, four of your committees in whose activities this Library is interested, whose labors it would gladly aid, and of whose judgment it would gladly avail itself: (1) The committee created in 1887 on the "possible assistance of the National Government in collecting, preserving, and calendaring American historical manuscripts"; (2) the committee of three, appointed in 1899, to "consider the possibility of unifying the public repositories of historical manuscripts in Washington"; (3) the Public Archives Commission, for "investigating the public archives of the United States and of the several States"; and (4) the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The Library can not aid these commissions, nor make adequate use of their counsel, without a proper organization within itself. The position at the head of our Division of Manuscripts is now vacant. It carries a salary of but $1,500 a year. I am sure you will agree with me that $3,000 is the minimum for which a man of adequate ability and scholarship can be secured. I have asked for this sum, and most earnestly hope that Congress will see fit to grant it.

Facilities.—The facilities for the use of material within the Library have been in a superficial way made apparent to you this morning. You have seen the building and its equipment. The building is commodious and efficient, and it offers ample opportunities for differentiating the special investigator from

the general reader. He can be given an alcove, a separate desk where the material upon which he is specially working may be segregated for his use day after day. This room in which we meet is one of those destined for his special use. He will be freely admitted to the shelves themselves. The classification on the shelves is as yet imperfect; and the apparatus in the way of catalogues is for the most part yet to be provided. Except in two departments of literature, the books are still arranged by "chapters" in 44 divisions under the system adopted years ago. They have not individual numbers. There is no complete subject catalogue of the existing collection. The only catalogue covering it is a manuscript slip catalogue by authors, not conclusive and not conveniently accessible to the public. A public card catalogue is in process which contains now the accessions of the past two years, under both author and subject, and temporary author cards for the accessions prior to 1880.

A modern, elastic system of classification is now being applied. It has thus far covered only bibliography and American history. Each book reached in reclassification is catalogued by subject, the author entry revised, the full author cards printed, and subject headings determined.

The reclassification of the existing collection, the revision of the author cards, and the preparation of the subject entries would occupy a force of 91 persons five years. Two years ago there was not a single person in the force who could be assigned to it. The cataloguing force consists now of 67 persons, of whom as large a number as can be spared from the handling of current accessions are devoting themselves to the arrears. We have asked for 24 more. The work will progress in proportion as the needs can be made intelligible to Congress as a work indispensable to the efficiency of the Library.

The investigator who can come to Washington is likely in due course to be provided for. Those at a distance will be aided in various ways:

1. The Library will issue publications which will set forth its own resources in certain departments of literature. [As, the List of Maps of America already referred to; the Calendar of Washington Manuscripts; the Check List of American Newspapers, etc.]

2. The Library will issue publications which will exhibit the existing literature on subjects of particular interest to current investigation.

3. The Library will furnish the amplest possible response to particular inquiries by mail.

4. The Library will deposit in a local library in each of certain centers of research a complete copy of its author card catalogue. Such a catalogue will be accessible to an investigator at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, and at least a dozen other places. It will enable him to ascertain whether a particular book lacking in the local libraries is in the National Library.

5. If the book is in the National Library, if it is a book which it is not the duty of the local library to supply, if it is not at the moment needed in Washington, and if it is transportable: it may, very probably, upon application, be lent to the local library for his use. A system of inter-library loan may thus enable the unusual book at Washington to render a service in any part of the United States.

There are conditions and limitations which must be remembered. The National Library is a library of record. As such its duty is to preserve for posterity. It must not indifferently imperil a book which can not be replaced.

As a library for research, also, its greatest service will be as a library of reference. An investigator coming to Washington must be reasonably certain of finding on the shelves the volume which he needs. The efficiency of the Library for research would be seriously impaired by loans which would to any large degree impair the integrity of the collection at any particular moment.

To justify the issue beyond the limits of Washington of a rare book, or a book important for reference use and not a duplicate, there must be a somewhat extraordinary need. It must be on the part, not of ordinary readers, not of a student whose purpose is merely self-improvement, but of an investigator, whose use of the book will tend to advance the general knowledge.

But such cases will occur, and under suitable conditions will doubtless be recognized by the Library.

6. The Library is endeavoring to acquire, not merely the

most complete collection in the United States of books about books, but also the fullest information as to what books exist in particular collections other than its own. It is accumulating this in the catalogues of other libraries in book form and also in card form. It is receiving a copy of every catalogue card printed by the Harvard, the Boston, the New York, the John Crerar Library; and it hopes to receive in print or in manuscript cards covering significant material in other collections important to research. It will form these into a great card catalogue of American collections outside of Washington. It may thus add to its efficiency as a bureau of information by advising the inquirer, not merely what literature exists on a given subject, but where the particular book which he needs may most conveniently be found.

7. The Library is now issuing to other libraries at nominal prices extra copies of its printed catalogue cards whose purpose is to save to those libraries the expense of preparing entries for books in their own collections. These cards will supply to the recipient libraries a bibliographic statement probably more full and perhaps more accurate than they could afford if they were to compile and transcribe or print the entries independently. The saving which they will effect will enable the recipient libraries to render more ample direct service to readers and perhaps to buy more books.

The present and developing collections and facilities at Washington may increasingly bring here the special investigator. The Washington Memorial Institution, or the endowment of Mr. Carnegie, may result in making Washington a center for advanced research. To this the National Library will be a necessary and most willing adjunct. Such undertakings as I have mentioned above serve, however imperfectly, to show its duty if it is to render adequate service to the country as a whole.

V.—THE SANDEMANIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

By WILLISTON WALKER,
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THE SANDEMANIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

By Williston Walker.

On December 4, 1899, a brief paragraph in the daily press recorded the death, at Danbury, Conn., at the ripe age of 84, of Miss Lucy Ely, a descendant of Elder William Brewster, of Pilgrim fame, the daughter of a prominent citizen of Danbury, and his successor in the leadership of the Sandemanian Church of that place, which was reduced by her decease to a membership of three. So completely has the Sandemanian movement run its course on this side of the Atlantic that, though a few scattered disciples still survive,[a] they were not deemed important enough for mention by Dr. H. K. Carroll in his enumeration of the Religious Forces of the United States; and, though relatively much more numerous in Scotland and England, they were estimated in 1879 as numbering less than 2,000 adherents in the British islands,[b] and are believed to have much diminished since that time. Yet in the days when the Stamp Act

[a] The industry of the late Rev. Edward G. Porter, whose all-too-fragmentary notes have been kindly loaned me by his sister, succeeded in discovering several Sandemanian believers in as widely scattered regions as Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Iowa, but I think not more than ten or a dozen in all. Recent correspondence leads the writer to believe that these numbers fairly represent the present state of the movement in the United States.

[b] Encycl. Brit., 9th ed., X: 637. In 1851 they numbered 6 churches in Scotland and 6 in England. (See International Cyclopædia, VI: 731.) A letter from Mr. W. Baxter, of Dundee, under date of January 24, 1902, states: "There are only now 6 churches in Britain connected with that order—1 in Dundee (the parent, one might say), 1 in Glasgow, 2 in London, 1 in Edinburgh, 1 in Perth. It may be explained, however, that all the 6 are not in communion with each other, as 1 church in London and the Edinburgh and Perth and a small number (under 12) in this city (Dundee) are separate from the other 3 churches, owing to differences in their tenets and practices. The Dundee, Glasgow, and the other London churches, and a few (about a dozen) in Newcastle, continue in the same doctrine, tenets, and practices, as Mr. Glas did, and also Mr. Sandeman, his son-in-law." The eminent scientist, Michael Faraday, was an "elder" of one of the London churches, and a sermon preached by him on November 1, 1863, from John xi: 25, was printed at Danbury in 1872, in a tract entitled "A Letter by William B. Ely," etc., pp. 13-15.

was the chief topic of American political debate, the Sandemanian movement aroused heated controversy in old England and in New England alike, gave birth to a considerable literature, and enlisted the sympathies not of the ignorant only, but of a number of men and women of education and position, who viewed it as a new and helpful presentation of the gospel message and a revival of the life of the primitive churches.

The Sandemanian communion, as it is called from its chief apostle in England and America, or Glasite body, as it is designated in Scotland from the name of its real founder, had its origin in a self-denying attempt of an earnest minister of the Kirk of Scotland to apply what he believed to be the precepts of the Word of God to the religious conditions of the third decade of the eighteenth century. Rev. John Glas[a] was born on September 21, 1695, the son of the pastor of the parish of Auchtermuchty, in Fifeshire, and after graduating at the University of St. Andrews entered his father's profession, being licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Dunkeld on May 20, 1718, and ordained to a ministerial charge at Tealing, in Forfarshire, a little less than a year later—May 6, 1719. The time in which his early pastorate ran its course was one of comparative externalism and spiritual deadness in religion. Scottish Presbyterianism had escaped from its martyrdom under Charles II and James II by the great revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne. It was in peaceful possession of the land. But the national sufferings of a generation before Glas began his work had awakened a burning devotion to the national covenants as badges at once of Scottish patriotism and Scottish religion, and, though the Stuart menace was now a matter of history, the renewal of the "solemn league and covenant" was a frequent practice at communion seasons and on other ecclesiastical occasions as a means of strengthening the sense of Scottish corporate religious unity and of quickening religious zeal among the young. But as Glas studied his Bible and explained the nature of Christ's Kingdom when he expounded the catechism to his flock, he came to feel that the popular use of the

[a] A sketch of Glas and his work may be found in the Dictionary of National Biography, xxi, 417–419, from the pen of Rev. Alexander Gordon. A bibliography of his published writings, numbering 41 titles, is given in "Letters in Correspondence by Robert Sandeman, John Glas, and Their Contemporaries," etc., Dundee, 1851, pp. 23, 24. His collected works were issued at Edinburgh in four volumes in 1761–62, and reprinted at Dundee in five volumes in 1782–83.

covenants was without scriptural warrant and that a state church or governmental interference with ecclesiastical affairs had no right to be. These rather unpalatable views he preached with some success to his rural congregation at Tealing, and he speedily coupled their inculcation with the assertion that certain practices of the primitive disciples were wrongfully neglected by the church of his day. His whole aim seems to have been a sincere, earnest, and devout attempt to bring his people into greater conformity to the precepts of the Bible as those precepts seemed to his essentially literalistic mind to demand. In furtherance of a warmer and more scriptural spiritual life, he established on July 13, 1725, a society of nearly 100 members, mostly from his parish at Tealing, but with some accessions from neighboring towns and villages. These earnestly religious men and women agreed to help one another in Christian living and to observe the Lord's Supper once a month. Two years later—in 1727—Glas set forth his new principles in a solid little treatise, entitled The Testimony of the King of Martyrs Concerning His Kingdom.[a] The prime purpose of the volume was to declare the wrongfulness, in the author's estimate, of state establishments and governmental control,[b] but he intimated clearly the conception of faith which he and Sandeman were to make the chief doctrinal peculiarity of their disciples;[c] and though he did not here set forth in detail the practices of the primitive church which he held to be binding on Christian observance, he made clear his principle of literal obedience to what seemed the commands or usages of Christ and the apostles.[d]

These steps brought down upon Glas the heavy hand of ecclesiastical discipline.[e] On April 18, 1728, the Synod of Angus and Mearns suspended him from the ministry; and a month later the General Assembly confirmed the sentence. Glas by this time had renounced all belief in the rightfulness

[a] The earliest edition to which I have access is that published at Edinburgh in 1777, which is made more valuable by an interesting preface from the pen of Glas's ministerial disciple, Rev. Robert Ferrier, once of Largo. In this preface Ferrier gives a compact summary of Glas's teachings.

[b] Testimony, ed. 1777, 158–178.

[c] Ibid., 182–184.

[d] Ibid., 251–255.

[e] These facts are mostly from Rev. Alexander Gordon's article, already cited. Glas published "A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Controversy" in 1728, which I have not seen.

of a national church, and he therefore refused obedience to these mandates, with the natural result that the synod, on October 15, 1728, declared him deposed; and this drastic action was approved, in spite of some protest on the part of those who knew his pastoral zeal and high Christian character, by the commission of the General Assembly on May 12, 1730. Yet the Assembly itself seems ultimately to have come to regard its action as too severe, for in 1739 it voluntarily passed a curious vote declaring Glas's restoration to "the status of a minister of Jesus Christ, but not to that of a minister of the Kirk of Scotland," thus leaving him incapable of holding a parish, while recognizing his Christian worth.

In the year in which his sentence of deposition was thus confirmed (1730) Glas removed from Tealing to the neighboring and more important town of Dundee and was followed thither by many of his former Tealing parishioners.[a] With them he continued the society begun at Tealing, which gradually developed at Dundee into the first church of the Glasite order. Other congregations followed, at Arbroath in 1731, Edinburgh in 1732, Perth in 1733, Dunkeld in 1735, Montrose in 1736, and later at Aberdeen in 1751, Glasgow in 1762, and in some other towns of Scotland.[b] In all these churches the peculiar constitution, discipline, and worship were established which we shall have occasion, speedily, to consider in some detail. At Perth, whither Glas removed his residence in 1733, the first meeting house for the use of one of his congregations was erected,[c] and at Perth Glas lived, marked by decided scholarly ability and noted for his cheerfulness and Christian courage, yet called upon to endure much bereavement in the deaths of his wife and fifteen children till his own end came on November 2, 1773.

Here at Perth, soon after his settlement in his new home, Glas won his most noted convert and the most eminent apostle of his views, Robert Sandeman, from whose labors the movement in England and America bears the Sandemanian name.

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[a] On this, see a paper by Rev. Robert Ferrier in the "Supplementary Volume," Appendix, III–V, described in a subsequent note.

[b] These names and dates I take from the unpublished notes written by Rev. (afterwards President) Ezra Stiles of a conversation had by him with Sandeman, at Newport, R. I., in 1764. The manuscript is in the possession of Yale University. Rev. James Ross, "Hist. Cong. Independency in Scotland," Glasgow, 1900, 30, adds to these, as founded then or later, Paisley, Leith, Cupar, and Galashiels.

[c] Dict. Nat. Biog., XXI, 417.

Sandeman[a] was born in 1718, the eldest son of David Sandeman, a merchant of sufficient standing to be one of the magistrates of Perth. After a brief apprenticeship to the main Perth industry, that of weaving, the young man went to the University of Edinburgh, uncertain whether to become a minister or a physician; but before his studies were far advanced he fell under the influence of Glas, accepted that leader's views, and in 1736 became a member of the Glasite congregation at Perth. The next year Sandeman married Glas's daughter Katharine, and about the same time established himself in partnership with a brother[b] as a linen weaver on a considerable scale.

The year 1744 saw Sandeman's election as an "elder" of the Perth congregation, and he now gave up active business in order to devote himself entirely to religious work. His abilities as a preacher were considerable, and his services much promoted the Sandemanian cause at Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh.[c] It was during this ministry at Edinburgh that he wrote the most noted exposition of the cardinal theological tenet of Sandemanianism, its doctrine of faith. This treatise was his "Letters on Theron and Aspasio," published originally in 1757,[d] a work which reached a fourth British edition by 1768,[e] and commanded wide attention on both sides of the Atlantic. Its occasion was the popular "Dialogues between Theron and Aspasio,"[f] in which the excellent Calvinist and evangelical rector of Weston Favell and Collingtree, James Hervey, had defended the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ, in 1755, and had set forth the ordinary evan-

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a A brief sketch of Sandeman from the pen of D. M. [itchelson] is prefixed, with a portrait, to a volume printed at Dundee in 1857, and entitled "Discourses on Passages of Scripture, with Essays and Letters, by Robert Sandeman." Much valuable matter is contained in "Letters in Correspondence, by Robert Sandeman, John Glas, and their contemporaries; Twenty-two Discourses, by R. Sandeman; Thirty-nine Notes on Scripture Texts, by John Glas; Ten Discourses, by W. Lyons; Notes, by Gabriel Russell." This was "privately printed" in an edition of 250 copies at Dundee in 1851. It will be cited hereafter in these notes as "Letters in Correspondence." In 1865 there was published at Perth a "Supplementary Volume of Letters and other Documents, by John Glas, Robert Sandeman, and their contemporaries," in continuation of the Letters in Correspondence. This will be cited hereafter as the "Supplementary Volume."

b William Sandeman.

c The letters printed in the Supplementary Volume abundantly show this.

d At Edinburgh.

e So given on the title-page. This edition was printed at London. Other British editions were 1759 and 1762, and it was reprinted at Boston in 1765, so these editions might more properly be reckoned five. A later edition was put forth at Boston in 1838.

f At London in 3 vols. Several times reprinted.

gelical conceptions of the nature and operations of true faith and of the means which aid in its acquisition.

To Sandeman's thinking, who in this matter simply developed thoughts original with Glas, the error of Hervey and of those whom he constantly describes as the "popular preachers" of the day was not in any under-emphasis of the sufficiency of Christ's work or of the completeness of its imputation to the believer. Rather, their fault lay in not emphasizing this truth adequately. As was concisely expressed on Sandeman's tombstone, he affirmed that "the bare work of Jesus Christ, without a deed or thought on the part of man, is sufficient to present the chief of sinners spotless before God."[a] Hence to urge men to do or feel anything as an aid to faith is to substitute something for the gospel. "Every doctrine," says Sandeman, "which teaches us to do, or endeavor, anything toward our acceptance with God stands opposed to the doctine of the apostles."[b] Nor does it help the matter, according to Sandeman, to ascribe to God the impulse toward our search for Him, "for whatever I do, however assisted or prompted, is still my own work," and to depend in any way on my own work is "to look for acceptance with God by our own righteousness."[c] Such current expressions as "the terms of the gospel" are "shifts" which preachers employ to disguise the truth that "the least attempt to do in this matter is * * * damnably criminal."[d]

Holding these extreme views, Sandeman had little patience with the preaching of his time or with ministers now deservedly honored as among the leaders of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. Regarding them he expressed himself with great bitterness, because he believed them to be fatally misinterpreting the gospel. A single illustration of this hostile attitude will suffice.[e]

> If any one chooses to go to hell by a devout path, rather than by any other, let him study to form his heart on any one of these four famous treatises: Mr. Guthrie's Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ, Mr. Marshall's Gospel Mystery of Sanctification, Mr. Boston's Human Nature in its Fourfold State, and Dr. Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. If any profane person, who desires to be converted, shall take pains to

[a] Copy in F. B. Dexter's edition of "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," New York, 1901, I, 259.

[b] Letters on Theron and Aspasio, edition of 1768, I, 16.

[c] Ibid., I, 18.

[d] Ibid., II, 13, 14.

[e] Ibid., II, 234, 235.

enter into the spirit of these books it will be easy to show from the New Testament that he thereby becomes twofold more the child of hell than he was before.

Sandeman pays his respects to Wesley and Whitefield in similar fashion;[a] nor does Jonathan Edwards fare much better at his hands.[b]

The real nature of faith, which Sandeman thus holds the "popular preachers" to have misapprehended, he sets forth with great fullness:[c]

Every one who believes the same truth which the apostles believed, has equally precious faith with them. He has unfeigned faith, and shall assuredly be saved. If any man's faith be found insufficient to save him, it is owing to this, that what he believed for truth was not the very same thing that the apostles believed, but some lie connected with or dressed up in the form of truth. So this faith can do him no good; because however seriously and sincerely he believes, yet that which he believes is false, and therefore it cannot save him.

Yet this belief in the truth is in no sense, save in its results, different from our intellectual assent to any other fact reported to us by testimony:[d]

The apostles used the word "faith" or "belief" in the same sense we do to this day in common discourse. We are properly said to believe what any man says, when we are persuaded that what he says is true. There is no difference betwixt our believing any common testimony and our believing that of the gospel, but what arises from the very nature of the testimony. For thus the apostle John states the matter, (1 John, v. 9): "If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater;" so must produce greater certainty or firmness of persuasion.

This reduction of saving faith to a bare intellectual conviction of the exact truth of the gospel message—yet a conviction wrought by God and transforming human lives—was evidently derived, however unconsciously, from Glas and Sandeman's desire to exclude all possible tinge of human merit from salvation. It forms the staple of Sandeman's discourses. Thus, preaching at Newport, R. I., on December 1, 1764, his keen-minded hearer Ezra Stiles reports his sermons:[e]

Which bro't him to the nature of his faith, on w^e^ he was very brief—& to this purpose, that the Iniquities of us all being laid upon Christ, he suffered for them & finished all suff'g for them on the Cross when he said *it*

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[a] Letters on Theron and Aspasio, edition of 1768, I, 145; II, 350.
[b] Ibid., II, 349, 350, i. e., the Appendix to the second edition.
[c] Ibib., II, 38, 39.
[d] Ibid., II, 36.
[e] From the account by President Stiles in the Stiles manuscripts belonging to Yale University.

is finished & gave up the Ghost; and whosoever saw & *believed this Truth that Christ finished a perfect Righteousness on the Cross,* if this proposition *stands true in thy Mind* (as he phrases it) thou shalt be saved; this and nothing but this perception is true Faith.

But says he, perhaps some poor distressed Soul will say, can you give us no directions for obtaining this Light of Christ and this Faith?—to which he gravely answered, no. No, says he, there are not Directions—the simple Truth is presented to you, if you see it and believe it, it is well—if not, you must perish. But you will be ready to say, is this all? Is this all?—yes, this is all—behold ye Dispisers & wonder & perish, for behold I work a work in your day, &c.

Aside from this tenet of the nature of saving faith, neither Glas nor Sandeman had any serious quarrel with then current evangelical doctrinal conceptions, but this was sufficient, combined as it was with a vigorous assault on "popular preachers" and valued writers of devotional and theological treatises, such as Watts, Wesley, Whitefield, Doddridge, Boston and Hervey, to draw forth abundant reply. Hervey, indeed, was in feeble health when Sandeman criticised his Theron and Aspasio and ventured on no published rejoinder, though he seems to have written a few "Reflections" for circulation among his friends shortly before his death.[a] John Wesley answered promptly in a brief and peppery tract in which he affirmed that Sandeman's theory was "stark, staring nonsense," because it implied to Wesley's thinking, as its only logical conclusion, that "every devil in hell will be justified and saved."[b] Several anonymous disputants soon joined the chorus of dissent.[c] On the other hand, a Congregational minister in London, Samuel Pike, was induced by a reading of the "Letters" to begin a correspondence with Sandeman in 1758, that got into print in 1759, and led Pike six years later into membership, and soon after into an "eldership," in the Sandemanian communion.[d] This was but the beginning of the battle. The year 1760 saw the publication of a sturdy volume in opposition to Sandeman by Rev. William Cudworth, a Non-

[a] See Sandeman, Letters, ed. 1768, II: 308, Hervey died December 25, 1758.

[b] "A Sufficient Answer to Letters to the Author of Theron and Aspasio, in a Letter to the Author." 1757. See Tyerman, "Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley," New York, 1872, II: 293.

[c] (1) Animadversions on the Letters on Theron and Aspasio; and (2) A Plain Account of faith in Jesus Christ. On these, see Sandeman, Letters, ed. 1768, II: 351.

[d] "An Epistolary Correspondence between S. [amuel] P. [ike] and R. [obert] S. [andeman] relating to the Letters on Theron and Aspasio," London, 1759. Pike gradually adopted Sandeman's views and usages; and, his church having become divided, he resigned its pastorate on December 14, 1765, became a Sandemanian "elder" in 1766, and continued in that office till his death in January, 1773.

conformist of London,[a] who, not content with this onslaught, followed it with a pamphlet in the succeeding year.[b] That year was also marked by replies to Sandeman from the pens of Rev. Colin Mackie of Montrose,[c] and of two anonymous critics, one of whom was, or took the guise of, "an old woman."[d] This real or pretended feminine antagonist charged Sandeman with[e]—

> omission of the great work of regeneration, as previous to any act of faith in us for salvation; deficiency in definition of justifying faith; dividing the scripture doctrine of faith, in its direct and reflex acts; * * * denying the influence of gospel grace on the heart unto gospel holiness; * * * false accusation of all those that assert the necessity of direct acts of faith in order to justification, as making faith our justifying righteousness,

and with several other similar errors. Of this attack Sandeman remarked that it was "scarce inferior to any of the answers I have got from the men, young or old."[f] This was speedily followed by a two-volume refutation of Sandeman's views by David Wilson;[g] while with the transfer of the scene of Sandeman's labors to America, trans-Atlantic critics of ability like Rev. Charles Chauncy,[h] the distinguished pastor of the First Church in Boston, and Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon,[i] of Portsmouth, N. H., later to be president of Harvard, sought elaborately to counteract what they deemed his pernicious influence. Besides these eminent New England Congregationalists, the able Baptist historian, Rev. Isaac Backus, fired his shaft at Sandeman in 1767;[j] and, though Sandeman died in 1771, so alive was his conception of faith nearly forty years later that Backus's famous English fellow-believer, Rev. Dr. Andrew Fuller, put forth a further refutation in 1810.[k]

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a "A Defense of Theron and Aspasio," etc., London, 1760.

b "The Polyglot, or Hope of Eternal Life, according to the Various Sentiments of the present Day," London, 1761.

c "The true Comer; being the substance of a sermon preached in July and August last, upon John VI. 45: To which is annexed, A Detection of the spurious faith in the Letter on Theron and Aspasio," etc., Dundee, 1761.

d "A Letter from a Friend in the Country to a Friend in Town," London, 1761. The other tract was "An Inquiry into the Spirit and Tendency of the Letters on Theron and Aspasio," Edinburgh, 1761.

e Quoted by Sandeman, Letters, ed. 1768, 359, 360.

f Ibid., 359.

g "Palaemon's Creed Reviewed and Examined," etc., London, 1761; Edinburgh, 1762.

h "Twelve Sermons," etc., Boston, 1765.

i "An Impartial Examination of Mr. Robert Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasio," Boston, 1765–1769.

j "True Faith will produce Good Works," etc., Boston, 1767.

k "Strictures on Sandemanianism in Twelve Letters to a Friend." In Works, ed. Boston, 1833, I, 553–619.

To all the early part of this mass of condemnatory attack Glas and Sandeman opposed a confident and vigorous defense, issuing Glas's collected Works[a] and repeated editions of Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasio, to which the author added appendices answering the principal charges of his opponents with ability. And besides these more public expositions of his faith, Sandeman wrote many private letters to inquirers and preached much. One such correspondence with a Congregational lay preacher at London, John Barnard, begun a year later than his exchange of letters with Rev. Samuel Pike, of the same city, and aided by a personal interview between Barnard and Glas, resulted in a visit of a Scotch delegation to London, with Sandeman at its head, in April, 1761, and the establishment of a Sandemanian church there that still exists.[b] At about the same time a similar correspondence was begun which led to the formation of a Sandemanian church in Nottingham, in April, 1768.[c] Other churches of this order were formed, or small congregations gathered, between 1761 and 1769, at Liverpool, Colne, Whitehaven, Newcastle, Gayle, Newby, Kirby-Stevin, Kirby-Lonsdale, and in Norfolk,[d] and also at Swansea, in Wales, besides little unorganized groups of believers in Salisbury, Trowbridge, and Weathersfield.[e] In Ireland a church was in existence at Dublin by 1768, though, as it was reputed Arian, it was not in good odor with the other churches of the Sandemanian faith.[f]

Yet most of these churches were very small,[g] and Sandeman himself was compelled to tell Rev. Ezra Stiles at Newport, in 1764, that his communion numbered "only Eighteen Chhs in the World, nine in Scotland and nine in England. * * * Perhaps 600 [members] in Scotland and 200 in England."[h] This was certainly a scanty growth for a movement which had aroused wide controversy and was then more than thirty years old. There is much reason to suppose that Sandeman's view of faith had won much wider acceptance than the bounds of

[a] Edinburgh, 1761–62.

[b] Much of this correspondence is given in the "Supplementary Volume."

[c] Supplementary Volume, 65.

[d] At Banham, ibid., 64, but generally spoken of as "the church in Norfolk."

[e] These facts are gathered from various letters in the "Letters in Correspondence" and "Supplementary Volume."

[f] Supplementary Volume, 67.

[g] The Supplementary Volume shows that in 1768–69, while London counted 149 members, Colne and Norfolk had 37 each, Nottingham and Liverpool 18 each; that at Newcastle was very "low."

[h] Stiles MSS., in possession of Yale University.

his fellowship. The Scottish Baptists were far from being Glasites, yet Andrew Fuller found them much influenced by the Glasite theory of the way of salvation, and a number of instances can be cited of men in America who thought well of Sandeman's conception of faith, but never were willing to join the Sandemanian communion.[a] One prime reason was, as Sandeman himself declared of his churches: "We admit none to communion with us but those who, professing the same faith, at the same time profess subjection to our discipline."[b] That discipline involved a strenuous and literalistic attempt to reproduce the usages of primitive Christianity, and a peculiar form of public worship—the two constituting as characteristic features of Sandemanianism as its doctrine regarding faith.

A brief memorandum, written apparently by Rev. Robert Ferrier, who served as "elder" in the churches of Dundee and Edinburgh, shows that the conformity of their usages and worship to the supposed requirements of the New Testament was a process of gradual growth, due to increasing study of the Scriptures by the early Glasites of Tealing and Dundee, and not to the influence of Glas alone.[c] But before the Glasite separation was a decade old these peculiarities had been fully developed. The best and most authoritative account of them is that from the pen of Samuel Pike, "elder" of the London church. It seems to have been regarded ever since as an adequate statement of their usages by the Sandemanian body.[d] Their fundamental principles are thus stated:[e]

1. We think ourselves obliged to regard all the words of Christ and his Apostles in their plain, obvious, and original Meaning; looking upon every Precept in the New Testament (except such as may relate to what is properly miraculous) to be binding upon us now, as much as upon the first Churches.[f]

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[a] A letter of Rev. Chauncy Whittelsey to Ezra Stiles, of March 9, 1765, in possession of Yale University, shows this.

[b] Supplementary Volume, 47.

[c] Ibid., Appendix, iii–v.

[d] On its authorship, see a letter of John Barnard of June 28, 1766, "Supplementary Volume," 64. The copy from which quotations are here made is entitled "A Plain and Full Account of the Christian Practices observed by the Church in St. Martin's-le-grand, London, and other Churches (commonly called Sandemanian) in Fellowship with them, in a Letter to a Friend," Boston, 1766, pp. 28. This treatise was reprinted as recently as 1879, or 1880, as "An Account of the Christian Practices observed by the Church in Barnsbury Grove, Barnsbury, London (formerly in Paul's Alley, Red Cross street), and other Churches in Fellowship with them, in a Letter to a Friend."

[e] Ibid., 4.

[f] "We dare not esteem any of the Precepts or Duties of the Gospel *trivial* or *punctilious*. * * * Knowing that Man fell at first and ruined all his Posterity, by the Breach, not of a moral, but of a positive Precept; even such an one as our Reason would be apt to judge punctilious, trivial and circumstantial." Ibid., 4.

2. We think ourselves bound to follow the Practices of the primitive Disciples and Churches as far as we can learn from the New Testament how they walked, while the Apostles were with them, beholding their Order and Steadfastness in the Faith.

3. We think ourselves also bound carefully to avoid all the Things for which they were reproved, by Our Lord or His Apostles.

In their organization the Sandemanian churches were Congregational, and each was to be presided over by not less than two "elders," since they deemed a "plurality of elders" a Scripture requirement.[a] An "elder" must have the "scriptural qualifications" laid down in the First Epistle to Timothy, and no man who has married a second time can fill the office, though that prohibition was not believed to extend to the ordinary membership. But "human learning" is not part of the necessary equipment of an "elder," since the Scriptures do not demand it. On the contrary, the Scriptures encourage "elders" to engage "in trade and merchandise, or any lawful employment in life." "Elders" were to be chosen to office by the membership of the church they served, and ordained by other "elders" by laying on of hands and the "right hand of fellowship."[b] The Sandemanians rejected a paid ministry.[c] With the "elders" were associated deacons, who were chosen and ordained in very similar fashion, though without the "right hand of fellowship."[d]

The membership was received on profession of faith and examination by the entire church, and was welcomed with "imposition of hands" and the "holy kiss."[e] Members were cut off by excommunication by vote of the whole church, and, though to be restored once on repentance, could not be received again after a second excommunication.[f]

All church action must be unanimous;[g] and, that this unanimity be real, each member was summoned by name to give his opinion. If unanimity did not appear, "the reasons of the dissent are thereupon proposed and considered. If they

[a] "We therefore think it necessary that there should be two elders, at least, present in every act of discipline, and at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Ibid., 15.

[b] These facts are gleaned from Ibid., pp. 15–17.

[c] Such was the aversion of Hon. Daniel Humphreys, a Yale graduate of 1757, who became United States district attorney for New Hampshire, to a paid ministry that he would not stay in court while such a minister offered prayer. Dexter, "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College," II, 472.

[d] A Plain and Full Account, etc., p. 17.

[e] Ibid., 18.

[f] Ibid., 18–21. "If this person should incur the censure of the church after this second reception and be cast out, we dare not receive him again."

[g] Ibid., 22, 23.

are scriptural, the whole church has cause to change its opinion; if not, and the person persists in his opposition to the Word of God, the church is bound to reject him."[a] This drastic method of securing united action by the excommunication of dissenters was a constant drain on the Sandemanian churches,[b] and led more than any other single cause to their rapid decline.

The religious services of the Sandemanians attempted, in a similar spirit, to reproduce their conception of the worship of the primitive disciples. Prayer they emphasized by calling on many to lead the congregation in supplication.[c]

> It being the unquestionable Duty of a Church to continue instant in Prayer, not only the Elders or Pastors of the Church are ingaged in this Duty; but likewise the Brethren are called upon by Name, three or four, and sometimes more, to ingage in it. * * * At the conclusion of every Prayer, whether pronounced by the Elders or the Brethren, the whole Church say Amen.

In singing they made "use of the Psalms of David in a metrical translation that is nearest to the original;"[d] yet they did not confine themselves to these versified portions of Holy Writ, but at certain services sang from a collection of hymns of their own—the "Christian Songs."

The reading of the Scriptures occupied a large place in their worship, "no less than four or five Chapters being read in the Morning Service and as many in the Afternoon; so conducted, that in a Course of Time, no part of the sacred Word is omitted."[e] Every Sunday afternoon, as a part of the service, a collection was taken, the Lord's Supper administered, "in the most simple Form, according to the Scripture,"[f]

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a A Plain and Full Account, etc., 23.

b E. g., John Barnard wrote to Robert Sandeman, January 14, 1769, "The church in London has put away nine in about five months, and received but one." Barnard himself was "put away" in 1771. See Supplementary Volume, 67, 107.

c A Plain and Full Account, etc., 6, 7.

d Ibid., 7. James Cargill, a Glasite "elder" who accompanied Sandeman to America, told Ezra Stiles at Newport that they preferred the Scotch psalms, but at the "Love Feast" they sang "a hymn of their own composition." (Papers in Yale University.) A Sandemanian hymn book was early published. The only edition I have been able to see is the twelfth—"Christian Songs," Dundee, 1841. Some of these hymns in their earliest form, by Sandeman and others, are printed in the often cited Supplementary Volume, Appendix xlvi–l.

e A Plain and Full Account, 7. Cargill told Stiles, "There are read three Chapters out of the Law and three Chapters out of the Prophets:—by Law they mean only the Penteteuch, all the rest of the Old Test. beginning with Joshua is Prophets."

f Ibid., 10.

and the "Christian Duty" of "Exhortation" fulfilled—"the Brethren [being] called upon to exhort one another; or to propose a Question for Edification, on some Portion of Scripture."[a]

Between the morning and the afternoon services the weekly "Love Feast" was held, in which every member was expected to share unless prevented by reasons of very special force, and these common meals were held in turn at the "Houses of such of the Brethren who live sufficiently near"[b] to the church, or where the congregation was large it was divided into convenient groups and met in several houses at the same hour.

Preaching or expounding, the sermon being "about an hour" in length, was also a feature of the services both of the morning and the afternoon.[c] And beside this prolonged worship on Sunday, the church met "on Tuesday and Friday evenings at six o'clock"[d] for a briefer service.

It is evident, from what has been said, that a Sandemanian Sunday must have been a very busy day when the church was in a flourishing state. Not less than six hours, or if the love feast be reckoned, not less than eight hours, were devoted to public worship. A less confused conception of the order of a Sandemanian service than that which has probably been left on the mind of the reader from the consideration just concluded may be gained from an outline drawn up by Ezra Stiles after a talk at Newport, in 1764, with James Cargill, one of Sandeman's most trusted companions, which pictures the Sandemanian public worship with substantial accuracy.[e]

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[a] A Plain and Full Account, etc., 10.

[b] Ibid., 7. Cargill told Stiles: "The Intermission is spent in the Love Feasts; for which End they divide into as many Companies as convenient (a Chh of 60, for Instance, into 4 parts) for each of which a house & Dinner is ready—for the Chh of Edenburgh about four houses provide every Sabbath, 4 others the next Sabbath, & so on in Succession thro' all the families except poor & Servants &c. for whose Turns the Chh Stock makes provision. At Dinner they converse on divine Subjects & sing a Hymn of their own Composition."

[c] Ibid., 7. The length is given in Cargill's conversation with Stiles.

[d] Ibid., 11. At Danbury the weekly meeting was on Thursday.

[e] From the conversation already often cited, the notes of which are preserved in the Stiles manuscripts in the possession of Yale University.

FORENOON.

Lordsday. IX h Begin with Singing.
An Elder prays the Lord's Prayer.
Sing. Then the Elders call up 4 Brothers in succession.
First Brother prays.
Sing.
Second Brother prays.
Sing.
Third Brother prays.
Sing.
Fourth Brother prays.
Sing. The doors thrown open [to the general public].
X h An Elder asks a Blessing on the Word read.
Three Chapters of the Law read.
Three Chapters of the Prophets read.
Singing.
XI h An Elder prays for a Blessing on the Word preached.
An Elder preaches about an hour,
And makes a short prayer.
Sing.
Noon XII Assemby dismissed with a Blessing.
Intermission spent in the Love Feasts, closed with a Hymn of their own composition.

AFTERNOON.

II h Begin with Singing. Open Doors.
The Lord's Prayer.
Sing.
An Elder asks a Blessing on the reading of the Scriptures.
Three Chapters read out of the New Testament.
Singing, I think.
III h An Elder asks a Blessing on preaching the Word.
A Sermon about an hour.
The Assembly dismissed: and Chh stay & Doors shut.
IV h Fellowship or Contribution of the Saints.
An Elder blesses and consecrates the Sacramental Elements.
The Elements carried about by the Deacons. Participation.
After Sacrament they sing.
An Elder asks a Blessing on the Word of Exhortation.
Every Male Member rises and gives a short Word of Exhortation. And this they call the Nursery of their Ministers, as here are exhibited each ones Abilities and Aptness to teach.
An Elder dismisses the Chh with the Blessing.

Aiming thus at an extremely literal conformity to all the usages and hints of usages of the early church, they were marked by some peculiarities that provoked the ridicule of those who were without. Such a custom was that of the "holy kiss," which was observed as a "divinely appointed Mean for promoting that mutual Love which is essential to true Christianity." It was used "not only at the Love Feast (when each Member salutes the Person that sits next him on each side) but at the admission of a Member, and at other times occasionally."[a] A custom similarly open to criticism, as practiced in the conditions of modern society, was that of "washing one another's Feet;"[b] but there can be no doubt that this usage, like that of the kiss, was adopted from a most simple-minded desire to follow what they deemed the divinely appointed model of the Apostolic Church. Of course the eating of "Blood & Things strangled" was likewise prohibited;[c] but a more unusual feature of this discipline was their firm belief that it is "unlawful to *lay up Treasures on Earth*, by setting them apart for any distant, future, uncertain use. But think it incumbent . . . to lay up Treasure in Heaven, by *giving Alms*. . . . A Reluctance to this, we esteem one plain Effect and Evidence of *Coretousness*."[d] This was a prohibition of saving foreign alike to the Scotch and the New England temper, and it led to more church discipline among the early Sandemanians than any other article of their creed.[e] A strict interpretation of the Scriptural injunctions to obedience to rulers[f] led them to emphasize loyalty to the King in a way that not only made Tories of most early American Sandemanians, but exposed them to the hostility of those who did not regard submission to the British monarch as so binding a duty.

And it must be said, also, that undoubtedly sincere as the Sandemanians were in their zeal for a literal conformity to the teachings of Scripture, they carried with it a conscientious

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[a] A Plain and Full Account, etc., 9. Though the Account speaks of this custom as "divinely appointed," Sandeman told Stiles that they "did not observe these customs [kiss and foot-washing] as divine institutions, but rather as exemplary institutions of the primitive Christians."

[b] Ibid., 12.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid., 13.

[e] This is expressly asserted by James Morrison in the preface to the "Supplementary Volume," p. iv. A curious illustration may be seen in Sandeman's letter of warning and exhortation to his own father, Ibid., Appendix, XV.

[f] A Plain and Full Account, etc., 13.

and separatist spirit of exclusiveness that forbade them to have any Christian fellowship with those who did not think exactly as they did. Confident that they alone possessed the truth and were fully followers of Christ, they refused all communion with any outside their fold. Their charity in almsgiving was great. They would not allow even the poorest of the flock to become public charges if they could help it by gifts. But charity toward differing views they repudiated. As Sandeman remarked:[a]

> Modern charity, however benevolent it may seem, bears the same aspect towards the real interest of mankind, as the insinuating address of that spirit, who first taught, and still continues to teach mankind, to disregard the words of their Creator with hopes of impunity. * * * What avails it what set of principles we choose to stamp as properly our own, while we join in the friendly alliance of charity with determined promoters of impiety and inhumanity?

Samuel Pike, in setting forth the principles of the Sandemanian body, said:[b]

> We are obliged to separate from the Communion and Worship of all such religious Societies, as appear to us to be not professing the simple Truth for their only Ground of Hope, or not walking in Obedience to it.

And this spirit of exclusiveness was characteristic of the whole Sandemanian communion.

The Glasite and Sandemanian movement had taken on all its characteristic features, and the larger part of its literature had been published before Sandeman came to America. That missionary journey was induced by hopes of planting Sandemanian churches in New England, which correspondence with New England readers of the Letters on Theron and Aspasio had aroused.[c] Chief among these correspondents was Rev. Ebenezer White, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1733, who had been pastor of the church in Danbury, Conn., since March 10, 1736.[d] As far as New England had been affected by Sande-

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a Letters on Theron and Aspasio, ed. 1765, II: 298.

b A Plain and Full Account, etc., 26.

c Stiles says in a manuscript of 1764, preserved in the Library of Yale University: "These letters in 2 volumes 12° came to New England, 1760, brought hither upon the recommendation of Rev. Mr. Cumming, of Boston. They had an effect on Rev. Mr. White, of Danbury, in Connecticut, who, 1763, wrote Mr. Sandeman upon them."

Rev. Alexander Cumming, 1726-1763, from February 25, 1761, to his death was colleague pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

d See F. B. Dexter, "Biog. Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College," I:499-502; and J. L. Hough, "The First Cong. Church in Danbury," Danbury, 1876, p. 5. Two undated letters to Sandeman, the first signed by Rev. David Judson, pastor of the church in Newtown, Conn., from 1743 to 1776, and the second signed by Rev. Ebenezer White and his sons, Joseph Moss White and Ebenezer Russell White, are printed in the "Letters in Cor-

man's teachings, it had been his doctrine of faith rather than his ecclesiastical practices that had won assent. This had been true of White, who seems to have adopted Sandeman's theory of the way of salvation as early as 1762, and who certainly had suffered for his views before Sandeman's coming. More than a year before Sandeman sailed from Scotland a council of the local Congregational Consociation, met at Danbury on August 1, 1763,[a] had put White on probation as a man chargeable with heresy. On January 3, 1764, a joint council composed of both the consociations of Fairfield County had assembled and found White guilty of unsound doctrine; and in March following a second meeting of this joint council had declared White dismissed from his pastorate. That decision the pastor and a majority of his flock refused to accept, and White, with a fraction of this sympathetic majority, then formed the "New Danbury Church." Nor was White the only minister influenced by Sandeman's views. His clerical neighbor, Rev. James Taylor, of New Fairfield, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1754, was suspected of a sympathy with Sandemanianism so positive that it led to an ecclesiastical trial in May, 1763, and his silencing by the Fairfield East Consociation.[b] Another neighbor, Rev. David Judson, of Newtown, like White and Taylor, a son of Yale, had written to Sandeman a guarded letter early in 1763,[c] and the Whites, in their correspondence, had claimed four other ministers of the vicinage, apparently with less justice, as full sympathizers.[d] Sande-

respondence," pp. 71–74. Internal evidence agrees with Stiles's statement, above quoted, that this correspondence was early in 1763. They speak of having read the Letters on Theron and Aspasio "about two years since." Judson refers to White as "under difficulties and trials on account of his religious sentiments." The Whites express their satisfaction with Sandeman's "sentiments of religion," and ask for further books of which they have heard to the value of "£20 or £30."

[a] Dexter and Hough, as cited.

[b] Dexter, Biographical Sketches, II: 350.

[c] Already mentioned in these notes. It is in the Letters in Correspondence, pp. 71, 72. For his biography see Dexter, Biographical Sketches, I: 602, 603. He was of the class of 1738.

[d] The Whites, Letters in Correspondence, 73, say: "But we are not the only persons who rejoice in the light which has been communicated in these letters [on Theron and Aspasio]; for there are some few others, viz, Messrs. Judson, Beeba, Whetmore, Taylor, Brooks, and Gregory, pastors of the churches in Newton, Stratford, Newfairfield, Newberry, and Philippi, that live near us, who have expressed themselves as much edified by them as ourselves." Besides Judson and Taylor, already spoken of, those here mentioned were Rev. James Beebe, Yale, 1745, of what is now Trumbull; Rev. Izrahiah Wetmore, Yale, 1748, of Stratford; Rev. Thomas Brooks, Yale, 1755, of what is now Brookfield, and Rev. Elnathan Gregory, Princeton, 1757, of the parish then known as Philippi, but now South East, Putnam Co., N. Y. Notices of Beebe, Wetmore, and Brooks may be found in Dexter, Biographical Sketches, II: 20, 194, 366. All these remained in office, though Wetmore was thought "for a while" to be too much of Sandeman's way of thinking. See letter of Rev. Nathan Birdseye, in Dexter, Ibid., II: 194.

man might well count on a friendly reception in New England, though it does not appear that a formal invitation was sent to him to cross the Atlantic.[a]

Moved thus by the sympathy with which his views had already been received, Sandeman sailed from Glasgow on the "new ship George," August 10, 1764, accompanied by James Cargill, "elder" of the church at Dunkeld, and landed at Boston on the 18th of October following.[b] After a week's stay in Boston[c] he went to Portsmouth, N. H., where he had encouragement; but by November 10 Sandeman and Cargill were back in Boston determined to go to Danbury. On November 19 they reached Providence, R. I., where Andrew Olifant, a Scottish Glasite, then resident in that place, joined them.[d] On the 28th they reached Newport. There Sandeman preached in the hearing of Rev. Ezra Stiles,[e] then a pastor at Newport, and afterwards president of Yale; and Stiles improved the opportunity to learn what he could of the views and methods of these Sandemanian apostles. At Newport they embarked on December 6, intending to go to Norwalk by water, as the quickest route to Danbury, but head winds forced the vessel into Stonington Harbor, and Sandeman embraced the opportunity to preach at Groton. About December 20 they were in Norwalk at last, and thence reached Danbury probably four days before Christmas. Here they "met a kind reception from Mr. White and his friends," and "tarried near two months."[f]

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[a] Rev. Alexander Gordon, Dict. National Biog., L:256, following D. Mitchelson's statement in his Biographical Sketch of Sandeman, p. xi, says that Sandeman came by invitation; but Sandeman told Stiles that he was not invited, and a letter of John Glas to Sandeman, dated May 16, 1763, says: "I can not help thinking your motion toward New England is from the Lord calling you by what they wrote and by inclining your heart toward the writers." Letters in Correspondence, p. 75. The reference seems unquestionably to the letters of Judson and the Whites, already cited; but those letters, though warmly appreciative, contain no invitation.

[b] The ship and date of sailing is given in a letter of Thomas Sandeman, Letters in Correspondence, p. 80. The date of landing I take from an admirable paper by Mr. Henry H. Edes on the "Places of Worship of the Sandemanians in Boston," published in the "Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions," VI:109–130.

[c] This and the following dates and itinerary are from Stiles's manuscript.

[d] Ibid., Stiles reports that Olifant had come to New England about 1740. Before making his home in Providence he had lived at Dedham.

[e] Sandeman was 46 years old. Stiles, ibid., thus describes his appearance: "He is of middling Stature, dark Complexion, a good Eye, uses accurate Language, but not eloquent in utterance, has not a melodious voice, his expressions governed by Sentiment, his Dialect Scotch, not graceful in his Air and Address, yet has something which deforces attention, and this is chiefly by the Sentiments he infuses or excites in his Auditory,—generally grave and decent, and not a noisy speaker."

[f] Stiles's manuscript. In a letter of Jan. 20, 1765, they speak of having then been in Danbury "thirty days."—Letters in Correspondence, p. 78.

But though Rev. Ebenezer White sympathized with Sandeman's view of faith, he did not approve of his church discipline,[a] and therefore, though Sandeman sowed seed in Danbury which was not long after to ripen into a harvest, no Sandemanian church sprang up there at once, as the Scotch missionary may have well expected. But Connecticut was considerably stirred. A letter from Rev. James Dana, of Wallingford, Conn., to Ezra Stiles, written January 18, 1765, gives a glimpse:[b]

> We don't much expect a visit from him [Sandeman] in this county. Mr. Clapp[c] suspends his judgment of him. Mr. Bird[d] anti-preaches him, Mr. Williston[e] appears to be in his scheme as far as y^e^ times will permit. Mr. Woodhull[f] resents what you wrote of him [Sandeman] to broth^r^ Chauncey Whittelsey.[g]

By the following summer, President Clap had so far made up his mind as to force not only the Richard Woodhull mentioned in this letter, but Rev. Ebenezer White's son, Ebenezer Russell White,[h] from their tutorships at Yale College on account of their sympathy with Sandeman's opinions.

Not being immediately successful, Sandeman left Danbury about the middle of February, 1765,[i] and on the 19th or 20th was in New York. Thence he pushed on to Philadelphia, but found the prospect there discouraging, and on March 13th or 14th was in New London, Conn., where he spent a fortnight. The first week in April, 1765, saw him in Providence, and from thence he journied to Portsmouth, reaching there on April 20. At Portsmouth, on May 4, 1765,[j] the first Sandemanian church in America was formed, and though the body

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[a] Sandeman, Cargill, and Olifant declared their regret that though "the Scripture doctrine of justification by grace through faith" was held at Danbury, yet it "was not attended with the proper fruits," nor by "Christian separation to observe Christ's command of brotherly love, and the rest of the ordinances practised by the first churches." See their letter of Jan. 20, 1765, to their Danbury friends, in D. Mitchelson, Discourses, xii, xiii. See also Letters in Correspondence, 97–99.

[b] In possession of Yale University.

[c] Thomas Clap, President of Yale, 1739–1766.

[d] Rev. Samuel Bird, of the "White Haven," now "United" Church in New Haven.

[e] Rev. Noah Williston, Yale, 1757, pastor at West Haven. See Dexter, Biog. Sketches, etc., II: 502–504.

[f] Richard Woodhull, Yale, 1752. He lived a Sandemanian, at New Haven, till his death, Dec. 7, 1797. See Dexter, ibid., II: 301, 302.

[g] Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, pastor of the First Church, New Haven.

[h] Yale, 1760. See Dexter, ibid., II: 679, 680. Of him there will be further occasion to speak.

[i] These dates are from Stiles's manuscript.

[j] D. Mitchelson, Discourses, xiii, Letters in Correspondence, 99.

was small,[a] the presence in it of one or two men of means and position, like Nathaniel Barrell, a merchant and member of the Governor's council,[b] enabled it speedily to erect a meeting-house, which was first occupied on July 28, 1765.[c]

From Portsmouth, where he spent but a few weeks, Sandeman went to Boston, being in that town by May 30, 1765.[d] This visit seems to have resulted in the immediate formation of a church in Boston, which met at first in the house of Edward Foster, but by 1769,[e] if not earlier, had a meeting-house of its own. Its membership, though never large, speedily included a number of "persons of high social and political standing."[f]

It would seem to have been at an uncertain date, not far from the time of the formation of the Boston church, that Rev. Ebenezer White's son, Joseph Moss White,[g] gathered from his father's separatist congregation at Danbury a small society, fully Sandemanian in practice as well as in doctrine, that constituted the beginning of the organized Sandemanian church at Danbury.

The successful inauguration of this congregation in the town where Sandeman had most anticipated a following and in a region where his earliest and most numerous American sympathizers dwelt seems to have decided him to make it his residence. In May, 1766, he was still in eastern New England engaged in preaching at Portsmouth;[h] but by September following he

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[a] Writing to Ezra Stiles, Sept. 7, 1766, Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon said: "I am informed that 16 Communicants now make up this Chh. They all discover a very malevolent Spirit, and high Enthusiasm very much like that of the hottest New Lights, however frigid Sandeman's notions may seem to his readers." Dexter, The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, New York, 1901, II: 171. D. Mitchelson, Discourses, xiii, says: "Exactly a year after its erection it numbered eighteen men and nine women." The list on which this statement is based may be found in Letters in Correspondence, p. 99.

[b] Born 1732, died at York, Me., April 4, 1831. He was a recruiting officer under Governor Shirley, and in 1760 visited England and was presented at court. He became a deacon of the Portsmouth Sandemanian church in 1766, but on the outbreak of the Revolution he retired to a farm in York, Me. He represented York in the Massachusetts legislature. His brother, Colburn Barrell, was an elder of the Portsmouth church, and afterwards prominent in that at Boston.

[c] Stiles's manuscript: "the new Edifice lately erected in Divinity Street."

[d] Ibid.

[e] Henry H. Edes, in paper cited above, pp. 114, 117, 120.

[f] Henry H. Edes, ibid., 114. Mr. Edes gives a list of persons prominent in this church and many interesting biographical details.

[g] Yale, 1760. He was licensed to preach by the Fairfield East Association, on Oct. 28, 1761. He was the first of the White family to become a Sandemanian in practice. He lived all his life at Danbury, and died July 10, 1822. See Dexter, Biographical Sketches, II: 681.

[h] Letter in Correspondence, 99.

was once more in Connecticut;[a] and though we find him again at Portsmouth in November, 1766, it seems probable that he was established in Danbury soon after, and thenceforth made that place his headquarters.[b] Here he lived, for a time at least, in the house of "Asa Church, a blacksmith."[c] But his strong sense of the obligation of loyalty to the British Crown rendered him unpopular in the days of political ferment in which his New England mission fell. Much hostile feeling was shown toward him, and his missionary labors met with many hindrances.[d] In the midst of these difficulties he died, on April 2, 1771, in the house of a disciple, Theophilus Chamberlain,[e] at Danbury, at the comparatively early age of 53.

Yet, in spite of Sandeman's early death, the movement which he had inaugurated continued to spread slowly in New England. By 1771 (largely, we may conjecture, through Olifant's influence) there was a small church at Providence, R. I.[f] The next year a portion, at least, of the Danbury

[a] Rev. Samuel Langdon, letter of September 17, 1766, to Ezra Stiles, in Dexter, "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," II, 171, says, "about thirty persons are his constant Hearers, including the Chh. His Hearers, I said, but as he himself is now in Connecticut," etc.

[b] An unpublished letter of Rev. Samuel Langdon, among the Stiles papers in Yale University, dated November 18, 1766, says that on November 8, previous, Sandeman had returned to Portsmouth to attempt to heal a dispute in the church there.

[c] Letter of Robert Sandeman to his brother William, of March 27, 1770, in Letters in Correspondence, 102. Other letters show that he was in Danbury on January 7, and December 2, 1769; in New Haven on December 27, 1769; and again in Danbury on January 5 and January 27, 1770. Ibid., 104–113.

[d] A letter of Robert Sandeman to his brother William, dated "Danbury, March 27, 1770", and printed in Letters in Correspondence, 102–104, gives an account of an attempt to drive him away by legal prosecution. On February 28 his host, Asa Church, was fined £40 "for keeping Bob and me a fortnight in his house." Church appealed to the county court, to meet at Fairfield April 18. The "Bob" referred to was Sandeman's nephew and namesake, Robert, son of his brother William, and now a boy of 14. Pending the hearing of Church's appeal by the county court, Sandeman and his ardent disciple, Theophilus Chamberlain, of whom more will be said, were brought before Thomas Benedict, long an honored justice of the peace and probate judge at Danbury, charged "as liable to pay £40 each, because being strangers and transient persons, we had remained in town four weeks after being warned to depart. They did not choose to charge us with staying more than four weeks, for that would have made the fine too high for the sentence of a single justice." The hearing was March 19, 1770. The selectmen "were the plaintiffs." Sandeman made a long and vigorous defense, urging that the law "was intended not against harmless strangers but against persons of ungoverned and dishonest conversation". The justice, with some hesitation, found against Sandeman and Chamberlain, but took no steps to put his decision into execution; and Sandeman wrote to his brother: "We said nothing on hearing judgment given, making no appeal. It is thought, however, they will scarcely have courage to put the sentence into execution".

[e] I owe this fact to Prof. F. B. Dexter. Other facts regarding Chamberlain will be found in a note below.

[f] Stiles records, under date of November 17, 1771: "There is a small Congregᵃ of Sandemanians of 3 or 4 families which meet every Ldsdy in a private house." Dexter, "The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles," I; 184.

congregation removed to New Haven,[a] where they, with earlier sympathizers and new converts, formed a compact little group, including several men of position and education. Of this church two Yale graduates—Titus Smith, of the class of 1764, and Theophilus Chamberlain,[b] of 1765—were "elders;" and within the next five years its membership included three other sons of Yale—Daniel Humphreys[c] and Joseph Pyncheon,[d] of the class of 1757, and Richard Woodhull, of 1752.[e]

In 1774 the Danbury Sandemanian Church received a great increase of strength by the formal adhesion to full Sandemanianism of Rev. Ebenezer Russell White, Yale, 1760;[f] who, since 1768, had been colleague pastor with his father, Rev. Ebenezer

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[a] J. W. Barber, "Conn. Historical Collections," 369. Stiles's manuscript records, under date of September 13, 1772: "There are about a Dozen Sandemanian Families settled here last Spring," and adds, a little later: "Mr. Chamberlain, Elder of the Sandemanian Chh in New Haven (Mr. Smith is another Elder), told me they had but Twelve Brethren (Elders included) and one Sister."

[b] Through the kindness of Prof. F. B. Dexter, of Yale, I am able to give the following facts: Titus Smith, 1734–1807, was highly esteemed at college, and after graduation went to Wheelock's school at Lebanon to fit himself for missionary labor among the Indians. In this study and preparation Theophilus Chamberlain, 1737–1824, accompanied him. They were ordained together on April 24, 1765, before Chamberlain's graduation, and in the summer of 1765 went to the Six Nations in central New York. Smith returned to New England that year. Between 1768 and 1771 he settled at Danbury, and about this time became a Sandemanian. At the loyalist exodus, at the close of the Revolution, he went to Halifax, where, or at Preston, close by, he resided till his death. Chamberlain had a picturesque career. Sprung from very humble circumstances, he served in the old French war, was imprisoned at Montreal and Quebec, and on his return settled down till his ambition was suddenly aroused to obtain an education. After ordination, as already described, he served as a missionary till July, 1767, when he resigned, having been converted to Sandemanianism by reading one of Sandeman's books. In 1768 he opened a school in Boston, but in February, 1769, he removed to Danbury and enjoyed the warm friendship of Sandeman. He removed to Halifax at the close of the Revolution, where he became a magistrate and a man of position, and resided till his death at Preston.

[c] Daniel Humphreys was born at Derby, Conn., May 18, 1740. After graduating, he studied law and was admitted to the New Haven bar. In April, 1769, he owned himself a Sandemanian at much personal cost. In 1774 he went to Portsmouth, but in November, 1776, he opened a school in New Haven. He had trouble on account of his Tory principles, but after the Revolution settled at Portsmouth, where he won distinction at the bar, and from 1804 to his death was United States district attorney for New Hampshire. He was a faithful Sandemanian and an excellent man. More will be said of him later in this paper. He died September 30, 1827. See Dexter, Biog. Sketches of the Graduates of Yale, II; 471–474.

[d] Joseph Pyncheon was born October 30, 1737. Lived at Guilford after graduation and represented the town in the legislature in 1766–1769. Became a Sandemanian in 1771. Tory in the Revolution. Had to seek British protection, and went to Nova Scotia in 1781, but returned to Guilford in 1785, and died there November 23, 1794. See Dexter, Ibid. II; 488, 489.

[e] See ante, note.

[f] Ebenezer Russell White was born at Danbury, December 22, 1743. From 1762 to his dismissal for Sandemanian views, in 1765, he was a tutor at Yale. In July, 1774, he became fully a Sandemanian, was a respected citizen of Danbury, held the office of post

White, over the "New Danbury Church," which has already been described as Sandemanian in its view of faith, but not in its practices. With White a considerable number of the church of his recent pastorate joined the Sandemanian body,[a] and sympathizers now, or soon after, organized churches in the adjacent towns of Bethel and Newtown.[b]

But the Revolutionary war proved a period of great distress for the Sandemanians. Convinced for the most part, like Sandeman himself, that obedience to the King was a Christian duty, the struggle entailed on many of them much sacrifice,[c] and on the body as a whole much popular condemnation. The seeds planted in a number of fields, it is probable, were destroyed. Yet the dispersion caused by that struggle gave birth to two Sandemanian churches at least.

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master for several years ending, in 1808, and died May 4, 1825. See Dexter, Biographical Sketches, II, 679, 680.

Through the kindness of Miss Maria White Averill, of Danbury, his great grandaughter, I have been permitted to use a manuscript account of his relations to the Danbury Sandemanian Church, written in 1814, 1818, and 1824. Reference will be made later in this paper.

[a] Writing in 1818, White says: "Some time in 1768 or 1769 I was induced to become a fellow-clergyman with my Father and was ordained as a Collegue with him over the New Danbury Church and Society. In this situation I continued until July 1774, when I was compelled to come out from among them and be separate, with a dozen or two more, as we could not consider our former associates as walking in the 'Obedience of Faith.'"

[b] White, ibid., speaks of "ye neighboring Churches at Newtown and Bethel."

[c] The following curious act of the Connecticut legislature, passed in October, 1777, for some reason was not entered in the regular journal. It may be found in "The Public Records of the State of Connecticut from May, 1778, to April, 1780," Preface, Hartford, 1895

"Whereas it appears to this Assembly that Daniel Humphrys, Titus Smith, Richard Woodhull, Joseph Pyncheon, Theophilus Chamberlain, Benjamin Smith, and William Richmond, disciples of the late Robert Sandeman, residing in New Haven, have imbibed the opinion that they owe allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and that they are bound in conscience to yield obedience to his authority, and have signified their desire if they may not continue at New Haven to remove to some place under the dominion of said King.

"*Resolved by this Assembly*, That the said persons and each of them, may be at liberty to continue in this State upon giving their parole of honor that they will not do anything injurious to this State or to the United States of America, or give any intelligence, aid or assistance to the British officers or forces at war with this or the other United States, or if they decline giving such parole, they with their families, household goods, apparel, and provisions sufficient for their passage, may remove to any place subject to the government of the King of Great Britain, or to New York, now occupied by the said King's troops. Except the daughter of the said Richard Woodhul who is heiress to a considerable real estate in said New Haven descended to her from her mother deceased, who shall not be removed therefrom, but she and her estate shall be under the care and guardianship of William Greenough, Esq., of said New Haven, during her minority."

Several at least of those mentioned declined to give their parole, and Stiles records, under date of November 10, 1777, in his Literary Diary, II, 228: "I saw some of the Sandemanian Brethren who were lately imprisoned in N. Haven for their Declara in Favor of the King & agt America. They are embarkg for L. Isld. [Long Island]."

For a list of Sandemanian Tories at Boston, see Mr. Edes's paper already cited, p. 120.

One of these had a brief history at York, Me.[a] A more permanent body was that established by Sandemanian loyalists on their exodus to Nova Scotia, known from its headquarters at that of Halifax.[b] During the Revolution Sandemanian missionary activity established a church at Taunton, Mass.,[c] but for the Sandemanian communion generally that contest was a sadly wasting experience.[d]

No further organization of Sandemanian congregations is known to the writer, save that there seems to have been a church in Newark, N. J., in 1844, which was not apparently in existence in 1824.[e] The churches in active life in 1798 were those of Danbury, Portsmouth, Boston, Taunton, and Halifax,[f] and all of these, with the possible exception of that of

[a] A letter of Edward Foster, once of Boston, to Robert Ferrier, dated Halifax, May 1, 1782, which may be found in Letters in Correspondence, 130–134, speaks of the time "when Colburn Barrell and others at York dissolved the church order there" as recent. This church was formed, I suppose, after Nathaniel Barrell retired to York, at the beginning of the Revolution. Sandemanianism must have been represented at York, however, till Nathaniel Barrell's death, in 1831.

[b] Foster's letter, above cited, shows that though the Sandemanians in Halifax were holding meetings in May, 1782, and their number included "four men and three women who * * * were of the church in Boston," they were not then fully organized into a church; but White's manuscript, mentioned above shows that they were a "church" by 1784.

[c] Foster's letter, above cited, makes mention of the spread of Sandemanianism at Taunton in the winter of 1781–82, though it seems probable that the Taunton church was not fully organized till Daniel Brewer, an elder of the church at Newtown, removed to Taunton in 1785. See S. H. Emery, The Ministry of Taunton, I, 241; II, 121. In 1788 the Taunton Sandemanians numbered 27. A letter from Rev. William D. Fox, of Taunton, to Rev. Edward G. Porter, dated June 4, 1892, states that "the members comprised some of the prominent business men of the town."

[d] The church at New Haven was practically destroyed by the Revolution, though Sandemanian believers continued in the city certainly till the death of Richard Woodhull in 1797. Foster, in the letter of May 1, 1782, above cited, speaks of him as "a brother of deservedly high estimation." Though that letter shows the Providence church alive in 1782, and including "three * * * who were of the church in Boston," I am unable to discover that it survived the Revolution long. Two, at least, of its members removed to Taunton. Foster's letter gives some glimpses of the state of New England Sandemanianism in the spring of 1782. "Danbury is a town in the colony of Connecticut. * * * The church there has two elders, Ebenezer Russell White and Mr. Jackson. In September last it consisted of ten men and four women, and several have since joined them. * * * Newton * * * consisted of eleven men and five women, and several have since joined them. * * * Portsmouth [has] now only six persons of our profession. * * * Boston [where] I have seen twenty-six church members coming together in one place [now has] three persons remaining in that town who were of the church there." His references to Providence and Taunton have already been cited.

[e] I infer the existence of this church from a letter by Theodore Barrell to Abigail Barrell, dated August 29, 1844, formerly owned by Rev. Edward G. Porter, and kindly loaned to me by his sister. White's manuscript of 1824, in speaking of the Sandemanians that he then knew, says nothing of a congregation at Newark. Three Sandemanian believers at least are now living in New Jersey.

[f] Gathered from White's manuscript.

Portsmouth, were still alive in 1824.[a] But the church at Danbury was soon after their only survivor. That at Taunton is thought to have continued till "about 1835 or a little later."[b] The Boston church is believed to have ended with the death of Alford Butler, in 1828.[c] That of Portsmouth hardly survived the death of Daniel Humphreys, in 1827, if it was then in existence. Of the end of the church at Halifax the writer is ignorant. By 1830 the Sandemanian movement in America had spent whatever feeble force it had ever possessed.

Perhaps the best explanation of the almost complete collapse of a movement which, in spite of its crude theory of faith and its extreme literalism of practice, was based on a sincere and self-sacrificing desire to do the will of God, and enlisted men of education and character among its adherents, may be gained from a brief outline of the experiences of the Danbury church, chiefly during the first half century of its existence. We are permitted to follow its story in the narrative of Ebenezer Russell White. From the relatively great accession in 1774 its life for some years was one of peace.[d] But the first considerable breach grew out of the interpretation of the scriptural injunction, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." At first it was construed strictly by the Danbury church as it had been taught by Sandeman:

> Whenever any of y^e^ brethren proposed to lay by their earnings to buy land & increase their property it was looked upon as an evidence of that covetousness which is Idolatry. * * * It was universally understood & practised that if by our industry in business, we had more than was necessary for y^e^ support of ourselves and families, that Surpluss must be given to y^e^ Poor.

But trouble came soon after Oliver Burr removed from Newtown to Danbury[e] and proved a prosperous merchant. By 1788 "he proposed to buy a Home Lot & build a home upon it, even although he could at all times be furnished with a comfortable hired house." The church at first deemed the

[a] White omits Portsmouth in his enumeration of 1824, but the church there can hardly have died before the demise of its vigorous and self-sacrificing leader, Daniel Humphreys, unless he continued, as he certainly was at one time, excommunicate from its fellowship for reasons wholly creditable to him, that will later be mentioned. It may be that the Portsmouth church died for lack of him. Unorganized Sandemanian believers were to be found in the neighborhood of Portsmouth till within a few years of the present time.

[b] Mr. Fox's letter, already cited.

[c] See Mr. Edes's paper, already cited, p. 119. In 1817 the Boston church numbered only six.

[d] From this point on I follow White's manuscript.

[e] He removed in 1783.

purchase wrong, but gradually a majority was won over to Burr's way of thinking, including White himself, and the house was built. Benjamin Hoyt, an elder of the church, and Joshua Benedict, one of its deacons, remonstrated "against this conduct as forbidden by the holy Scriptures;" and, as church action and belief according to Sandemanian principles must be unanimous, they were excommunicated.

This was a pretty radical departure from Sandeman's teaching, and "several of the brethren in Boston & Taunton" protested against the action of the Danbury majority. A council was called of "representatives from all y^e^ Churches," which gathered at Taunton in February, 1789, and included delegates from Danbury, Newtown, Taunton, Boston, and Portsmouth. The Danbury view was approved after protracted discussion, and under this new interpretation Daniel "Humphreys of Portsmouth bought a large house there, & furnished one spacious room in it with new & costly furniture." But nearly four years later the suicide of Isaac Winslow,[a] a prominent member of the Boston church, made a deep impression on the small Sandemanian body. To many at Boston and Portsmouth it seemed a divine call to repentance. Daniel Humphreys "sold his house & costly furniture * * * discharged his debts & distributed to y^e^ poor." But some of his fellow-members at Portsmouth not only opposed his action, but represented him to the Danbury church as insane. In March, 1793, delegates of the churches at Danbury and Boston, with a Sandemanian brother resident at New Haven,[b] met with the Portsmouth church and Humphreys was excommunicated. The Danbury church had grown to a membership of "60 or 70," but it was much divided in spirit; among other points on the question, "Whether we must all be of one mind about every article of present sin & duty?" The neighboring churches of Bethel and Newtown labored with the Danbury church, and not without results. Hoyt and Benedict were restored to membership and to their former offices. Many now returned to the original view of the sinfulness of laying up treasure on earth. Several repented of their "covetousness" and labored with those who had bought lands or built houses with their savings, but in vain. Mr. White and others

[a] Mr. Edes, in the paper already cited, p. 130, says that his death was ascribed to religious melancholia.

[b] Sturges Burr.

felt "therefore compelled to separate ourselves from such a corrupt society," in March, 1798, and to renew their fellowship with those who had remained true to strict opinions at Portsmouth, Boston, and Taunton.

Their separation soon led Mr. White and his friends to further modifications of view. They now looked upon their former baptism as "into anti-Christ," though still holding, like all early Sandemanians, to infant baptism. They felt that a repentant brother should be restored, if necessary, more than the single time permitted by early Sandemanian practice. And they now considered "that an Elder or Deacon upon y^e^ death of their Wives may marry again, & yet be y^e^ husband of one Wife."

But the question of baptism once started, it is not surprising that its discussion went further, and Mr. White records that:

> In 1817 we were called to a new trial by the secession of Levi Osborn & his wife & Mr. Wildman[a] & his wife, who then went out from us very unexpectedly. They could no longer walk with us as brethren, because we held to the discipleship & baptism of the infants of a believing Parent. These, and other persons who have since joined with them, deny this, & insist upon it that the One Baptism belongs to those only who are able to make the good Profession.

The separation led by these four dissenters had a somewhat fruitful history. Believing "that sects were sinful" and also "that all creeds of human formation should be rejected,"[b] they learned "that a small band of Christians in New York City conformed to these views."[c] Osborn therefore sought them out in 1817, and was immersed by Henry Errett at New York. On his return to Danbury, Osborn administered the rite of baptism in the same form to his wife and to Mr. and Mrs. Wildman. Known as the "Osbornites" for some years, they trace a continuous existence to the present, and are reckoned one of the earliest of the churches of the Disciples of Christ, usually known as "Christians" or Campbellites.[d] Of this

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[a] Uz Wildman. The question arose regarding Wildman's infant daughter.

[b] The Disciples of Christ, by Rev. E. J. Teagarden, in Bailey, "History of Danbury," New York, 1896, 314.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Alexander Campbell's indebtedness to the Sandemanians has been often asserted. Undoubtedly a good many features of the "Christian" churches are similar to those of the Sandemanians. But there are wide differences—on baptism, to mention a single one. Campbell was familiar with Sandeman's discussion of faith, and his own definition approached it; but he vigorously repudiated any dependence upon Sandeman, and he

Danbury church Osborn was the presiding officer till his death, in 1851. It has steadily grown and has long been a positive force in the Danbury community.

Ebenezer Russell White and his associates, in the separation of March, 1798, being thus abandoned by their companions in that separation, Osborn and Wildman, continued in independence both of the original Sandemanian body from which they had come out and of the "Osbornites," and were known till after White's death, in 1825, as "White's Church." Deprived of his leadership, the little congregation, composed "mostly of old ladies," "gradually faded out," and has long since ceased to exist.[a]

As for the main Sandemanian community at Danbury, it survived these successive shocks and schisms, but with steadily diminishing vitality. Its members were respected in the community, but it did not grow. For a number of years, till his death in 1857, the leader was "Elder" Nathaniel Bishop.[b] Diminishing numbers compelled the abandonment of that plurality of "elders" on which Sandeman had insisted; but from the death of Mr. Bishop to his own decease, in 1889, the eldership was held by William B. Ely. On his demise the headship of the fast-waning Danbury flock fell to his daughter, Miss Lucy Ely, in whose house—the "fellowship house"—which had once belonged to Levi Osborn, the few members met every Sunday morning till she, too, passed away on December 3, 1899. With the flight of time certain of the earlier customs were abandoned. The kiss of charity was omitted some years ago. But till Miss Ely's death the members met regularly to read the Scriptures, though more formal services were discontinued about 1890.[c] The church building, for which the meager congregation had no further use, was sold and converted into a stable in the year last mentioned;[d] and

seems to have taught that heart-felt trust is an important element in true faith to a degree which Sandeman would not have approved. On these matters see Richardson, "Memoirs of Alexander Campbell," Philadelphia, 1868, I: 177, 178, 422; II: 132.

[a] Letter of Miss Maria White Averill, dated December 13, 1901.

[b] These facts are gathered from Bailey, "History of Danbury," and from correspondence.

[c] Letters of Miss Maria White Averill, dated December 3 and December 13, 1901. "The meetings proper were suspended about 1890, though until Miss Ely's death those few old ladies met with her every Sunday morning in the "Fellowship House" (her home just torn down) to read the Scriptures together, but they did not call it a regular meeting, as there was no man to expound to them."

[d] George W. Hallock, "The Sandemanians," in "New England Magazine" for April, 1896, 241.

in the closing months of 1901 the "fellowship house," where the latest love feasts have been held, was torn down. The Danbury Sandemanian church seems but the flickering of a burned-out candle; yet it is not quite extinguished, for it still numbers three aged women, who have been long of its membership, and within a year past a fourth member,[a] a man well advanced in years, has been added to the pathetic group that represents all that remains on New England soil of a movement which, however narrow, uncharitable, and impracticable, attracted earnest, educated, and devoted men a century and a third ago as being a revival of primitive Christianity and a faithful illustration of obedience to Biblical precepts. Though in attempting to observe the letter it lost much of the spirit which alone gives life, one can but feel a measure of regret that so much self-sacrificing effort has come to no more worthy or enduring fruitage.

[a] Miss Averill's letter of December 3, 1901.

VI.—JAMES MADISON AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

By GAILLARD HUNT,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

JAMES MADISON AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.[a]

By Gaillard Hunt.

The first public service performed by James Madison was in that remarkable Virginia convention which adopted the declaration of rights and the first written constitution of a free State. He was known to few of his colleagues and to those few merely as a promising young scholar, who had shown activity in the Revolutionary cause in his county. He was 25 years of age, small of stature, without attractiveness of countenance, with rustic manners, and was mastered by a shrinking modesty. In the informality of private conversation, however, he showed that he had an extraordinary knowledge of the science of government, and that he could, as one of his fellow-delegates expressed it, "throw out in social discourse jewels which the artifice of a barren mind would have treasured up for gaudy occasions." His bearing was marked by the unavoidable pedantry of a young man fresh from his studies, and these studies had in the years immediately preceding the convention been of a serious religious cast. In 1772 he completed at Princeton the post-graduate course, which was devoted chiefly to ecclesiastical subjects. His most intimate friends at college were men who became clergymen, or studied to become clergymen. They included Caleb Wallace, who began life as a Presbyterian minister and afterwards became a lawyer and judge of the supreme court of Kentucky; Samuel Stanhope Smith, also a Presbyterian divine, the first president of Hampden-Sidney College, in Virginia, and Witherspoon's successor as president of Princeton; his brother, Rev. John

[a] Authorities: The Writings of Madison (Hunt), The Works of Madison (Congressional Edition), The Madison Papers (Gilpin), Rives's Life and Times of James Madison, Meade's Old Families and Churches of Virginia, Conway's Life of Edmund Randolph, Department of State MSS., New York Public Library (Lenox) MSS., Virginia Historical Society MSS.

Blair Smith, who succeeded to the presidency of Hampden-Sidney, and William Bradford, who studied divinity, but chose a lawyer's career, and rose finally to be Attorney-General of the United States.

The interval between Madison's graduation from Princeton and his entering public life he spent in further religious research, a record of which remains in many letters on religious topics and in his elaborate notes on the Acts of the Apostles. When he stood for election to the first Virginia assembly, in 1776, the voters declared he looked more like a Methodist preacher than a budding statesman, and there is hardly room for doubt that he did early in manhood seriously test his adaptability for a clergyman's career.

The Virginia convention of 1776 was composed chiefly of men of mature years and established reputation, and Madison took no part in the proceedings except to offer one amendment to the first draft of the Declaration of Rights. As George Mason drew the declaration up it contained the following section on the subject of religious liberty:

> That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrate, unless under color of religion any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or safety of society, and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other.

Almost alone in this assemblage of wise men Madison saw the fundamental error contained in these words. According to his belief there could properly be no recognition of religious rights by tolerance; no man could properly be granted permission to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience, for this was every man's right. Moreover, the clause might easily be so twisted as to oppress religious sects under the excuse that they disturbed "the peace, the happiness, or safety of society."

Therefore he offered as an amendment this substitute:

> That religion, or the duty we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, being under the direction of reason and conviction only, not of violence or compulsion, all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of it, according to the dictates of conscience; and therefore that no man or class of men ought on account of religion to be invested with

peculiar emoluments or privileges, nor subjected to any penalties or disabilities, unless under color of religion the preservation of equal liberty and the existence of the State be manifestly endangered.

If this section had been accepted in the form in which it was presented, future legislation on the subject of religion would have been estopped and the history of the struggle for religious freedom in Virginia would have ended here. Mason adopted so much of the amendment as eliminated the use of the word tolerance, and the clause came forth:

That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other.

The man who thus endeavored to sever at one first blow all connection between religion and the temporal power was himself an Episcopalian, although he was never a communicant in that or any other church. All his family surroundings were strongly Episcopalian. He was baptised in that church, his mother was a pious communicant, his father was an active vestryman, his cousin and friend, who bore the same name as himself, James Madison, of William and Mary, became the first Episcopal bishop of Virginia; his tutor before he went to Princeton, Thomas Martin, was rector of St. Thomas parish.

But at the time of the Revolution the Episcopal Church in Virginia was sunk in iniquity by the bad character of many of the clergy, and the dissenting sects were increasing in number and importance.

These sects had no legal right of existence, and especially in that part of Virginia where Madison lived they suffered persecution. An incident in his youth which made a deep impression on him was his standing with his father outside the jail in the village of Orange and listening to several Baptists preach from the window of the cell in which they were confined because of their religious opinions.

Madison's mental temper was neither radical nor warm, but his hatred for religious intolerance stirred him more nearly to passion than any other feeling he ever manifested. "That diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution," he wrote two years before the Virginia convention, "rages among us.

* * * I have neither patience to hear, talk, or think of anything relative to this matter; for I have squabbled and scolded, abused and ridiculed so long about it to little purpose that I am without common patience." But his proposed amendment to the Bill of Rights, was in reality too radical for the time and jumped beyond the ideas of the leaders of thought in Virginia who were not yet prepared to follow him in saying that state interference in behalf of religion should be forever barred.

Eight years had elapsed since Madison's first service in the State legislature, when he became a member of the house of delegates in 1784. He was now a national character, certain of himself, and certain that when he spoke men would listen. He found in the assembly an inclination to yield to the sentiment throughout the State, which clamored by numerous petitions for legislation to insure a better provision for the clergy and their churches. The people had become careless of religious observances. The war had produced disordered conditions of society, and bad financial legislation had encouraged dishonest inclinations. It was argued that compulsory support of the churches would encourage church attendance and mitigate the existing immorality. It was Patrick Henry who brought in the bill for levying a tax for the support of teachers of the Christian religion, and many of the foremost men in the State approved of it, among them being George Washington, John Marshall, Spencer Roane, Philip Barbour, and Richard Henry Lee. Lee wrote to Madison from Trenton, where he was attending the sessions of Congress, November 26, 1784, that he considered the bill necessary because destruction of religion was being accomplished for want of a legal obligation to contribute to its support. Undoubtedly if the bill had come to a vote at this session of the assembly it would have passed by an overwhelming majority. The utmost concession that the opponents of the measure could secure was an agreement to postpone action upon it till the next session, in order that in the meantime the sense of the people might be taken. There was every reason to believe that they wished the bill to pass. The clergy favored it because they would profit by it, and the laity could see no harm in agreeing to a small tax for an apparently innocent purpose. If it had been left to Madison, there would have been no petitioning against the bill, for he believed the best policy to pursue was

to preserve silence. But the two brothers, George and Wilson Cary Nicholas, who were active adherents of Madison's party, disagreed with him, and represented to him that the petitions for the bill, which would certainly be circulated, ought to be met by a remonstrance against it. At their insistance, therefore, he drew up a Memorial and Remonstrance to the Honorable the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It was printed by the Phoenix Press in Alexandria in the form of a broadside, with space at the bottom for signatures, and the Nicholases sent it to their lieutenants in every corner of the State. It repeated and amplified the arguments against the bill which Madison had made in the assembly; but whereas his speech reached only the few scores of men who heard it, the printed remonstrance reached thousands who read it, and thousands signed it. There are few instances recorded where the tide of public opinion has been so completely turned by a single document as it was in this instance by Madison's remonstrance. When the assembly met again in the autumn of 1785 the copies of the memorial with signatures attached buried the bill out of sight, and no effort was made to resurrect it. On the contrary, an opposite sentiment had been awakened and Madison seized upon it and completed his victory by introducing and carrying to a successful passage Jefferson's famous religious liberty bill, which had lain dormant since 1779.

The arguments which Madison used to defeat the assessment bill were the arguments of a Christian. The question before the people was, he said, not whether religion was necessary to the welfare of mankind, but whether the establishment of religion as a part of the civil administration of the State was necessary to religion itself. The natural propensity of mankind was toward religion, but history showed that religion was corrupted by compulsory state establishment. The bill dishonored Christianity, which flourished without the assistance of human laws and in spite of opposition from them. No human policy had invented religion; it was, in fact, superhuman. To compel support of it by law would be tantamount to a confession that it could not stand on its own merits. "Pride and indolence in the clergy, ignorance and servility in the laity, in both superstition, bigotry, and persecution," had, he said, always followed church establishment.

Yet the act for religious freedom which was now passed would have been redundant legislation had Madison's amendment to the Virginia bill of rights, offered nine years before, been incorporated into the fundamental law of the State, for the gist of the amendment was that "no man or class of men ought, on account of religion, to be invested with peculiar emoluments or privileges," and Jefferson's law said hardly more than this.

The active and intimate cooperation in public life of Jefferson and Madison did not begin until the Constitution of the United States had gone into effect, but the brilliant flashing of Jefferson's mind has blinded the eyes of many historical writers to the steadier and more enduring illuminations of Madison, and they often attribute to Jefferson a far greater influence over Madison than he really possessed. Certainly he exercised no influence in Madison's efforts for religious freedom, for the two did not meet until after the Bill of Rights was adopted, and Jefferson was in Paris when Madison's remonstrance was written. The same exaggerated notion of Jefferson's mastery has caused agnostics to claim that Madison's personal views on religion were the same as theirs; but these views were formed before he knew Jefferson, and his was not a changeable nature. "The specious arguments of infidels," he wrote on one occasion, "have established the faith of inquiring Christians." He believed, however, in the untrammeled existence of religious sects and was fond of quoting Voltaire's aphorism: "If one religion only were allowed in England, the Government would possibly become arbitrary; if there were two, the people would cut each other's throats; but as there are such a multitude, they all live happy and in peace." "In a free government," Madison added, "the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights; it consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests and in the other in the multiplicity of sects."

So free from religious bias was he that in 1790 it was rumored he had become a Methodist, but Edmund Randolph, who knew him intimately, wrote of him as "the patron of the Protestant Episcopal Church." From the time of the Revolution until 1833, when the church now standing in the village of Orange was erected, St. Thomas parish had no rector; but Madison attended the services, which were irregularly held,

usually in the court-house, and always invited the visiting clergyman to his house.

His religious sympathies extended even to the Jews, who held him in high regard. After his retirement from the Presidency one wrote to him from New York (May 6, 1818):

> I ought not to conceal from you that it affords me sincere pleasure to have an opportunity of saying that to your efforts and those of your illustrious colleagues in the convention the Jews in the United States owe many of the blessings which they now enjoy, and the benefit of this liberal and just example has been felt very generally abroad and has created a sincere attachment toward this country on the part of foreign Jews.

It is not in the state papers of a President that we expect to find religious expressions of real interest. Washington set the example in his inaugural address of invoking Divine favors upon the Government, and Adams and Jefferson decorously followed the precedent. Madison, too, fulfilled this obligation to the religious sentiment of the country, but on two occasions he allowed himself to make allusions to the struggle for religious liberty in which he had played the chief part twenty-five years before he became President. In his fifth annual message, after expressing gratitude for the prevailing tranquillity and prosperity, he added, "and, above all, for the light of Divine truth and the protection of every man's conscience in the enjoyment of it;" and in his last message he said the people "should be thankful for a government which watches over the purity of elections, the freedom of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, and the equal interdicts against encroachments and compacts between religion and the state."

VII.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ERASMUS LETTERS.

By EPHRAIM EMERTON,
PROFESSOR, HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ERASMUS LETTERS.

By Prof. Ephraim Emerton.

In the introduction to my Life of Erasmus[a] I ventured to say, in speaking of the letters, "their chronology is hopelessly confused." I was aware that some attempts had been made to straighten out the tangled thread of their sequence, but with the time then at command it was impossible to do more than glance somewhat hastily at the method employed and to test these attempts at a few critical points. The most important and then the most recent essays in Erasmian chronology were those of Dr. Arthur Richter, an assistant in the Dresden library, in 1891,[b] and of Dr. Max Reich in 1896.[c] Richter examined the letters down to Erasmus's return from Italy to England in 1509, and Reich those from 1509 to the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation in 1518. These German attempts had naturally begun to be quoted as the final word on an exceedingly intricate subject into which few persons would care to go on their own account, and I was awaiting the leisure to look a little more carefully into their principles and method to see if perhaps I might be led to modify in some degree the impression of hopelessness as to the result, when there appeared quite unheralded a new contribution to the problem.

Only a few weeks ago Mr. Francis Morgan Nichols, an English scholar, best known by his edition in 1865 of Britton's Treatise on English Law, published a volume of translations from the early letters of Erasmus covering the same period as the study of Richter, i. e., to the year 1509. The

[a] Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, by Ephraim Emerton: G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y. 1899.

[b] Richter, Arthur; Erasmus-Studien. Inaugural-Dissertation, Dresden, 1891.

[c] Reich, Max; Erasmus von Rotterdam: Untersuchungen zu seinem Briefwechsel und Leben in den Jahren 1509–1518. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst; Trier, 1896.

translations were preceded by a careful account of the previous editions and a chronological register including the correspondence to 1517. They were accompanied also by a running commentary, the main purpose of which was stated to be to confirm the chronological arrangement. The editor gave us reason to expect a second volume of translations in a not distant future. The appearance of this new work led naturally first to comparison of results with those of Richter, and the present paper does not go beyond this comparison at a few of the more important points.

To understand the difficulty of the undertaking, one must have some idea of the state of the material. It is a familiar fact that in the Renaissance period a letter from a literary authority, even from a literary aspirant, was thought of as something more than a mere message from one person to another. It was a piece of literature, subject to certain more or less well-defined rules of composition and to be treasured as a precious possession. One would, then, suppose that it would have been the first care of writers, collectors, and publishers of epistles to see to it that they were so arranged as to show the meaning of their contents and their own proper sequence in time. That this was not the case is probably due to this very preponderance of the literary over the practical interest. The more one deals with the letters of Erasmus, for example, the more is this impressed upon one. True, Erasmus generally had something to say, but in saying it he must needs wrap it in a maze of language. Often this decoration is of far more interest than the main purpose of the letter, just as in the works of his great artist contemporaries the decorative detail is often more important than the conventional subject of the painting. The result was a surprising indifference to chronological arrangement. Erasmus himself collected and published many of his letters, but he frankly confesses that he changed them in view of a variety of considerations and that he added dates many years after they were written. Later editors proceeded with the same recklessness, though observing in the main the order followed by Erasmus.

The culmination was reached in the great edition of Le Clerc in 1703–1706. This editor states with great clearness the difficulty of his task. He proposes to give the true chrono-

logical sequence and thus, at least as far as intentions go, is an improvement on his predecessors; but he complicates the matter by presenting a twofold chronological series. In his first part he gives some 1,300 letters, apparently in a rude chronological order, but almost entirely without critical sifting. In the second he prints about 500, again attempting a chronological arrangement, though these letters cover the same period as the former series and include 130 to which he does not venture to assign any dates at all. An enormous index of inconceivable futility, covering 180 folio pages, rather increases than lessens the difficulty of utilizing this extraordinary jumble. In fact, this monumental edition suffers, like the letters themselves, from the overprominence of the rhetorical point of view. It is, however, the basis on which all work upon the Epistles must chiefly rest. Its one merit is that it brought together into one publication all letters by and to Erasmus obtainable at the time, and the number of such letters brought to light since is not very large.

In attempting to fix the chronological sequence, the aim must of course be to determine certain fixed points, and then to test other indications as far as possible by their agreement with these. One's first instinct would be to try the allusions in the letters by their agreement with the known facts of the writer's life; but in the case of Erasmus almost everything we think we know about his life comes from the letters. We are therefore at the outset started on a circle of arguments from which we can never quite escape. Perhaps the best illustration of this difficulty is seen in the attempts to fix the birth year of Erasmus, an inquiry which Mr. Nichols describes as "not very important," but which is certainly of very considerable interest, since almost all Erasmus's attempts to date events are expressed in terms of his own age. Dr. Richter devotes to this question an elaborate appendix, which Mr. Nichols has made the basis of his own inquiry and the result of which, as setting the birth year at 1466, he accepts. Our concern is rather with the method employed than with the actual value of the result.

In examining the evidence for the year of birth we have really but two fixed points—the day of the month, October 28, and the day of death, July 12, 1536. Let us for a moment

follow the tracks of Dr. Richter and notice first his evidence from contemporary sources. Of these he cites nine, but one is a letter of Erasmus himself merely quoted by a contemporary. Another is a statement of Theodore Beza written forty-four years after Erasmus's death, and hence, as Dr. Richter admits, "no longer strictly contemporaneous." Of the remaining seven, one is a birthday poem inscribed to Erasmus in January or February, 1517, and enumerating his writings. The poet speaks of Erasmus as burning the midnight oil over his Hebrew studies after he has completed his fiftieth year; but Erasmus himself says a year earlier that he is studying Hebrew in his forty-ninth year. Dr. Richter thinks the poet friend had seen this statement and simply brought it up to date, and that therefore the evidence is merely quoted from Erasmus and can not be called evidence of a contemporary. This disposes of three out of the nine cases. The fourth is the inscription on the tombstone in Basel, erected by the most intimate friends and daily associates of the scholar. They, if anyone, ought to have known his age—if, indeed, he knew it himself. The inscription states that he died July 12, 1536, "jam septuagenarius." The only meaning I can discover for "septuagenarius" is "a man of 70 or more," but Dr. Richter says it "dürfte" mean a man in his seventieth year. In that case it would give 1466 as the birth year, but for this usage Dr. Richter gives no authority, and it must be added that he employs the other meaning with equal readiness when it serves his turn. He also finds his position strengthened by the use of "jam," whereas this addition seems to me to work in quite the opposite direction and to point to the year 1465 as the year of birth.

(5) The fifth point cited by Richter is a remark by Erasmus's biographer and intimate friend, Beatus Rhenanus: "He lived to his seventieth year, or certainly did not live far beyond it." Evidently Beatus thought he had completed his seventieth year, and if so, he must have been born in 1465; but Dr. Richter uses this passage for 1466. Later on Beatus expressly states that he does not know the year of birth.

(6) Germanus Brixius, writing immediately after Erasmus's death, says, "He died at the age of 70, more or less"—that is, he was born in 1465, or a little earlier or later. It is a plain confession of ignorance.

(7) Frederic Nausea dedicated a poem to Erasmus's memory soon after his death. He says: "He labored no less diligently as a septuagenarius or even much more advanced in age (aetate multo provectior) than he did as a man in middle life." Now, if he was a septuagenarius he must have been born as early as 1465; if much more advanced, still earlier; but Dr. Richter thinks this passage points by preference (vorzugsweise) to 1466.

(8) Amerbach of Basel, Erasmus's executor and intimate friend, writing immediately after his death, says, "He died in his seventy-second year," i. e., he was born in 1464.

(9) The contemporary historian, Paulus Giovius, states that Erasmus died "septuagesimum excedens aetatis annum." Here all turns on the meaning of excedens. If it means "coming out of" or "on the way out of," then it might point to 1466. If it means, as seems altogether probable, "exceeding," then it points clearly to 1465, and Giovius agrees with most of his contemporaries in suggesting a date earlier than 1466. Not one of Dr. Richter's strictly contemporary passages, therefore, can be used for this year. The burden of them all is for a year earlier than the one toward which, according to him, the majority of them point. Mr. Nichols rejects the whole of this contemporary evidence as lacking in independent value, but it certainly seems striking that men as closely related to Erasmus as were several of these witnesses should have come so near agreement as to the completion of his seventieth year before his death.

There follow thirty passages selected from Erasmus's own writings. I have examined all these and made a tabulation of results. The prevailing impression is that of uncertainty in Erasmus's own mind. In about one-third of the cases this uncertainty is directly expressed by some such phrases as: "If, indeed, I am now in my fifty-first year," "I am now 52 or at the most 53 years of age," "I am now not far from 60," "I believe I am now of the same age as Cicero was when he died." In many more cases the uncertainty is suggested by the use of round numbers: "I am not yet 40," "I have passed my fiftieth year," "I am a quinquegenarius," "pene septuagesimum," "prope septuagesimum," "ferme quadragenarius." In but few cases have we direct statements, and in most of these there is some question as to the date of the writings in which they occur.

Let us notice a few illustrations of the difficulty of drawing any certain conclusions. In a preface written, according to Dr. Richter, in 1515 (though he gives equally cogent reasons for 1516), Erasmus says: "I am now, in my forty-ninth year, going back to the study of Hebrew." In a second edition he says: "I am now, in my fifty-third year, going back to the study of Hebrew." Evidently Erasmus, or whoever prepared the preface to the second edition, wished to indicate that four years had passed since the first, and was not at all troubled by the implication that Erasmus had been at any time these four years going back to the study of Hebrew as a new occupation. Dr. Richter, having convinced himself that the first edition was in 1515 and in the forty-ninth year of Erasmus's age, then uses all his ingenuity to show that the second edition may have been late in 1518, and so in the very beginning of his fifty-third year, and hence that he was born in 1466. Perhaps he was, but this is not very cogent proof.

Erasmus writes, under a date which Richter assumes to be correct (April 17, 1519): "I left Deventer when I was 14 years old." He states also that the Deventer bridge was not yet built. Dr. Richter offers evidence, which we need not question, that this bridge was building from August 1, 1481 to March 16, 1482. Now, if Erasmus left before his birthday, October 28, 1481, and was 14 years old, he must have been born in 1466. But why might he not have left Deventer a year earlier, in 1480? Richter says because he saw Rudolf Agricola there in September, 1480; but this date is not precisely fixed and he gives no reason why the lad may not have left before his birthday, October 28, of that year. I have dwelt upon this matter of the birthyear because it gives the best opportunity to test the method of our editors on a large scale.

Coming now to the chronology of the letters themselves, we have to seek for some principle of arrangement. Obviously the best principle would be to fit the letters into the several stages of the writer's life; and this is what all three of our editors have tried to do. Unhappily the limits of these various stages—the life in the monastery at Steyn, the residence with the bishop of Cambrai, the years at Paris, the numerous trips to the Low Countries, the first visit to England, and especially the details of the interval between this visit and the Italian journey—are all to be determined, if at all, chiefly

from the testimony of the letters. So the vicious circle is always threatening. For example, Richter's first group is a bundle of letters between Erasmus and his townsman, Cornelius of Gouda. These letters appear to have been written during the residence at Steyn, which we will assume for the moment extended from 1483 to 1493. Richter places the whole group after 1491, because in one of the letters—his No. 11—Erasmus mentions the works of a certain Bartholomew of Cologne as being in his hands. These writings are known to have been published in 1491, but why may they not have come into Erasmus's hands in manuscript? He refers frequently to manuscript works as circulating among the friends of learning, and, in spite of his later complaints, it is evident that Steyn was fairly well off in literary equipment. On this slight bit of evidence Richter groups these fifteen letters in the last two years of the Steyn period.

Mr. Nichols pays no attention to this clue, but enlarges upon a reference in this same letter (No. 11) to an oratio lugubris which Erasmus has written and which Mr. Nichols thinks may refer to a funeral discourse for a lady who died four or five years earlier. In this case the letter was undoubtedly written soon after the event, and thus Richter's whole scheme for this group is thrown out of gear. As to the succession of letters within this group, there is hardly a possibility of agreement. The only really safe guide is such a verbal reference to something in another letter as will show that the one in hand is a reply to it. But such verbal references are rare. Let us follow Richter's process in regard to those of this first group, beginning with his ep. 11, since he uses this to fix the place of the whole group. We have seen why he places this letter after 1491. He places it before 1493 because he thinks it was written at Steyn, and that Erasmus left there late in 1493. For this latter conclusion he gives the following evidence: (1) In the famous letter to Prior Servatius of Steyn, written perhaps thirty years after his entrance to the monastery, Erasmus, speaking of his year of probation, says: "Absurd! As if any one could ask of a boy in his seventeenth year, etc.," i. e., his year of probation was his seventeenth, but of course was not likely to be exactly conterminous with it. On Richter's supposition as to his birth, therefore, he entered the monastery somewhere about his sixteenth birth-

day, or in 1482 rather than 1483. (2) Then we have a notice by a contemporary (Reyner Snoy) that William Hermann lived with Erasmus at Steyn about ten years, but this obviously does not limit the residence of Erasmus himself to this time. Dr. Richter thinks that because this Snoy edited, twenty years later, poems of Erasmus which had been kept at Steyn, therefore he "must have been very intimately acquainted with the affairs of this monastery." Of course, if Erasmus entered in 1483 and lived at Steyn ten years he must have left in 1493.

Dr. Richter seeks to further strengthen his case by two undated letters of William Hermann himself. In one of these to James Battus, the writer introduces himself by referring to Erasmus's frequent commendation of Battus to him "et in familiari colloquio et absens." By translating absens "since he left here," both Richter and Nichols show that Erasmus must have left Steyn before this letter was written. Certain events which may be referred to in the letter suggest that it was written after October, 1492. The second letter of William was evidently written after the first, because he here speaks of Battus as a friend of long standing. It is addressed to the tutor of a prince who became of age in July, 1494, and since it contains advice on the education of a prince, Dr. Richter thinks it must have been written before that date. It clearly refers to Erasmus as having left Steyn; hence Richter concludes that he must have left before July, 1494, i. e., he left somewhere between October, 1492 and July, 1494, a range of nearly two years even on this rather tenuous evidence. By this process of generous guesswork we get a date for ep. 11 between 1491 and 1493. The letter is addressed to Cornelius Goudanus and assumes a previous letter from Cornelius asking Erasmus to send him some writing. Erasmus sends him among other things an oratio lugubris. Ep. 10 is also to Cornelius. In it Erasmus mentions an oratio which Cornelius had asked for and which he has now finished, and Richter, assuming this to be the oratio lugubris in 11 places 10 earlier. There is no reason for this assumption beyond the mere mention of an oratio. Ep. 12, also to Cornelius, is placed after 11 because of a mention of William Hermann, but the reference is of the vaguest and has no bearing upon the question of sequence. Ep. 13 is a reply of Cornelius to

the extravagant praises of Erasmus, but is in such vague terms that it might as well be a reply to any other letter as to 12. Ep. 14 is a mass of fulsome compliment from Erasmus to Cornelius. He mentions some writings of Cornelius which he undertakes to keep safely, and hence Richter concludes that this letter must have been written at Steyn, since Erasmus could hardly have promised to keep papers safe while on his travels. Ep. 15, also to Cornelius, makes references of such a nature that Mr. Nichols is driven to the conclusion that we have here another Cornelius, an idea which does not occur to Dr. Richter, and which is certainly not helpful on the question of arrangement.

If now we turn to the letters of this group before 10, we find an obvious sequence in 8 and 9. Ep. 5 is plainly an answer to 4, but Nichols separates them by putting 8 and 9 between; 6 and 7 are reversed in his order. Ep. 3 is assumed to be the letter referred to in 4, as that which Erasmus has "already answered sufficiently," but, as Nichols remarks, it can not be precisely placed and might be anywhere in the list. Ep. 1, Cornelius to Erasmus, is assumed by Richter to be the beginning of the correspondence because it refers to a literary gift of Erasmus to which the writer now responds. Nichols, on the other hand, places this epistle fifth on his list and with quite equal cogency shows that 12 is probably the first letter preserved of this correspondence. Ep. 2 is a reply to 1.

This examination shows us the nature of the evidence on which the whole proof of sequence within groups must necessarily rest. It is so vague that every person dealing with it may come to his own conclusions. Of 14 sequences in this group our two editors agree upon three, and this proportion holds throughout the two registers.

A similar line of criticism may be applied to another group of nine letters, the second in Richter, the first in Nichols, addressed to Servatius, a fellow-monk, and afterward prior of Steyn. Both editors agree in placing five of these letters during the residence at Steyn and in describing them as mere rhetorical exercises. Richter sets the other four immediately after the monastery time, but Nichols includes these also as written before the departure. As to sequence, there are two cases of agreement out of a possible eight. My own impression is that these letters belong together, either all during or

all soon after the residence at Steyn. If we follow Nichols's order there is a certain progression of ideas from inordinate grief at the strained relations between the friends to an almost spiteful tone of reproach by Erasmus because Servatius will not turn, as he himself has done, to pure literature. It is interesting to note, by the way, as bearing upon Erasmus's later complaints of the monastery, that he refers to Servatius at Steyn as "having all the conveniences of study at command" and lacking only the necessary diligence to make himself a famous scholar. Richter gives no sufficient reasons for his division of this group into two. The first of the so-called monastery group and the first of those after the alleged departure are almost identical in tone and subject.

On the whole I am inclined here to do my own guessing and to place the whole group soon after the departure from Steyn. The strain of ill humor, partially covered by protestations of affection, may thus be explained on the grounds of Servatius's annoyance at Erasmus's defection from principle in leaving the monastery, and I am quite ready to believe that in the first not altogether happy experiences of the world Erasmus may well have regretted the calm and pleasant companionship of the life he had put behind him. We have to remember, too, that this is the same Prior Servatius to whom, perhaps twenty years later, he wrote the letter which has served all biographers as one of the most important sources for his early life. Mr. Nichols, with some hesitation, accepts this letter as genuine, and I confess I can not help connecting it with this earlier epistle as, in a way, a continuation of the Erasmian apology for deserting religion for letters.

One other monumental epistle I mention, to show how the Erasmian legend is gradually being encroached upon. This is the well-known letter to an alleged papal secretary, one Lambertus Grunnius, in which Erasmus defends his course in leaving the monastery and begs for a papal absolution. Speculations as to its chronological position have ranged very widely. It might belong almost anywhere within twenty years after 1509. It gives, under the form of a fiction, an account of the writer's early life and struggles, which almost all the biographers have accepted, though with various degrees of hesitation, as authentic history. It is now some twenty-five years since Dr. W. Vischer, of Basel, brought to light certain docu-

ments which led him to conclude that this letter may have been a deliberate fabrication on the part of Erasmus to cover up his tracks in a negotiation which he desired to keep as secret as possible. Mr. Nichols not only accepts this conclusion, but adds the strong supposition that the person to whom the letter is addressed is also a fictitious personage, a pure invention of Erasmus, and this of course carries with it the assumption that the reply of Grunnius, appended to the letter, is a fabrication as well.

One other illustration of chronological difficulties: In trying to fix the limits of Erasmus's first visit to England our editors differ rather widely. Richter would make the visit extend from the spring of 1499 to the spring of 1500. Nichols would limit it to the few months between the summer of 1499 and January 27, 1500. Richter gets his date for the beginning of the trip by referring to a letter of Erasmus to one Arnold, in which he says that he had intended to go to Italy "hoc anno," to spend a few months in Bologna, and then go on to Rome in the "jubilee year" (1500). The letter would therefore be written in 1499 and, connecting the giving up of the Italian journey with the visit to England, we should place this in that year. The conclusion may be sound, but Mr. Nichols pays no attention to the point and dates the letter May, 1498. In the older editions it appears under various dates, so that we have here a choice ranging from 1489 to 1498. Then, in another letter, addressed to Robert Fisher in Italy and dated December, 1499, Erasmus says that when he was all ready to go to Italy he was carried off to England by young Lord Mountjoy. Now, putting these two letters together, Richter guesses at early spring as the time of Erasmus's departure for England. The connection is not obvious and is not noticed by Nichols.

As to the return from England, this would seem to be fixed by one of the few precise datings by Erasmus himself. He says in a letter to his patroness, the Princess Anna of Veere, that as he writes it occurs to him that the day is the anniversary of his misfortune at Dover as he was on the point of leaving England. This letter is dated January 27, 1500, but by correcting the probable error of an Easter dating we easily get 1501, and this would fix the end of the English visit almost certainly at January 27, 1500. Curiously enough, Dr. Richter,

while mentioning these facts, fails to connect them, and so prolongs the visit into the spring, perhaps till March, 1500.

These are specimens of the process by which the authors of the most noteworthy of recent attempts to fix the chronology of the Erasmus letters have sought to establish their results. They display a great deal of more or less clever guessing. They have succeeded in making at least an improvement upon the prevailing chaos, but I can not feel that they have settled the question in any decisive way. After all, the chronology of Mr. Nichols is not that of Dr. Richter in its earlier, nor that of Dr. Reich in its later, part. All of these attempts suffer from the common fault that the data on which they rest are fragmentary and indecisive. The number of fixed points as to which one can say "Thus it must have been and not otherwise" is too small to justify certain conclusions. Such evidence is conclusive for the historian only when it is plainly cumulative in character. Sometimes in an historical inquiry we can go on from one not altogether satisfactory bit of evidence to another until finally we reach a point where we are able to say, "Putting all these uncertainties together, we have gained that degree of probability which in human affairs we call certainty."

In the present inquiry this is not the case. This multitude of conjectures do not so much corroborate as balance each other. They produce a kind of equilibrium, which at best is far from stable. A slight shifting of the foundations may at any moment endanger the safety of the whole structure. The future historian of Erasmus has still to make his own combinations, and there is little reason to believe that they will be any more trustworthy than either of these honest attempts. It may prove the safer way to accept one or the other of these schemes with all its imperfections and go on from that.

VIII.—MOSES COIT TYLER.

By GEORGE L. BURR,
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MOSES COIT TYLER.

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS, BY GEORGE L. BURR.

The first year of a new century has rolled away since together at the University of Michigan we listened to the tidings that Moses Coit Tyler was gone. Then already, in words than which none could be more tender and adequate, our grief was given utterance by his old friend and leader who announced to us his death.[a] You yourselves in formal resolution paid reverent tribute to his worth; and the snows of another winter now lie deep on the palm wreath which you laid upon his grave.

And yet—let us not turn from that quiet grave on the hill-crest without some effort to set down in more deliberate words the meaning of his life. I shall not claim for it many minutes of this busy session. Since pledging myself to this task I have also undertaken, at the wish of his family, to compile that more elaborate memorial which we hoped from a member of his own household; and much which I might else have wished to put on record here may better wait for that. I hope you will not count it amiss if here and now I take occasion to ask your help in this my larger enterprise. Some of you have known him longer than I; a few perhaps even better. Will you not help me by any suggestion which can make that memorial more worthy; and, above all, by the sharing of anything of his own, written or spoken, which might else escape my knowledge? The matter is not pressing, for his rich journals and correspondence, out of which, I trust, the story will mainly be woven, are by his will left under seal till at least five years are gone; yet I should be glad before that, and the sooner the better, to work up all I can find outside.

I but mention now, in passing, the episodes of his simple life—his New England birth, at Griswold, in eastern Connecticut, on a summer day of 1835; his migratory childhood,

[a] President Angell.

sojourning with his parents, now in central New York, now at one or another village of southern Michigan, till, in the middle forties, they brought up at Detroit; his school days there and his college years at Ann Arbor and at Yale; the seminary days at New Haven and Andover; his brief career (1859–1862) as a Congregational pastor at Owego, on the Susquehanna, and Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson; the breaking health and broadening views which drove him from the ministry, and the fresh, new life of out-of-doors and exercise, with the revelation of "muscular Christianity" which it brought; his mission to England, at the instance of Dr. Dio Lewis, to preach this new gospel of health; his fruitful stay there (1863–1866) as lecturer and writer, and the new life of the pen which opened for him through his correspondence with American journals; his home-coming and his career upon the lecture platform; the call to a professorship of literature at the University of Michigan, and the long years of service there (1867–1881) broken only by his editorial year in charge of the Christian Union (1873–74) during the famous trial of Mr. Beecher; the long home stretch of twenty years (1881–1900) as professor of American history at Cornell.

Let me rather ask, with you, What has it all been worth to us, this life of toil with voice and pen? Of the former, his work as public lecturer and as teacher—though it was on the platform I first saw and began to love him, and though for years I have been his colleague and an observer of his methods—I hesitate as yet to speak. Our common fellow-teacher, Professor Jenks, who was his pupil at the University of Michigan, has in a capital sketch put on record his own memories.[a] "Few students," he writes, "who had the good fortune to elect work with him * * * will ever forget his courteous manner, his exquisite diction, his keen appreciation of literary style, his gift of humorous critical comment. * * * His students felt that he required exactness and finish in their work, and all shrank from the silent reproof of his manner when slovenly, inaccurate work was presented. Precision, accuracy, truth, he demanded from himself, and he expected them, so far as immaturity would permit it, from his students." * * * Yet, "while he might be rigid in his just demands for faithfulness, he was no less appreciative

[a] In The Michigan Alumnus, March, 1901.

and generous in his recognition of good work faithfully done. Many a student can recall a word of praise, discriminatingly given, which he has felt as a stimulus for many years thereafter."

Of the published fruits of his pen the tale is not long. Besides an early booklet or two on physical culture[a] and those old letters from across the sea, a few of which were not long ago gathered into a volume as Glimpses of England,[b] together with one or two tasks which, like his revision of Morley's English Literature[c] or his little memorial of Edgar Apgar,[d] were mere incidents to his life as teacher or as citizen, his life work as a writer sums itself up almost wholly in his history of American literature. That the volumes devoted to the colonial period busied him during almost the whole of his stay at Michigan,[e] and that it was not till near the end of his long career at Cornell that there appeared those on the literary history of the Revolution,[f] anticipated slightly by the little volume on Berkeley, Dwight, and Barlow,[g] which is but a detached part of the same great work, I can hardly need to tell you. More novel, doubtless, might be what I could tell of the cost of the work to its author—of the endless painstaking, the relentless thoroughness, the exacting fastidiousness; or of the devotion and the system which alone made it possible, in spite of academic interruptions and never too certain health, to accomplish so much—of the house-top study and the unbroken morning hours (close friend though I have been, I confess to never having disturbed him in the morning and to having entered the study only since his death), of the classification, topical and alphabetic, minute to a degree which would make most of you smile.

But "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," and we may perhaps better ask, now that the years have begun to test the outcome, whether all this zeal may not have failed of its mark, or perhaps have overshot it. On such a point my studies have given me small right to pronounce; but happily one whose competence none will question, a student like him-

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[a] Notably his Brawnville Papers, Boston, 1869.
[b] Glimpses of England, Social, Political, Literary, New York, 1898.
[c] New York, 1879.
[d] In Memoriam: Edgar Kelsey Apgar, Ithaca, 1886.
[e] They were published in 1878.
[f] New York, 1897.
[g] Three Men of Letters, New York, 1895.

self of both our literature and our history, Professor Trent, has lately weighed it for us in a study notable alike for its charm and for its keen though sympathetic insight.[a] To the industry and learning of Professor Tyler he gives unstinted praise. He notes, indeed, as others have done, the startling generosity with which the historian of American literature welcomes to his pages unknown names and his enthusiasm for much that hardly passes mediocrity; but he admits that where he came to scoff he has more than once remained to pray, and is fain at last to find the chief value of the masterpiece in precisely this abounding sympathy and this scholarly inclusiveness. He does not fail, indeed, to see what he deems more real faults—a certain over-elaboration, a sometimes irritating facetiousness, a tendency to lapse into that half-playful, half-pretentious trifling which his own generation, once so prone to it, called "lucubration;" yet these he counts but petty flaws in the "true man and admirable writer" whose clear and readable style, whose acumen, whose sound canons of esthetic criticism, whose tastes, "sturdy and healthy, yet by no means lacking in delicacy," whose wide culture and thorough independence, he eloquently sets forth. Surely such achievement was worth even such effort.

In the American Literature, I said, his work as a writer sums itself almost wholly up. Yet not quite. We have at least the Patrick Henry[b] to show us with how subtle and how sure a pen he could deal with political history as well, and to deepen our grief at the loss of that biographical history of American statesmanship in the nineteenth century on which he was busy when death came. It must have been far advanced; for, on my last tramp with him, a fortnight or so before the final illness, he told me with gusto of sundry things he had learned while at work upon the Sumner, and I certainly gathered that this study, with earlier ones, was at least provisionally complete. It was characteristic of the man that before his going he saw to it himself that all such papers were destroyed. Of this book (as of those further chapters of the American Literature, for which some have hoped) nought will ever see the light. A single article, seemingly left in readiness for the press, may be sent to the printer; but that is all.

Yet let me not limit to this lost book and to his Patrick Henry

[a] In The Forum, August, 1901.

[b] New York, 1887. (American Statesmen series.)

his work as a historian. Not less than these the American Literature is history—the history not of an art but of a society. Not only is it everywhere suffused with a clear consciousness of the social and institutional life underlying American thought and letters, and radiant with many a flash of insight into this world of affairs, but it is itself a study not of style but of life. Even to Professor Trent the main impression left by it, and that which its author wished to leave, is of democracy's part in American life and culture. To Moses Coit Tyler history was not past politics more than past literature: either had for him interest and worth only as key to that life and growth of which each is but an utterance. Before he began his story of our literature he had planned, as he told me, to write a history of the American people. What he did write was but a part of it.

To a free people—like our own and that of our free motherland across the sea—it is but natural to exalt into the foremost place the rôle of the citizen and that history which seems to fit him most directly for his tasks; and justly has been pointed out the worth to him who writes it of some personal share in politics or government. Yet, after all, that with which politics has to do is the form of life, not its substance. To him who will sound that deeper current which is history's best theme no sympathetic touch with life but has its worth; and much conspired to fit Moses Coit Tyler for his work. His Eastern birth and Western rearing, the Puritan traditions and convictions which shaped his earlier life, and the humanizing studies, the wider acquaintance, the freer air of the lecture field and of travel which gave breadth and color to his later, his experiences as a Congregational pastor and the widely differing environment whose influence long after ripened in his entrance as deacon and as priest into the Episcopal clergy, all these, aye, even the accident of name which cousined him to the Virginia Tylers, had their share in the making of that historian whose catholic sympathy was sensitive to every hopeful stirring of purpose or of taste in saint or sinner, Whig or Tory, Calvinist or Anglican, Yankee or Southron—who could without suspicion of prepossession or of malice reveal to us the numbers, the worth, the sound thinking, and the lofty aims of the American Loyalists or lay bare the mixture of character and of motive in the Fathers of the Republic.

Yet, at the heart of all, the measure of the historian is the man. Insight is less the daughter of experience than of sympathy. There is no royal school for the study of human nature. Even those circumstances which did so much for the training of Moses Coit Tyler were less his fate than his choice. To know the real secret of his work one must know himself.

But it is no less true that the writer mirrors himself in his work. And if this be so, as men long have held, in that self-expression which is literature, doubly is it so in that interpretation of others which is history. No matter how thorough the historian's research, how searching and conscientious his criticism, how scrupulously objective his narration, none the less surely he reveals himself. To divine a Shakespeare from a Hamlet or a Prince Hal is not easy; but it is because we can not know the ideal after which he shaped them. The historian's drama must be real: true not to life only, but to life that has been lived; true in all its proportions and perspective; true to feeling, to motive, to character, to all the complex reality of life. Against that background of reality, shadowed in outline by the very light he bears, the historian stands himself revealed: revealed by the choice and limits of his theme, revealed by the selection and the testing of his materials, revealed by his conception of men and of events, revealed by the tone and temper of his treatment—seeing no more than he can grow in him the self to see and telling no more than self impels him to share—revealed by all he does, revealed yet more by all he fails to do. So much of himself the historian must give. If he will, he may well give more—something of the joy of his work, something of the cheer of sharing it, something of the love of men it kindles, something of that self-revelation which is the soul of companionship—a warmth which is not passion and a color which is not prejudice, but the very glow of health on the living face of truth.

If I am content for now to forego the tempting effort to describe you the man Moses Coit Tyler as it was mine to know him, it is because in both these ways, as have few others, he has revealed himself in his books. Few have so toiled to make their every phrase the perfect expression of truth and of themselves. In his pages as clearly as in personal acquaintance you may know that singular union of

austerity and boyishness, that exuberance of humor, that whimsical playfulness of fancy, that love of companionship, that fertility in anecdote, that unjaded interest in everything human under the sun, that glee in out-of-doors which to the very end made him in the open the most boisterous of us all and won from the staring farmers the answering shout of "Go it, boys!"—aye, and that devout and reverent inner self, that loftiness of soul, that refinement of taste, that dignity and serenity of temper, that irony the keener for its kindliness, which to us who knew him best made up the personality of "the knight of the sunny countenance." All is there for you in his books—quality and defect, nay, even his very quirks and foibles. And, balancing them all together, I doubt if the closest of us could find saner verdict than that of Professor Trent, who never saw him in the flesh—"true man and admirable writer."

IX.—HERBERT B. ADAMS.

By JOHN MARTIN VINCENT,
PROFESSOR, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

HERBERT B. ADAMS.

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS, BY JOHN MARTIN VINCENT.

In presenting a memorial to the late Prof. Herbert B. Adams I stand as one among a large number who would be glad to bring forward their tributes of respect and affection. The ties which bound him to his contemporaries were numerous and varied. To his students he was an inspiring teacher and a faithful friend. To the world of educators he was an adviser whose opinions and cooperation were sought and shared by many. To the members of this association he was a trusted leader and hopeful comrade. Hence this paper will not stand alone. Numerous estimates of his work and character have already appeared in the periodical press, but it is fitting that in the proceedings of the society which he did so much to found and to foster a brief biographical sketch should appear. It is with this in view that I take this place, and for the reason that circumstances have placed within my reach materials for the description of his earlier life and later academic history. In fact, Professor Adams himself had collected from time to time the chief items in his own career, and of these I have made free use. My only regret is that this matter was not left more in autobiographical form, so that it might be presented to you with the charm of reminiscence.

Herbert Baxter Adams was born at Shutesbury (near Amherst), Mass., April 16, 1850. His father was Nathaniel Dickinson Adams, a lumber merchant and selectman of Shutesbury, and a descendant of Henry Adams, who settled in Braintree, Mass., 1634. His mother was Harriet Hastings, a descendant of Deacon Thomas Hastings, who settled in Watertown, Mass., 1634. Lieut. Thomas Hastings, of the Revolutionary army, was also a member of this family, and the race as a whole was of sound Puritan stock.

Herbert B. Adams prepared for Amherst College in the public schools of his adopted town of Amherst, whither his

mother and two brothers removed after the father's death, which occurred, September 7, 1856. The older brothers continued their studies at Williston Seminary, East Hampton, Mass.; the oldest, Charles Dickinson Adams, was afterwards graduated, at the head of his class, at Amherst College, 1863, and became a prominent and respected lawyer in New York City. He died March 20, 1889. The second brother, Henry Martyn Adams, went from Williston Seminary to Troy Polytechnic Institute, and thence to West Point Military Academy, from which he was graduated at the head of his class in 1866. He now holds the rank of colonel and is a member of the United States Board of Engineers, being stationed at present at New Orleans.

At the suggestion of his elder brother, H. B. Adams entered Phillips Exeter Academy in the winter of 1867 and was graduated with honor in the class of 1868. He won the Porter prize for the best entrance examination at Amherst College in the fall of that year and was graduated with the valedictory in 1872. The following year he taught Latin, Greek, mathematics, and classical history at Williston Seminary, where he succeeded Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, now of New York, as teacher of the middle classical class. After a year at Williston he was encouraged by his elder brother to go abroad for higher studies and sailed for Germany to take up history. This was in fulfillment of a desire first conceived at Phillips Exeter Academy and strengthened at Amherst College. Young Adams acquired his taste for history from books given him at school by his elder brother and by early privileges, obtained as a subfreshman, of drawing books from the library of Amherst College. President Julius H. Seelye confirmed this early historical bent of mind by a single lecture on "History" in Adams's senior year, but it was President Seelye who originally gave him a written permit to use the college library years before the boy entered the institution.

Adams said of his own life at Amherst:

> My editorial connection with the Amherst Student really gave a permanent bent to my life. I learned more real useful knowledge in that voluntary connection than in all other college means of training—in punctuation, composition, and rhetoric. To this day I can discern more lasting influences proceeding from that editorial den of mine at Amherst than from any other one college source. I have forgotten my mathematics, which I always hated, but in which I always ranked high by reason of my

Exeter training; but I shall never forget how to revise other people's manuscript and read proof, although I hate that, too.

His private reading in college was chiefly in connection with the subjects upon which he had to write or debate. History was not a large part of his collegiate training, and we might be a little surprised that he afterwards devoted his life to it. Of this he says himself: "Of history we had nothing at all after the freshman year, when Smith's Manuals of Greece and Rome were studied in well-chosen selections." The impulse came later. "I remember in the philosophical course by the president of the college one remarkable lecture on the 'Philosophy of history.' After rapidly reviewing the course of civilization, Dr. Seelye said that history was the grandest study in the world. That sentence decided my fate. I determined to devote myself to that grand subject. Up to that time I had no career in mind except journalism. I had written more or less for the Amherst Record and for the New York and Boston papers when I found a chance to do any reporting. But now my mind was quickly made up to pursue the 'grandest study in the world'—the recorded experience of mankind."

Before settling down in Germany Adams studied French for some months at Lausanne, Switzerland, whither he had been directed by Professor Lalande, his French tutor at Williston Seminary, and by whom he was personally introduced to a teacher in Professor Thébault, of the Lycée. After Lausanne there followed a few months of study and travel in Italy and a second brief sojourn in Paris. Here he met his elder brother, who dissuaded him from further study in France and urged him to take up German university life at once.

In January, 1874, he proceeded to Heidelberg with many pleasant anticipations, for the place had been graphically pictured to him by an Exeter fellow-student, a German-American named Mövius. Here he met his Amherst College friend, John B. Clark, now professor in Columbia University, and with him heard the lectures of Wilhelm Ihne on Roman history, Kuno Fischer on German literature and philosophy, and Heinrich von Treitschke on politics. At Heidelberg Adams lived in the family of the late Dr. Emil Otto, author of the well-known grammars, and with him studied and practiced German, at the same time making many acquaintances

and good friends among German students. He continued also the daily practice of French conversation with Swiss students and in a Swiss family of his acquaintance. Thus passed the winter and summer of that academic year.

After a tour of north Germany and a visit to the Amherst men residing in Göttingen, Adams spent the winter semester of 1874–75 at the University of Berlin. The professors who interested him most were Ernst Curtius, who lectured on Greek art and archæology; Hermann Grimm, who illustrated early Christian and Italian art by familiar talks in the Royal Museum; Lepsius, who, in the same museum, discoursed on Egyptology; Zeller, the historian of Greek philosophy; Droysen, who lectured on the French Revolution; and Treitschke, who had just come with great eclat from Heidelberg, and whom Adams, like many other students, had really followed to Berlin. The mentor and friend of young Adams in Berlin was Elihu H. Root, a pupil of Helmholtz and afterwards professor of physics in Amherst College.

In the summer of 1875, somewhat discouraged at the prospect of an expensive and a protracted course of study necessary for the doctor's degree in Berlin, Adams would have returned home to America and actually forwarded his books to Glasgow with that intent; but, while on a tour through Southern Germany, he received a generous letter from his elder brother urging him to remain in Germany and finish what he had begun at Heidelberg. Accordingly he returned for another year and, in the summer of 1876, under the guidance of Prof. J. C. Bluntschli, completed a definite course in historical and political science. In these subjects he was examined by Bluntschli, the statesman, and Knies, the economist, and was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by the political science faculty, July 14, 1876.

In a little old diary which Adams kept during this period there are interesting entries of his reading for this examination. Great sections of Bluntschli's Staatslehre, Völkerrecht, and Staatswörterbuch, were consumed from day to day. While reviewing his notes a month beforehand he writes: "Headache; scared over the prospect of exam." Hence we are prepared for the entry of July 13: "The die is cast. Studied until dinner. Am nervous—had a bad night. Loaf until 6 p. m. Examination from 6–8 p. m. Summa cum laude. Knies, Bluntschli, Erdmannsdörfer, Winkelmann,

Stark, Ribbeck, Weil, and others present." On the 15th of July Adams bade farewell to his professors and entered in his diary the comment: "Bluntschli a trump."

Through Bluntschli's personal influence and recommendation Adams had been appointed, while still at Heidelberg, to the fellowship in history at the Johns Hopkins University. It is interesting to note in this connection that about a year after Bluntschli's death (October 21, 1881) his private library was publicly presented (December 20, 1882) to the Johns Hopkins University by a group of German citizens of Baltimore, who thus contributed to the doubly patriotic object of presenting the library of a German statesman to an American school of historical and political science. (See "Bluntschli, Lieber, and Laboulaye" and "Bluntschli's Life-Work" by H. B. Adams, privately printed in 1884 by John Murphy & Co.) This library was the first memorable public gift to the new university.

When Dr. Adams came to Baltimore as fellow in history, at the opening of the university, in the fall of 1876, Dr. Austin Scott, a graduate of Yale University, 1869, and now president of Rutgers College, was in charge of the work in history. At that time he was the coadjutor of Mr. George Bancroft in the revision of his history of the United States, and in the preparation of Bancroft's last great work on the Formation of the Constitution. Dr. Scott resided in Washington, but came to Baltimore once or twice a week for the conduct of a seminary of American history, which used to meet in one of the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society. It was in connection with the work of this seminary that Dr. Adams prepared his first printed monograph, entitled "Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth, or the History of the Accession of Public Lands by the Old Confederation." This was published in 1877 by the Maryland Historical Society as Fund Publication No. 11, and was afterwards, in 1885, republished in revised form by the university. The monograph presents some of Dr. Adams's favorite subjects of study; for example, the importance of our western territory as a necessary economic and historic basis for the American Union. George Washington's interest in western lands, in the Potomac Company (historic forerunner of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal) and in the project of a national university continued to influence Dr. Adams throughout his academic life. He

believed most strongly in our first President's notion of a great school of political science, midway between the North and the South, to which young men from both sections could come and, by friendly association, do away in some measure with what Washington called "local attachments and State prejudices."

The first work of Dr. Adams as a teacher in the Johns Hopkins University began while he was yet a fellow. At first he had a class of two once a week and a class of one twice a week. Both were voluntary. The class of one was peripatetic and consisted of a park walk and a talk on American constitutional history with George M. Sharp (now Judge Sharp). The class of two was on the outlines of European history and met in one of the old buildings, since torn down.

The register of the university for the third year, 1878–79, contains the first mention of Dr. Adams's regular collegiate class work: "European History during the Middle Ages," four times weekly, first half year, with 14 students. At the same time Dr. Scott's "seminary of American history" met for advanced work once weekly through the year and enrolled 15 students. Adams was also actively connected with this.

In the spring of 1878 Dr. Adams was invited to Smith College, Northampton, Mass., to lecture to the first three regular classes of that new institution. He gave them written lectures on the history of church and state, which he had originally prepared and which he had already given in part at the Johns Hopkins University in the previous year, to a semi-public audience of ladies and gentlemen. The invitation to Smith College was the beginning of Dr. Adams's academic promotion, for, when called to a professorship in Northampton, he was appointed at a lower salary an associate in history in Baltimore. He continued to hold both positions for some years, lecturing on history at Smith College during the spring term.

It was at a June commencement in Northampton that President Gilman once began his address with this pleasant introduction:

> I know not what unseen ties may bind Smith College and the Johns Hopkins University together, but I do know that they both have the same teacher of history, who, in his annual migrations from Northampton to Baltimore, brings us tidings of the beautiful, the true, and the good.

This springtime experience of Dr. Adams in the Connecti-

cut Valley, only a few miles from his own home, he always looked back upon with the greatest pleasure.

In 1881 Edward A. Freeman visited America and spent some time in Baltimore lecturing at the Peabody Institute and at Johns Hopkins University. He took much interest in the historical work of the university, and in an English Review, and later in his book called "Impressions of the United States," Mr. Freeman said:

> A young and growing school which still has difficulties to struggle against may be glad of a good word on either side of the ocean. I can not help mentioning the school which is now devoting itself to the special study of local institutions, a school which is spread over various parts of the Union, but which seems to have its special home in the Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore, as one from which great things may be looked for. Nor can I help adding the name of my friend, Mr. Herbert B. Adams, as that of one who has done much for the work, and who, to me at least, specially represents it.

For several years after his visit to Baltimore, and after his call to the historical professorship at Oxford, Mr. Freeman continued to write encouraging letters to Dr. Adams. In an article entitled "Mr. Freeman's visit to Baltimore" Dr. Adams gave an account of a great service rendered by Freeman and James Bryce to Maryland and the Maryland Historical Society. They visited the building of the Historical Society and there were made acquainted with the archives of the State. Afterwards each of the visitors wrote a letter regarding the importance of preserving and publishing the manuscript records of the Commonwealth. These opinions, made public by the Historical Society and reinforced by prominent citizens and the whole Baltimore delegation to the legislature, were laid before the general assembly, while a sharp newspaper campaign was conducted by Dr. Adams. The result was the removal of the colonial papers from Annapolis to Baltimore and the beginning of their publication at State expense.

We see from Mr. Freeman's description the tendency of the historical seminary which Adams was quietly building up. At first it was held in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society, then in a basement room of the Peabody Library, where he was allowed to collect and use books on English constitutional history. Shortly before Mr. Freeman's visit the Bluntschli Library was received, and he found both seminary and books installed in handsome quarters on the university premises. In these rooms, since devoted to mineralogy,

passed the stirring period of Adams's university career. It is to that seminary table, placed in the midst of a laboratory of books and literally lighted from above, that the recollections of the older generation of Hopkins historians return.

Adams himself was at this time deeply interested in the origin of New England towns and other local institutions, for which he made numerous original investigations. He derived the impulse not from Freeman, but from a study of Sir Henry Maine and Von Maurer, first suggested by Professor Erdmannsdörfer in a Heidelberg seminary.

The researches of Adams's seminary progressed so vigorously that a regular form of publication was found desirable. In 1882 he began the issue of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science." To give the enterprise an impulse, Mr. Freeman after his return to England wrote an "Introduction to American Institutional History." It was this phrase which suggested to the academic council nearly ten years later the title of Adams's professorial chair.

At the time they were started the historical studies were new, and at once attracted attention at home and abroad. The personal contributions of the editor were numerous, chiefly in the field of American institutional and educational history. These publications set the example in this country for original academic contributions to historical and political science in serial form. In twenty years such monographs and periodicals have increased to a wonderful degree, and all are adding something to the scientific and economic capital of the country, but we must look back to Adams as the leader of the movement.

The value of the studies was recognized at once. John Fiske, more than ten years ago, said:

> In studying the local institutions of our different States I have been greatly helped by the Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Politics. * * * In the course of the pages below I have frequent occasion to acknowledge my indebtedness of these learned and sometimes profoundly suggestive monographs, but I can not leave the subject without a special word of gratitude to my friend, Dr. Herbert B. Adams, editor of the series, for the noble work which he is doing in promoting the study of American history.

The works of James Bryce and other writers upon American institutions are full of notes derived from the special monographs of this series.

In 1884 Dr. Adams joined with Justin Winsor, Andrew D. White, Charles Kendall Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, and others in the organization of this American Historical Association. The records of his official connection are to be found in the long series of its publications. It is to be found also in the memories of a greater number of you who are present on this occasion. But those who have not stood close to Adams in his lifetime can scarcely realize the amount of time and attention which he devoted to this Association, not only in preparation for its annual meetings, the arrangements of programmes and addresses, but in the constant daily attention to its business and progress. Notwithstanding the fact that he was furnished with most efficient clerical assistance, there were always innumerable questions to be referred to him for decision, and it was close attention to this infinitude of detail which carried forward the Association with smoothness and precision. But, of all his work for the Association, Adams was proudest of the part he took in obtaining a national charter in 1889. He regarded the connection with the Smithsonian Institution as a most important extension of usefulness and a union to be fostered and utilized with every care.

Adams's contributions to historical literature were chiefly monographic. In 1893, however, he brought out in two large octavo volumes the Life and Writings of Jared Sparks. He had been persuaded by the late Andrew P. Peabody and by the widow of Jared Sparks to undertake the examination of his voluminous papers. It was a laborious task, for the editor of Washington's Writings, the Diplomatic Correspondence, and a long series of American biographies, North American Review, and the writings of Benjamin Franklin had left an embarrassment of riches for a review of his own life work. I well recollect the vast collection of pamphlet cases and documentary files which filled for many years some of the closets in Adams's university office. It seemed an interminable labor even to examine the series at hand, for Sparks was a man who never threw away a letter, even if it were an invitation to a dinner. All this had to be sifted in the preparation of the volumes which were to show the characteristic activity of the man. Dr. George E. Ellis says of these books: "The just as well as the highest encomium upon the work of this biographer is spoken when we say in full sincerity that we can conceive that he would have from Mr. Sparks himself the warmest

expression of approval and gratitude for the ability, fidelity, good taste, and wise judgment with which he has wrought his exacting labor." (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Society, 1894.)

In 1887 Dr. Adams began to edit for the United States Bureau of Education a series of contributions to American educational history. These begin with a monograph on the college of William and Mary. In this he took occasion to put forward some of his own ideas about higher education, with suggestions for its national promotion. He advocated the founding in Washington of a civil academy which should be in matters of political science and civil-service training what West Point and Annapolis are in military and naval education. This idea was derived from old William and Mary College, the first school of history, politics, and economics in this country. The idea is reinforced by Washington's plan of a national university midway between the North and the South, which seems in these days to be approaching a realization.

Dr. Adams further contributed to his educational series Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, and another elaborate report on the Study of History in American Colleges and Universities. With the approval of successive commissioners of education, he arranged for a series of histories of higher education in the various States of the Union. These have been prepared by authors and subeditors selected by Dr. Adams, and of the 32 monographs all but 3 were completed at the time of his death. Adams also prepared for the Bureau of Education special monographs on popular education. Chautauqua schools in America and in Europe, university extension in Great Britain, and university extension in America were also given a thorough treatment.

Adams's interest in these forms of education led him also to lecture for several years before the Chautauqua Lake Assembly. His latest report in this field was a monograph prepared for the Paris Exposition on Popular Education in the United States. It may be said that in the educational domain, this field interested him in late years more than any other. On his desk he pinned a card containing the words of Jules Siegfried, senator of France, "The education of the people is the first duty of democracy."

Adams remained steadily in Baltimore for twenty-five years.

He had every inducement to go to other institutions of learning, but for personal reasons preferred to remain where he began. At the time of the Chicago Exposition in 1893, he was offered the directorship of the department of liberal arts, and at the same time he had offered him the professorship of history and the deanship of the graduate department of Chicago University. But with all due respect to the promising future there spread before him, he preferred to stay by the department of his first love. It was while still in the harness which he assumed in 1876 that he was first stricken down in 1899. He continued two years longer in the vain hope of restoration to activity, and died at Amherst, Mass., July 30, 1901.

To those who worked under Adams as students or assistants the predominating notes in his teaching were inspiration and sympathy. This was not due to a profundity of thought in his lectures which might create wonder and admiration for himself in a body of disciples. His lectures were, indeed, sound and interesting, but he was also continually pointing to more work to be done, more fields to be cultivated, and more reputations to be made. At every opportunity he brought before his classes particularly the work of men who had gone out from the seminary. Reports of their successes or failures, their promotions or their publications, came before the young men almost daily, until they became acquainted by name with the whole family of fellow-investigators. Such things as these men did were within reach of the young aspirant, and the effect was to spur every man to do something worthy of that company and that university. The results were unequal, but the inspiration was universal and lasting.

This friendly counsel continued after men had gone out to fill positions in the professional world. He spared no pains in answering requests for advice, whether it related to academic methods or private affairs. His numerous literary and editorial connections placed him in position to point out work to a large number of men; consequently his friendship became an ever-widening circle. The fact that he never married may have allowed him to take an individual interest in his "boys," as he was wont to call the men who had gone out from his department.

In business affairs he was a man of thrift, but this permitted

him to be useful to others. Many a student was the recipient of temporary economic aid, loaned unostentatiously and with a confidence rarely misplaced. He bought books freely for himself and for the seminary, and before his death presented his large private library to the university. Outside of a few family bequests he devoted his whole estate to public purposes. To the town of Amherst he gave his own home, as a memorial to his parents, and to Amherst College $2,000, as a fund for the purchase of books. To the American Historical Association he left $5,000 unconditionally. To the university which he served for twenty-five years he gave the balance of his estate to form the Herbert B. Adams fund, the income of which must be devoted to the promotion of history, politics, and education.

Adams took a great interest in religion, especially as viewed from the historical standpoint. For many years he lectured upon the development of religious belief, tracing it through the Orient and the Hebrews into Christianity. The result was wide catholicity of sentiment on his own part and broad interpretation of the Christian doctrines. He was not a man who took a prominent part in the devotional side of religion, but was a constant member and attendant upon church services and gave thought to his own belief. In a paper written some years ago I found a creed written in his own hand in which his beliefs and hopes are placed in an all-wise Providence, and in what may be called the broad essentials of Christian doctrine.

In practical work his sympathies were bound by no single church, for he was constantly aiding the educational movement of all denominations. Ministers, priests, rabbis, committees from Christian associations, and all sorts of workers were continually consulting with him in regard to social work. To these forms of religious activity he devoted many hours of his life.

This was a busy man, who wore himself out at the age of 51. One-half of his allotted time was devoted to preparation and one-half to the fulfillment of his life work. We looked for a longer sojourn among us, that he might continue activity in the prime of life and reap the honors and rewards of old age. But since it was otherwise decreed, I leave a feeble tribute in the archives of the Association of which he was an honored officer and devoted friend.

X.—MARYLAND'S FIRST COURTS.

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By Bernard C. Steiner, Ph. D.

By the charter of Maryland, granted to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, by Charles I, in 1632, the territory given him was created a province, over which Baltimore was made lord proprietary. In this palatinate province he had "all and singular such and as ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, royalties, liberties, and royal rights and temporal franchises whatsoever, as well by seas as by land, * * * to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick or county of Durham, * * * ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or, of right, could or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy." In this ample grant of power was included the right to "make laws and to constitute and ordain judges, justices, magistrates and officers of what kind, for what cause, and with what power soever, within that land and the sea of those parts, and in such form as to the said now Baron of Baltimore or his heirs shall seem most fitting, and also to remit, reprieve, pardon, and abolish all crimes and offences whatsoever against such laws, whether or after judgment passed, and to do all and singular other things belonging to the completion of justice and to courts, praetorian judicatories, and tribunals, judicial forms and modes of proceeding, although express mention thereof in these presents be not made, and, by judges by them delegated, to award process, hold pleas, and determine in those courts, praetorian judicatories, and tribunals in all actions, suits, causes, and matters whatsoever, as well as criminal as personal, real, and mixed and praetorian." (Bacon's Laws, Charter, sections 4 and 7.) Not only in time of peace did the judicial power belong to Baltimore, but in case of rebellion, sudden tumult, or sedition, he might "exercise martial law as freely and in as ample manner and form as any captain-general of an army". (Section 13.)

It was not necessary that the lord proprietary should exercise all this jurisdiction in person. License was given him to erect parcels of land within the province aforesaid into manors and in every one of those manors to "have and to hold a court baron and all things to which to a court baron do belong and to have and to keep view of frank pledge." (Charter, sec. 19.)

The laws made for the province must "be consonant to reason and be not repugnant nor contrary to, but (so far as they conveniently may be) agreeable to" those of England (Charter, sec. 7), and in the administration of them through the courts, regard must be given to the fact that the people of the province were given "all privileges, franchises, and liberties of this our kingdom of England, * * * to use and enjoy in the same manner as our liegemen born."

Under this charter Lord Baltimore sent out the first settlers, with instructions that they be "very careful to do justice to every man without partiality." (Calvert Papers, I, p. 140). The cautious and shrewd proprietary selected as the leader of the enterprise his brother, Leonard Calvert, who seems to have been a man of ability, and the province was begun by the landing at St. Mary's on March 25, 1634.

For the first four years matters were in an unsettled state, and we hear but little of legal proceedings. The land must be tilled, houses built, relations adjusted with the Virginians and the Indians, and above all Kent Island must be subdued. Early Maryland, like ancient Gaul, was divided into three parts—the proprietary settlement on the Potomac; the trading post of William Clayborne, on Kent Island, on the Eastern Shore; and the later settlement of the Puritans on the Severn, after they had been driven from Virginia, about 1646. This division was of momentous consequence for the province. Clayborne, a prominent Virginian, brooked ill the new charter and refused to yield submission of his earlier claims to the new proprietary. The struggle was long maintained both in America and England, but the first act ended when the vessels of the two opponents met in the Pocomoke and, after a short combat, the proprietary conquered. This conquest was followed by the establishment of Baltimore's authority on Kent Island, where Governor Calvert went in April, 1638, held a court, and heard and determined causes between the inhabitants. The

Lord Baltimore would be supreme in his territory. Process ran in his name and not in that of the King. As palatine he could pardon offenses against the laws of England. The organization of the courts was usually determined by his instructions. "But the time place and manner of holding courts, the limits of their respective jurisdictions, and the manner of proceeding in them were constant subjects of legislation." (McMahon's History of Md., pp. 155–159.) The limits of control between proprietary and assembly were vague, and this led to occasional struggles between them.

Another difficulty which Baltimore had in making his laws supreme, came through the desire of the Jesuits to establish the validity of canon law in Maryland, relying on the fact that Baltimore was a Roman Catholic in faith. He was too wise, however, and too insistent on his rights to admit of any such claim, and sternly refused to permit any doubt on the matter or to entertain the suggestion of the priests, "that though in publique we suffer our cause to be heard and tried by the publique magistrats, yet that in private they know that they have it but as arbitrators and defenders of the church, because Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is not here settled." (Calvert Papers, II, 66, 194.) In fact, we find the priests are frequent parties to suits brought in provincial court. (On the Jesuit question see Professor Dennis's article in report of this association for 1900.)

The canon law was not introduced into the province, but the English common law was claimed by the settlers as following them across the ocean. Daniel Dulaney, the elder, early in the eighteenth century claimed that the Marylanders were entitled to all the rights of freeborn Englishmen, and the provincial court from the very first applied common law principles without especial authorization. Not only was the common law brought over from England, but the learned Chancellor Kilty, in his Report of English Statutes (p. 139), says that, save as to such provisions as were wholly of a local nature and could not in practice have been applicable to the circumstances of the province, "there is no doubt but that Magna Charta" did extend to and was in full force in Maryland. What he said of this great statute was also true in respect of such other statutes, "which by experience have been found applicable to their local and other circumstances

and have been introduced, used and practiced by the courts of law and equity." (Const. of Md., 1867, art. 5, Dec. of Rts. See a discussion of the adoption of English law in Maryland by the present writer in 9 Yale Law Journal, 353.)

The first legal authority in the province was Leonard Calvert, the lieutenant-general, or governor, as we are more apt to call him. The first commission which we find given him by his brother was dated April 15, 1637, and made him chancellor, chief justice, and chief magistrate. He was given power to issue writs and processes and commissions for the execution of justice and absolute authority to execute martial law in time of war. Until laws were made, he had conferred on him the power to "issue ordinances, edicts, and proclamations," "with reasonable pains and penalties," not extending to taking away the rights or interest of anyone in his "life, members, freeholds, goods, and chattels," which ordinances should be in force until repealed by the proprietary or the governor himself. (Council Proceedings I, 49–53.) Doubtless Leonard Calvert's powers previous to this were similar in character, though no earlier commission is extant. As sole judge, he could hear and award execution, while he may determine "all civil causes for goods, chattels, debts, &c., according to the laws of the province and, in delault thereof, according to the laws of England," as near as he may judge thereof. A council of three men, one of whom is to be secretary, is appointed, and in criminal cases involving life or limb the decision is to be made by the governor and at least two of the councilors, according to the laws of the province. (New commissions to the governor dated September 2, 1642 (1 Council, 108), and September 6, 1644 (1 Council, 151), vary but little as to the powers conferred.) The governor and the councilors, whose numbers were later somewhat increased, constituted the provincial court, and by the later commission to Governor William Stone, this court was empowered to judge of all causes, criminal and civil, which may occur in Maryland, according to the laws of the province, or in default thereof, according to their best discretion, and to award execution. (Aug. 6, 1648, 1 Council, 201.)

The scope of this paper is the first score or so of years in Maryland's history, until the proprietary's rule over the province was finally restored under orders from Cromwell, Lord

Protector of England, in 1657. Up to this time we have in print the records of the provincial court in two volumes of the Maryland archives, while the subsequent records are still in manuscript. Then, too, the legal system of the province had by this time become fixed and the turbulent scenes of the early days were over. They had been truly turbulent. Whether Clayborne were or not the "evil genius of the province," he assuredly was of the lord proprietary. But after his first overthrow we find him absent from the scene for a while.

In 1644 Richard Ingle, pretending to represent the parliamentary party, drove out Leonard Calvert and a year of anarchy followed, known to the old records as "the plundering time." Of that period we have no records. The records begin in 1637 and are incomplete in 1639, 1640, and 1641. Shortly after Leonard Calvert's restoration to power he went to England for a time, and died soon after his return to Maryland. The province was peaceful from 1646 until the coming of the parliamentary commissioners. Five of these had been appointed to reduce Virginia from her royal allegiance and, either by craft or accident, they were empowered by their commission "to reduce all the plantations within Chesapeake Bay" (1 Council, 265).

Two of these commissioners were Clayborne and Bennett, the head of the Puritan party in Virginia; the other three were Englishmen. Through accident, only one of the latter arrived in America, and he, with the two Virginians, came to Maryland and seized the government in 1652. So great had been Baltimore's hatred for Clayborne that he had exempted him and Ingle from the general pardoning power conferred on Stone in his gubernatorial commission. It is not surprising, therefore, though it was a most high-handed proceeding, that the commissioners insisted that writs should run henceforth in the name of the keepers of the liberty of England, and appointed a new council (Mar. 29, 1652, 1 Council, 272). Three months later, however (June 28, 1652, 1 Council, 275), Stone was restored as governor, undertaking to have writs run as above. This modus vivendi lasted for nearly two years (Mar. 2, 1653–54, 1 Council, 300), when Stone ordered the writs again to run in the proprietary's name. A small war followed, and in a conflict near Annapolis between the Puritans of Providence, as

they called their settlement on the Severn, and the proprietary's forces, the latter were decisively defeated and Stone was taken prisoner. From July, 1654 (1 Council, 312), until 1657 the government was placed by Bennett and Clayborne, acting under their former commission, in the hands of a body of commissioners with a president, which body acted as a council and as a provincial court. Thus the sessions of this court were uninterrupted, save for the time of Ingle's supremacy. We must remember that this body was at the same time upper house of the assembly, chief court of the province, and governor's council, and we shall not then be surprised to find the legal, executive, and legislative parts of its proceedings mingled in a rather disturbing way during these early provincial years. Though the present Maryland constitution enunciates the doctrine of the separation of powers, neither the preaching nor the practice of the seventeenth century knew aught of the doctrine of Montesquieu. In theory, at least, there was a separate court "in causes testamentary and matrimonial," the secretary of the province being appointed commissioner and given power by the proprietary to prove wills, grant administration, take inventories, etc., but in practice, as he always sat in the provincial court as one of the judges, there seems to have been no separate tribunal, and testamentary business is spread by the side of strictly judicial proceedings on the records (Jan. 24, 1637–38, 1 Council, 60, 116, 158, 218). There were no ecclesiastical courts in the province. Besides the above-named functions of the provincial court, legal business of St. Mary's County was adjudicated there, as there seems to have been no separate county court in St. Mary's County. Until the Puritan settlement at Providence was erected into Anne Arundel County in 1650 and Charles (later called Calvert) County was established north of the Patuxent River in the same year (1 Council, 259; 1 Assembly, 280), St. Mary's County included all the western shore of the bay—that is, all the settlements save that on Kent Island, and for a time even this. Under the county court, the only jurisdictions were those of justice of the peace and lord of the manor, as we shall see. Hundreds were erected, and there were some traces of a design to have a justice of the peace (1 Council, 59, 70), a constable, and, indeed, a coroner (1 Council, 91) for each hundred, but no records of a hundred court are extant, if any such court ever sat.

For St. Mary's County a sheriff was yearly appointed (1 Council, 229) with power to appoint a bailiff, or under sheriff (1 Council, 61, 73, 96), sometimes one in each hundred (1 Council, 117). In St. Mary's County the councilors seem to have acted as conservators of the peace (Jan. 24, 1637–38, 1 Council, 60), a power usually conferred upon them in their commissions. An attempt to establish a county court there seems to have been made in 1644 (1 Council, 150).

For Kent Island a special court was established from the first. Over the island was placed a commander, George Evelin being the first one. (1 Council, 59, Dec. 30, 1637.) He was appointed to call court, as often as there shall be cause, and award all manner of process, hold pleas, and decide all civil cases between inhabitants of the island not exceeding £10, and criminal cases, where the offense was alleged to have been committed on the island and where the punishment did not extend to loss of life or member. He was empowered to execute all jurisdiction for the preservation of the peace which a justice of the peace in England might and to appoint necessary officers for the execution of justice. With him was associated a council of conservators of the peace or commissioners, the latter name being still the legal title in Maryland for the administrative authorities of the county. The first such appointees were authorized to hold "court leet" as often as need be and hear civil cases between inhabitants of the island involving not over 1,200 pounds of tobacco, which commodity had already become the circulating medium of the Province (1 Council 62, Feb. 9, 1637/8). When a greater amount was involved, the first named of the justices was directed to grant a warrant, attach goods of the defendant, and make him give security to answer the suit at the court at St. Mary's. Decisions in Kent should be "according to the laws of the Province or in default thereof according to those of England." (1 Council, 80.) As Kent Island was the seat of Clayborne's followers, it is not surprising that there were times when this plan of government was superseded by a grant of power to reduce the island by martial law if necessary (1 Council, 64). Power to execute martial law was also given the militia commanders, "against any mutinous or disorderly persons of your company, which shall in any way offend against the law, custom, and discipline military," when suddenly called out against the Indians (1

Council, 75, 102, 103, 106). New commissions to different persons to act as commander and commissioners of Kent Island are given from time to time, and the phrase "court leet" disappears,[a] the limit of jurisdiction is raised or lowered from time to time, some testamentary powers are, in at least one instance, conferred on the commander, but we find no important change in the administration of the county (Commanders' commissions, Council, 80, 90, 101, 104, 124, 127, 158, 182, 197, 198, 216; commissioners named, 1 Council, 104, 158), save that provision is made for another person to hear causes in which the commissioner is interested (1 Council, 97), and that an appeal from the court at Kent to the provincial court is allowed, the appellant giving bond to prosecute. From the Kent Island court we find a number of appeals in the provincial court records (1644, 1 Council, 150).

The administration of Kent was taken as the model for the new counties formed in 1650, when a commander and commissioners were appointed for each. One of these commanders came out from England with grant from the proprietary a position equal to that of the commander of Kent (1 Council, 237, 257, 308).

It was part of Baltimore's plan to establish manors, and a number of such were founded, though we know but little of their administration. By the Conditions of Plantation, issued August 6, 1636, persons taking up grants of 1,000, 2,000, or 3,000 acres of land might have them converted into manors, with grants of courts baron and leet (1 Council, 48). In 1642 2,000 acres of land might be created a manor, "with privileges of an English one" (1 Council, 99, 223), and in 1649 the necessary area was raised to 3,000 acres (1 Council, 233). In at least two instances we have records of manorial courts. Bozman (2 History of Maryland, 581) seems to have had access to the records of St. Gabriel Manor, as he records that in full court by delivery of the steward a tenant took a messuage, having done fealty to the lady of the manor. The other and far more important record is that of the court of St. Clement's Manor, in St. Mary's County. This manor was granted to Thomas Gerard, surgeon, and, in addition to his powers as lord of the manor, he was created conservator of the peace in St. Clement's Hundred, which seems to have been practically

[a] This phrase is one of the evidences that it was at first intended to treat Kent as an hundred rather than as a county.

coincident with the manor (1 Council, 89, 90, 91). By his commission he was given the powers of any two justices of the peace in England to punish offenders with imprisonment, small fine, or corporal correction, not extending to loss of life or limb, and was directed to be especially watchful against poachers and illicit traders with the Indians. A constable and a coroner for the hundred were also appointed. Bozman acutely suggests (2 History of Maryland, 169) that the grant of power equal to two justices had, probably, relation to the then existing statutes of game (particularly Jac., 1 ch., 27, and 7 Jac., 1 ch., 11), whereby the conviction of offenders against them was vested in two justices of the peace out of sessions. The manor consisted of 1,000 acres, comprising St. Clement's Isle and a neck of land near by, and was laid out on October 30, 1639. Records are extant of five sessions of the manor court between 1659 and 1672. (Published in 1 J, H. U. Studies in Historical and Political Science—Old Maryland Manors, by John Johnson.)

The court was presided over by the steward in true ancient style, and with him we find the bailiff, the constable, the jury, and homagers. The inhabitants of the manor are divided into resiants, freeholders, and leaseholders. Two afferors are appointed to revise fines and reduce them as mercy demands. How long the court was continued we know not, but the glimpses of its proceedings are of considerable interest. The lord of the manor is presented for not providing a pillory, pair of stocks, and a ducking stool. The Indian King of Chaptico was presented "for killing a wild sow and took her piggs and raysed a stock of them." Had ever monarch so hard a fate! This case, being so difficult, is referred to the governor. Others are presented for "breaking into the Lord of the Manor's orchard;" for "keeping a tipling house and selling his drink without a license;" for "suffering his horses to destroy a corn field;" and because he "broke the peace with a stick and that there was bloudshed committed" by him upon the body of another. New tenants attorn to the lord of the manor, reliefs and alienation fees are exacted, etc. Altogether it is a quaint mediæval picture.

No jail seems to have been built in the province before 1674, and previous to that time offenders were in the custody of the sheriff. (Kilty, Report of Statutes, 225.)

When the second general assembly met, the great question was by what laws shall the province be governed until a code can be adopted. (1 Assembly, 9.) On January 29, 1637–38, Calvert acknowledged to the assembly that his commission authorized him to use the laws of England, save as to criminal offenses whose punishment extended to the loss of life or limb, for which there was no power in the province. He thought that "enormous offenders" could not be punished for lack of laws. The assembly thought that enormous offenses could hardly be committed without mutiny, and then could be punished under the grant of martial law, but they took no chances, and so, as Thomas Smith was then a prisoner, charged with piracy, his trial was held before the whole assembly. He had been commander of Clayborne's boat, which had been taken, and after indictment and trial was condemned to death by a vote of 18 to 1(3 were absent). (1 Assembly, 17, 21.) So the first act of the assembly was a bill of attainder, "the whole legislative Body" concurring in the condemnation. (Bacon's Laws, 1637, note.) At the same session a bill of attainder was passed against Clayborne, and the leader of the Proprietary party in the Pocomoke conflict was acquitted of the charge of unlawfully killing some of Clayborne's men in the struggle. (1 Assembly, 17, 18, 23.) These procedures are all the more noteworthy inasmuch as at the first assembly, in 1634–35, an act had been passed that offenders in felonies should suffer the same penalties as in England.

In these first years of the province, a controversy existed between the assembly and the proprietary as to which had the initiative in legislation, and this caused the failure of all acts at the first two sessions, save the bills of attainder against Clayborne and Smith. At the second session, bills had been brought in for fees and forfeitures, hearing of civil causes, probates of wills, punishment of crimes in the county court, arbitrary punishment of enormous offense , etc.

When the third assembly met, a year later, lls were read on the first day of the session for erecting cour. (1 Assembly, 34), and an elaborate system was provided establishing a court of admiralty,[a] county court,[a] chancery court,[a] "pretorial" court for the adjudication of high crimes and misdemeanors, for fees and recovering of debts, for the definition and punishment of treasons and felonies, and for the authority of a jus-

tice of the peace. (1 Assembly, 46 to 71.) The only act which was passed, however, was a sort of an omnibus measure. In this it was provided that fees should be paid to the secretary of the province (1 Assembly, 82; laws of 1638–39, ch. 2), clerk of chancery, marshal, and coroners, according to a fixed table. "In all causes civil" the lieutenant-general is the judge, and the council takes his place when he is a plaintiff. No provision is made for his being a defendant. In Kent Island the commander is to be judge, there being an appeal from his decisions. All judgments are to be "according to the laws and laudable usages of this Province, or otherwise according to the laws or laudable usages of England in the same or like cases." The governor and the commander shall take an oath to administer equal justice, and every councilor must swear to "assist in the execution of justice without favor or malice." The lieutenant-general and councilor, and the commander of Kent within his island, had power given them to apprehend felons and keep the peace, "to trie and censure all offenders with punishment as they may think the offence to deserve." In cases, however, where the penalty extends to loss of life or limb there must be an indictment and a trial by twelve freemen at the least. The secretary is to prove wills and grant letters of administration for the whole province, the commander taking proper order in Kent Island for saving of goods of the deceased, till the will be proved or administration granted. The assembly at this same session acted at least five times in a judicial character; decreeing that one defendant pay 30 pounds of beaver, refusing to pardon another, and ordering that a third be whipped three several times for carrying away goods unlawfully from his master. (1 Assembly, 35; Bacon's Laws, note).

Frequent changes in the constitution of the courts were made in later assemblies. In 1640 testamentary jurisdiction was given the lieutenant-general or the first councillor in each county. Where no party having the right to the succession claims administration the governor was directed to act as administrator. The councillors were to act as judges in testamentary causes and if they were equally divided the lieutenant-general should nominate one or more new members. (1 Assembly, 108.)

The judiciary acts of 1638 were to continue in force for

three years only or till the end of the next assembly. The assembly of 1640 seems to have overlooked this and so we find an act passed in March, 1641–2, continuing the act to the end of the next session and declaring valid any judicial acts done since 1640, "so far as they were" in accordance with the law of the province, then or at any time since being or supposed to be in force. (1 Assembly, 120.) This practice of passing bills to be in force for a short time was a very common one during the whole provincial period, as thereby the assembly kept a surer control over affairs and prevented matters from going entirely into the hands of the proprietary and his officers. At the summer session of 1642, several important statutes were passed. The act for rule of judicature (1 Assembly, 147), decreed that "Right and just in all civil causes shall be determined according to the law or most general usage of the Province since its plantation, or former precedents of the same or like nature, to be determined by the judge and, in defect of such law, usage or precedent, then right and just shall be determined according to equity and good conscience, not neglecting (so far as the judge or judges shall be informed thereof and shall find no inconvenience in the application to this Province) the rules by which right and just useth to be determined in England." It will be noted that while the settlers claimed the benefit of English law they had no intention of yielding servilely to it, and some months before they had gravely decided that a man was "guilty of what is champerty by the law of England, but is not such as is criminal here." (1 Assembly, 121.) Crimes should be judged by the provincial law and, in default of such, "according to the best discretion of the judge or judges, judging as near as conveniently may be to the laudable law or usage of England." This might seem a dangerous discretion to leave to the judges, but it was tempered by the provision that life, member, or freehold should be taken away only by law certain (1 Assembly, 147), and to this restriction was later added another that no one should be outlawed, exiled, or fined above 1,000 pounds of tobacco without such certain law, and that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on a gentleman. (1 Assembly, 184, September, 1642.) At the same time the constitution of the courts was revised. While judges are appointed by proprietary commission, in cases where there is no certain law of the

province, the legislature makes provision that the decision shall be made by the lieutenant-general and the major part of the council in the provincial court or the commander and the major part of the commissioners in county court. If there be a tie, the chief judge is given a casting vote, and in case of his absence or being an interested party in the cause the next in commission shall supply his place, unless the governor shall otherwise provide.

All judges must take an oath to administer equal justice according to the laws of the province. The reiteration of the phrase laws of the province, as distinguished from that of England is to be noted. (1 Assembly, 147, act of 1642, ch. 3.) From the county court there is always an appeal to the provincial court. The lieutenant-general may not be sued in any matter relating to his office nor may process be awarded against his person, menials, nor chattels till he have refused to do right after judgment. (1 Assembly, 184.) Provisions were also made by other acts touching appeals and appointing the order in which causes shall be heard. (Assembly, 148, 149.) The first day not a Sunday nor a holiday in six of the months was to be court day in St. Mary's County and other days were appointed for other counties. If the business was not completed on the first day, the court continued its sessions from day to day until all was finished. Except on court days no case should be determined, until after ten days' notice or until after such as have voice in the court be warned. (1 Assembly, 149, 184.) Occasionally no court was held on the stated day, as when the governor issued a proclamation in May, 1648, that there would be no court until October, owing to the danger of the times and the fact that jury trials will much weaken the part of the country whence the jurors come (1 Council, 195); or again in 1653, when the court was put off for a month, "no English shipping as yet being arrived here." (1 Council, 294.) We also find courts adjourned because of "plantable weather."

Still other acts of this important session provided that the commissioners of the counties should be selected by the governor and that the council should nominate yearly to the chief justice persons for sheriff, one of whom should be selected for that office. (1 Assembly, 148.) The defendant could be tried according to agreement of the parties, or might put himself

upon his country, having a jury summoned, and in cases where the laws of England allow, he may wage his law (Assembly, 151, 186.) Provision is made for proceedings in cases where the defendant is a fugitive. (1 Assembly, 150, 185.) After verdict is rendered, the judge may set aside the verdict and award a new trial, if the verdict be "grievous to either party or exceeding the issue committed to their inquiry," or if the jury "be evidently partial or wilful." In the latter case, when a second jury decides differently, the first one may be fined. (1 Assembly, 151.) Several cases of impeaching the verdict of juries are found in the records of the provincial court. Another act of the session provided for executions and decreed that there should be imprisonment for debt after a prison should be built. (1 Assembly, 152.) These acts were passed for three years, and at the expiration of this period a short reenactment of the important provisions of the acts was made. (1 Assembly, 210.) Even after this, however, we find the assembly sitting as a high court of justice, hearing important cases referred to it by the provincial court and, apparently, at times exercising an original jurisdiction. (1 Assembly, 220, 225, 226.)

We have already noted the wide discretion given the governor and council in the early acts. This discretion was not taken away but rather added to, and we find that persons who steal hogs, or fail to plant corn (an attempt to have more diversified crops), adulterers, persons who go out without arms well fixed, etc., are to be punished according to the discretion of the court. (1 Assembly, 244 to 254.) When the influence of the Puritans is felt, we notice new laws increasing the criminal code by the addition of the offenses of profane swearing and drunkenness.

In the provincial court we find the proceedings usually summary in character. Jury trials are rather the exception, and in most cases the matter is left to the adjudication of the court. This may only consist of two members, or if there be a full attendance of the justices, as was apt to be the case about the time of the meeting of the assembly, there may be seven or eight upon the bench. Pleadings were very simple, and many suits were introduced by a simple petition from the injured party. Sometimes cases were referred to arbitrators for settlement, and again we find cases brought before the assembly and referred for settlement to the provincial court.

Unlike others of the colonies, Maryland seems to have recognized equity as a distinct system from law at an early date, and a number of equity suits were heard shortly after 1650. Compared with the early court records of Connecticut, which it has been my privilege to examine with care, there is much more commercial activity shown in Maryland suits. Assumpsit, debt, and covenant form the bulk of the litigation in Maryland, and attachment of the goods of nonresidents shows a floating population.

The records are quite helter-skelter in arrangement. A confession of judgment follows a will, and this is preceded by a nonsuit, or the record of an earmark on cattle. Replevin and detinue of cattle, canoes, etc., furnish considerable court business. Actions on the case are common. In spite of the troublous condition of the province, deeds of violence are not frequent and cases of trespass vi et arms or quare clausem fregit are not often seen. Thefts are rather uncommon. The social system of the province was so based on the service of indentured servants that difficulties as to length of their terms of service, their treatment by their masters, and the outfit to be given them when they are freed occupy much time of the courts. There are a large number of actions for defamation and slander, and from these and the trials for bastardy, seduction, and adultery we gather that there was much looseness in sexual relations. One of the striking differences between Maryland and New Haven County, Conn., decisions is the comparatively light sentences which these receive here. Few religious causes occur, and these show a tolerant spirit on the part of the court. Extradition cases with Virginia are frequent. The rise of attorneys at law is seen.

Negroes have hardly been introduced in any number, and their names scarcely occur. A number of inquests are recorded over bodies of persons found dead. During the period under discussion some eight or nine persons seem to have been hung, and, curiously enough, only one of these cases occurs in the court records. These contain no note of those persons who were executed for murdering their master at Providence (1 Assembly, 363), nor of the four who were tried and condemned by a sort of military court at Anne Arundel after the battle of the Severn (3 Force's Tracts).

The one case on the records is an interesting one. John

Dandy was the smith of the province, and concerning him and his tools two special acts of the assembly were passed. (1 Assembly, 255, 295.) He seems to have been not only a blacksmith, but also a white smith, or armorer, and as such was so valuable to the province that he was saved from the death he deserved for slaying an Indian boy in 1643. His sentence was commuted to three years' service to the proprietary (1 Council, 98), and he was finally pardoned (1 Council, 187). He was a quarrelsome man, of an unbridled temper, however, and, after several minor assaults, he finally killed his servant in 1657 and was hung therefor, after a very solemn and formal trial. (2 Provincial Court, 545.)

It was difficult to secure conviction of offenses against Indians. In 1642 a man was accused of killing one without provocation, and confessed it. (1 Provincial Court, 180.) The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, but they explained that they did so "because they understood 'the act' not to have been committed against his Lordship's peace or the king's, because the party was a pagan and because they had no precedent in the neighbour colony of Virginia to make such facts murther." The governor told them that the Indians were in the peace of the King and the proprietary, and that "they ought not to take notice of what other colonies did, but of the law of England," whereupon the jury brought in a verdict of "guilty of murther in his own defence," and a second jury was necessary even to secure a verdict for manslaughter.

Old World customs persisted. We find only one accusation of witchcraft, and that not pushed; but a tree which killed a man by falling upon him was forfeited to the proprietary as a deodand. (1 Provincial Court, 10.)

I wish there were time to discuss the many interesting cases caused by the straying and killing of hogs and cows, animals so precious that deeds of sale or gift of them are recorded on the records together with the deeds of land. Mention may be made in closing, however, of two interesting medical cases, in both of which Peter Godson was the defendant. He seems to have been a sort of quack, and so little in favor with other physicians that a "chirurgeon" sued him in 1655 "with killing a man by taking too much blood from him." The man who died was sheriff of St. Marys County, and the case was referred to "men of skill and ability," who "shall judge of the

action." The second suit was brought by one Thomas Iger, who complained that he paid Godson (2 Provincial Court, 432, 434, 439) tobacco "for a cure" which the defendant "undertook to perform," but "hath left him worse than he found him." The court ordered Godson "to make a cure" or "else to repay the tobacco which he had received in satisfaction of his cure." Alas, we learn that it appeared to the court at a later session that he "hath not performed the order" and must repay the tobacco.

These are fleeting glimpses of the beginnings of the judicial system of a State which has always preserved a high regard for the laws, which has had from the beginning a learned and conscientious judiciary, and which speedily developed, in place of litigants pleading their own causes, a body of advocates who, through their eloquence, their ability, and their fidelity to their clients' interests, have made the Maryland bar renowned. Only by such search for the sources can we understand the broad stream of jurisprudence by whose side we stand to-day.

XI.—SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE SOUTHWEST.

By GEORGE P. GARRISON,
PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

SOUTHWESTERN HISTORY IN THE SOUTHWEST.

By Prof. GEORGE P. GARRISON.

The opportunity of presenting this subject to an audience of specialists in history invites digression. I feel strongly tempted to utterances concerning the importance of Southwestern history, the relative neglect of it, and the desirability of giving it more attention; but, besides being rather suggested than actually demanded by the title of my paper, such utterances might become the occasion of a polemic for which there is no necessity. If there seem to be any call for exhortation, what it might accomplish may no doubt be trusted to come in its own good time as the result of deeper insight, truer perspective, and more economical direction of energy. And so I think Southwestern history can afford, if need be, to wait a bit for general recognition of its value on scientific progress. I do not think, however, that it can be said to stand entirely in the waiting attitude.

By "the Southwest," as the term is used in this paper, is meant, roughly speaking, all that part of the United States lying west and south of the line fixed by the treaty with Spain in 1819, and this statement will serve to explain also the meaning of the expression "Southwestern history." But I shall deal mainly with the work that is being done in Texas, because it is that with which I am best acquainted.

The work that the Southwest is doing upon its own history is carried on partly by the universities, partly by societies organized either wholly or to some extent for historical purposes, and partly by individuals.

Of what the University of California and Stanford University are doing in Southwestern history I can not speak in detail, but I am informed that both give it some attention. At the University of California Professor Moses gives a course on

Spanish-American history and institutions and another on the territorial expansion of the United States, and at Stanford Professor Farrand gives one on the opening of the West. In the last two, I understand, the history of the Southwest is dealt with, incidentally at least.

At the University of Texas the purely graduate historical work has thus far lain almost entirely in Southwestern history. The reasons therefor are sufficiently obvious to be left without enumeration, but the principal among them is that, under present conditions, this is the most inviting field for research. For the last four or five years the number of students taking the graduate course has varied from six to twelve, averaging perhaps eight or nine. It might have been much larger but for the restrictions that have been placed on entry into the course in order to keep out those not properly prepared. Three full undergraduate courses[a] in history are prerequisite, though in exceptional cases students have been allowed to enter with only two. No requirements in language have thus far been announced in the catalogue, but the practical policy has been to insist on the desirable linguistic equipment more rigidly from year to year. Of the six students taking the graduate work this year, which is on the St. Denis expedition and the second series of Spanish missions, two are without a reading knowledge of French, but all have Spanish, so that none of them is unprepared to read the sources in one language or the other. The prospect, however, is that, as the practice grows of forecasting specialization and working toward it along the proper lines in the undergraduate courses, the difficulty of enforcing the appropriate requirements in language will soon disappear.

The time spent by graduate students at the University of Texas is usually too short for anything like complete and thorough training. The university does not give the doctor's degree, and it requires only one year of graduate work for the master's. It must be evident to those who have had experience in such matters that this is too short a time either to acquire much skill in investigation or to obtain altogether satisfactory results of research in any subject worth attention. As to what has actually been accomplished in these two

[a] A full course at the University of Texas means three hours of class-room work per week throughout the year.

directions, it would hardly be fitting to attempt any estimate here; but there are several professors of history in the older and stronger institutions of our country that have had some opportunity for judgment. For myself I must, as one who feels himself primarily responsible, ask your indulgence in speaking to a question of personal privilege to explain why no more has been done.

The University of Texas began work in the fall of 1883. I entered it as instructor in English and history one year later. Since 1888 I have been at the head of the School of History and under the responsibility already confessed. Until 1891, however, serious ill health, added to a great burden of routine duties, left me no energy for the organization of graduate courses. Then my health grew better, but thenceforward until 1896 most of the time I could spare from undergraduate instruction was devoted to work as a graduate student at the University of Chicago. It is therefore only within the last five years that I have been able to give effective graduate courses in Southwestern history.

As to what is being accomplished by historical societies in the Southwest outside of Texas, I have not been able to learn enough to justify an attempt to describe it. The Historical Society of New Mexico, of which Hon. L. Bradford Prince is president, seems to have gathered a collection—apparently for the most part archæological—and to be more or less active, but I have little detailed information concerning its work.

The Texas State Historical Association was organized March 2, 1897. Within a few years previous to that date there had been formed in the State three different societies with substantially the same objects. Two of them had survived but briefly; the third, however, was still living and showing a certain degree of activity. It had originally been called the Galveston Historical Society, but had later changed the word Galveston in its name to Texas. Although this change of title was prompted by the ambition and intention to enlarge its sphere of usefulness, its influence has never extended in any measurable degree beyond the Island City. For two years it has been virtually dead. Want of interest had already led to a suspension of its functions for a considerable period, when the coming of the great storm of Sep-

tember, 1900, put an end finally to the hope of its being revived. But before its demise it had justified its existence by publishing some important matter and by gathering a valuable collection. How this collection will be disposed of remains yet uncertain.

The State Historical Association has been a live organization from the outset. Its membership has increased steadily, until now, after recent extensive purging of the rolls, it runs to more than 1,000. This growth, as may well be supposed, has not come of itself simply, but has been the result of an active canvass for new members. The methods used in canvassing have been, as I believe, at once businesslike and legitimate. Selected lists have been used in soliciting, and no one has been enrolled except at his own request. The result has been to gather in those who are sufficiently interested to make good permanent members. Interest in the work of the association has thus become constantly more intense and healthier, and its prospects for expansion and increased effectiveness seem better now than they have ever been before.

The principal activities of the association are the collection and publication of historical materials. Of its collection I shall speak a little further on. Its main publication is a quarterly, the first number of which appeared in July, 1897. This magazine has averaged about 80 pages per number, but will probably be at least somewhat larger from this time forward. Its contents have consisted partly of documentary matter and partly of essays. It is hoped that the income of the association will ere long be sufficient to justify the publication of a regular series in addition to the quarterly. If so, this series will probably be devoted to the publishing of the Austin Papers, the Bexar Archives, and like collections, or at least of select documents therefrom, while the Quarterly will be given entirely to essays.

The success of the Texas State Historical Association has been the result, it seems to me, of a few special causes which deserve, as matters of experience, some attention here. The popular support it has received is evidently due in a large measure to personal considerations. There are in the State a large number of the descendants of those who went to Texas with Austin or other empresarios, or who were there in time to

share in the revolution of 1836, or the strenuous politics of the decennium of the Republic. These, while they often fail to obtain the perspective and see the real significance of popular movements and party divisions in the early days, have never forgotten the deeds of their fathers, and, just for this reason, I doubt if there is any publication in Texas that is read with more intense interest than the Quarterly. This sort of interest, however, may be made to support good historical work, but it can not be depended on to supply the required energy for its proper management and direction.

Therefore the second great reason for the success of the association has been, as I judge, its intimate connection with the State University. The board of regents has wisely tendered it hospitality in providing quarters for its collection, and especially a secure fireproof receptacle for its valuable documents. The teaching force in the School of History has done the work involved in attending to the business of the organization and in publishing the Quarterly. The advantage of this alliance is mutual. The association obtains quarters and the necessary business management free of cost, and the university secures without expense to itself the association's collection and a medium for the publication of meritorious productions in history by its students.

The work of the Historical Association has been greatly assisted by the cooperation of two other organizations in the state, the Texas Veterans' Association and the Daughters of the Republic, both of which have given it moral, and in some cases material, support. Each of these publishes annually a pamphlet containing its proceedings and sometimes a certain amount of historical matter in addition.

It would be unwise to attempt, in a paper like this, to give even a summarized statement of what individual workers in the Southwest are doing for Southwestern history, simply for the reason that it would be impossible to do relative justice. I may venture, however, on account of special considerations to mention two names. One is that of Charles F. Lummis, the strenuously critical free lance of the Land of Sunshine, whose scholarly translations and annotations of rare documents published in his magazine entitle him to the special gratitude of investigators; and the other that of Miss Lilia M. Casis, adjunct professor of Spanish in the University of

Texas, whose assistance in gathering copies of manuscripts from Mexico and making them available for the graduate students of the university has been simply invaluable. I am more pleased by the opportunity to give Miss Casis due tribute here because her work is of that unselfish kind that brings little reputation to herself, but much advantage to others.

The amount of unworked material for Southwestern history existing in the Southwest is enormous. Certainly there is no man living who could estimate it accurately or indicate, except in a general way, the nature of the documents. There is still more in Mexico. The two great collections in the city of Mexico, the Archivo General and the Biblioteca Nacional, constitute, I think it would be safe to say, an almost unexplored wilderness for investigators in the United States. A general description of them will be found in H. H. Bancroft's Literary Industries,[a] 740–746; and a more detailed notice of one of the most important series in the Archivo General in number 1874 of the New York Nation. Besides the immense mass in these two repositories there are collections doubtless containing valuable material in various other cities of the Mexican Republic, such as Saltillo, Chihuahua, San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Querétaro, Zacatecas, etc. Of what actually exists in these cities, I can say but little, for I have thus far been able to visit none of them except Saltillo, nor to get trustworthy information concerning the archives. At Saltillo I spent some hours in the summer of 1900 looking over what has been preserved there, and my cursory examination of the documents leads me to believe that some of them may have considerable historical value. The officials, however, informed me that a large proportion of the original archives had been destroyed.

An idea of the documents to be found in New Mexico can be gathered from the list of copies made from them by Bandelier, which is published in the report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition, pages 305–326.

Of the collection of H. H. Bancroft, which I believe still remains intact in San Francisco, I can say only that it must contain much important material. Many of the single works

[a] Volume XXXIX of his works.

and series enumerated as belonging to it are very rare and difficult to obtain.

The largest and most important collection in Texas is that in possession of the State lodged in the capitol building and the general land office. In the land office is a mass of manuscripts relative to the various empresario grants with which modern Texas began. It includes the contracts, the correspondence concerning them, lists of the colonists, registers of the allotments of land to each, etc.

In the office of the secretary of state are to be found the original official records of the Republic and the State from the revolution forward. Some of the most important of these, e. g., the journals of the consultation (1835), the proceedings of the general council (1835–36), the journals of the convention (1836), and the ordinances and decrees of the consultation, the general council, and the convention (1835–36), have been published. Those here enumerated have all been reprinted, along with many other valuable documents, in Gammel's Laws of Texas, Volume I. There is also on file in this office the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic.

The State library is a miscellaneous collection which is now kept in one of the rooms belonging to the department of agriculture, insurance, statistics, and history. For several years the library has had an annual appropriation of a few hundred dollars, and though the amount has been inadequate it has been sufficient to secure a gradual enlargement until the need for additional room has become pressing. Thanks to the bibliographic knowledge of Judge C. W. Raines, who has been the librarian during several administrations, and to the wise policy of successive commissioners at the head of the department in leaving the selection of material for purchase to himself, the money has been, on the whole, very judiciously expended. The library now contains the best collection of books, pamphlets, and newspapers relative to the history of Texas in existence. Neither is it to be slightly considered from the standpoint of Southwestern history in general. Among the series to be found on its shelves are the Jesuit Relations, the Pacheco and Cárdenas Documentos Ineditos, Margry's Découvertes et Établissements, and a manuscript copy of the Documentos para la Historia Eclesiástica y Civil de la Provincia de Texas, which constitute volumes 27 and 28

of the Colección de Memorias de Nueva España in the Archivo General of Mexico.[a] In one of its vaults are the Nacogdoches Archives and various papers from those of Bexar and La Bahia, and it is especially rich in rare pamphlets and files of newspapers.

At the University of Texas are four collections that deserve notice, and there is soon to be a fifth. The first consists of the books, pamphlets, and files of newspapers relating to Southwestern history that have been accumulated in the general library. A large proportion of these came with the library of Sir Swante Palm, of Austin, which was given to the university several years ago. Some of the material in this collection is rare, but much of it is duplicated in the State library.

Another collection which is now kept in the University of Texas library is that of the Texas State Historical Association. The association has thus far never found itself able to devote any part of its income to the purchase of books or documents, but it has nevertheless much material of the kind that it was organized to gather and preserve. This has come from the two sources, gift and exchange for the Quarterly of the association. What has been gathered through exchange consists mainly of periodicals relative to American history in general and to local history in various quarters of America and Europe. The acquisitions by gift are, for the most part, of materials for Southwestern history. They include much that is important, especially in the line of rare pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts.

The third collection at the university is the papers of the late Governor O. M. Roberts which he gave to the institution by his will. They are made up largely of letters received by him from prominent men in Texas during his career in the Republic and the State. There is a large mass of them, for he had played an important part in Texas politics for upward of half a century.

The fourth collection, consisting of an immense mass of official papers which were accumulated at San Antonio as the capital of Texas during Spanish and Mexican domination, is known as the Bexar Archives. It has been described in a general way by Prof. L. G. Bugbee in an article published in the University of Texas Record, Vol. I, No. 4. To what is

[a] See The Nation, No. 1874.

there given some details might be added, but nothing sufficient to claim attention here. It may be stated, however, that the same number of the Record notes the transfer of the collection to the University of Texas, which took place in the fall of 1899.[a] The papers are now being classified, and I trust that within the next two or three years they will be properly ordered and indexed and perhaps bound. As to the progress of this work, the members of the association may expect information from the reports which will be made from time to time by Mr. Eugene C. Barker, of the university, in his capacity as an adjunct member of the Public Archives Com mission.

The collection to which I have referred as about to come into possession of the University of Texas is the Austin Papers. Though it contains probably less than one-tenth as much matter as the Bexar Archives, yet it is, page for page, incomparably richer. It is in fact the most important repository of documents relative to the Anglo-American colonization of Texas. It consists of some 900 papers and packages containing Stephen F. Austin's correspondence and a large mass of miscellaneous material relative to his work as empresario, colonial lawmaker and governor, and political and military leader. They cover the whole period of the colonization movement from its beginning down to the revolution of 1836 and touch upon every phase of Austin's various activities and of the intense and peculiar experiences of the pioneers whose advance he led. Of these papers and packages, 32 relate to Moses Austin and the arrangements for colonization, 18 to Stephen F. Austin's trip to Mexico in 1822–23, 15 to his first contract, 169 to additional contracts, 251 to the affairs of his colony, 1 to the Freedonian Republic, 28 to the conventions of 1832 and 1833, 50 to Austin's imprisonment in Mexico, 14 to Texas affairs during his absence, 11 to his work on his return to Texas in 1835, 6 to his organization of the campaign of 1835 as commander in chief of the Texas army, 12 to the formation of the revolutionary government in Texas, 25 to Burnet's administration and the campaign of 1836, etc. It is indeed fortunate that Austin was so careful and methodical in the preservation of his papers, and that Col. Guy M. Bryan,

[a] An idea of the volume of the archives may be had from the fact that when boxed and ready for shipment they weighed nearly 1,200 pounds.

in whose keeping they have been so long, was equally so. This alone has saved the collection from being scattered or destroyed. The Austin Papers go to the University of Texas by the will of Colonel Bryan. They are now stored in the capitol building in the city of Austin, but it is expected that they will be transferred to the university within the next two months.

Besides the various collections I have named, there are many others of less importance or concerning which I know too little to speak. Such are the Lamar Papers, now temporarily stored in the State library of Texas, and the Rusk and Burnet Papers in the possession of Dr. V. O. King, of Austin.

In conclusion let me say that I have had to deal briefly with a large subject, relative to the various phases of which my information is very unequal. I believe, therefore, that as to any omissions or shortcomings in the matter of proportion I can properly ask for indulgence.

XII.—COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By EDWARD D. COLLINS, Ph. D.,
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COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

By Dr. Edward D. Collins.

MASSACHUSETTS DISCOVERS A METHOD OF COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Jared Sparks, in his Life of Gouverneur Morris, has comprehensively summarized the conditions through which the committee systems of the American Revolution sprang into efficiency:

> And here it must be kept in mind that wherever the power of Great Britain was thrown off or disavowed, all political control passed by its natural course into the hands of the people. No man or body of men had authority to command any other body of men or individual; equality of rights produced an equality of condition, and the structure of government could only be raised on the strength of powers delegated anew to certain persons for this special purpose by the willing voice of the people, whom circumstances had made the sole arbiters of their own political destiny. Hence the primary movement was to bring the people to understand their interests and act in concert, and the first means used to attain this end was the establishment of committees of correspondence in different parts of the country. These committees were chosen in towns, counties, parishes, districts, or smaller neighborhoods. They were intrusted with certain powers, which enabled them to correspond with each other and to represent in some sort the political views and objects of their constituents. So necessary was this system in itself, and so well adapted to promote the general welfare, that it was acceded to everywhere, and in a short time committees were so universally appointed throughout the colonies that the friends of liberty had speedy and direct channels opened with each other in every part of the continent. This increased their mutual intelligence, gave them confidence and encouragement, harmonized their sentiments, and sowed the seeds of union.[a]

The conjuncture of political exigency and colonial environment produced organization of a peculiar type. Indeed, so

[a] Sparks, Gouverneur Morris, I, 30, ff.

controlling was the geographical situation alone that this type necessarily reappeared in every plan for any kind of union. Here were local groups, widely separated. Unity of purpose might be affirmed among them, but it could not be carried to fruition without correspondence and cooperative effort by sympathetic nuclei in the individual colonies. The moment this becomes apparent examples of corresponding committees abound. Peters's early scheme for a confederation of the British colonies in 1754 was based upon this principle.[a] Among the religiously inclined it appeared in a desire of communion between the churches.[b] Merchants saw in this method a weapon for securing release from certain restrictive laws of trade.[c] All protracted relations between the colonies and their colonial agents in England were based upon correspondence.[d] Legislatures were wont to communicate their acts to sister assemblies.[e] Secret societies found it desirable and convenient to disseminate their sentiments by correspondence.[f] To cite such instances in a society whose individual members base a considerable portion of their daily activities in the employment of the same principle in the conduct of their various interests, political, religious, mercantile, and social, seems trivial. These earlier illustrations would not be worth recall-

[a] Peters outlined the system that was applied in the choice of Assembly Committees of Correspondence twenty years later. "That the Legislature of Each Colony appoint a Committee of Union, whose business it shall be to correspond with all the other Committees,—to appoint the times & Places of Meeting in each Division, and to propose to their Respective Governments the Heads of such matters as shall be judg'd necessary to be immediately done, &c., as there may be more branches of Business assigned them.

That Delegates of the Committees of each Division shall have one annual Stated time of Meeting, and others occasionally, as in their Correspondencies they shall find it necessary. The place to be previously agreed upon by them." Am. Hist. Leaflets, No. 14, p. 6. In the later period there was an extension and distribution of functions, to suit the changed conditions, especially local needs.

[b] Suggestions of Dr. Mayhew to James Otis, June 8, 1766. Thornton, The Pulpit of the American Revolution, p. 44.

[c] Merchants in Massachusetts, New York, and Rhode Island in protest against the sugar act, and other restrictive trade measures. Frothingham calls attention to the suggestion of the Boston Evening Post, of November 21 and 28, 1763. Rise of the Republic, 162–163.

[d] The committee chosen in 1770 to correspond with Franklin, agent to England, was also to communicate with the speakers of the several assemblies. Henry E. McCulloh, provincial agent of North Carolina, wrote from London, June 10, 1771, to the "Committee of Correspondence" in North Carolina (Col. Rec., N. C., IX, pp. 10–12).

[e] There was an official appointment of a committee of correspondence—on the motion of S. Adams, says Wells—by the general court of Massachusetts, June 13, 1764, to act in the recess of the court, cooperate with the other governments to obtain a repeal of the sugar act, prevent a stamp act, etc. The Massachusetts Circular Letter of 1768 is, of course, a development of the same idea.

[f] The Sons of Liberty put the plan in operation, even announcing their committees of correspondence in the newspapers (see action of Providence in Boston Gazette, August 12, 1765).

ing were it not that partisan historians have lost sight of the principle in their zeal to ascribe the origin of the particular committee under discussion to the inventive political genius of their particular demigod. It is obviously a principle and not a prototype that we have to deal with.[a] The principle is very simple, and very fundamental. It was correspondence, with cooperation at the terminal points, that brought about the Revolution. As a starting point for the study we may take November 2, 1772, and say that then, for all practical purposes, the committee of correspondence began its life as a local institution of the Revolution, and that Samuel Adams was its promoter. Its importance as a piece of revolutionary machinery can hardly be overestimated. It was not merely a channel through which public opinion might flow; it created public opinion and played upon it to fashion events. It was a mother of committees, and these committees, local and intercolonial, worked up the war. It initiated measures, and its activities comprehended legislative, executive, and judicial functions. It was the germ of a government.

In its inception, this government in embryo which Samuel Adams set going was purely a local affair. It was, broadly speaking, Adams's attempt to organize, in such a way that it could be utilized, that spirit of suspicion, discontent, and rebellion which he had long been fomenting in Massachusetts. That the organization should overleap the limits of the colony and his management may not have been a part of his original purpose. It does not appear, at any rate, that he foresaw the degree of success awaiting his scheme or ardently desired its development along the lines it followed. The movement, once

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[a] Richard Henry Lee in 1768 made a suggestion for forming private corresponding societies. A letter from Lee to Dickinson, July 25, 1768, proposes that select committees be appointed by all the colonies. Lee's Memoirs of the Life of R. H. Lee, I, 64.

A letter from Stephen Hopkins and others to Franklin, October 8, 1764, shows the same suggestion coming from another source. "SIR: We have been appointed a committee by the general Assembly of the colony of R. I., to correspond, confer and consult with any committee or committees that are or shall be appointed by any of the British colonies on the continent, and, in concert with them, to prepare and form such representations of the condition of the colonies, the rights of the inhabitants, and the interests of Great Britain as connected with them, as may be most likely to be effectual to remove or alleviate the burdens which the colonies at present labor under. * * * If all the colonies were disposed to enter with spirit into the defense of their liberties; if some method could be hit upon for collecting the sentiments of each colony, and for uniting and forming the substance of them all into one common defense of the whole; and this sent to England, and the several agents there directed to join together and in pushing and pursuing it there, in the properest and most effectual manner, it might be the most probable method to produce the end aimed at."—[Sparks edition of Franklin's Works, VII, 264, 265.]

begun, assumed large proportions and passed out of his control. So long as it was confined to any one colony the ruling spirit in that colony might dominate it; just so soon as it became intercolonial it broke the bonds of local control. The system was too large for one man to "boss."

In his own colony Adams was untiring and invaluable in setting the system in operation. His friends doubted the expediency of his plan and the measure had lukewarm support,[a] but the men who feared or doubted were overborne and those who apprehended failure were silenced by the success with which Adams kept things moving. The Boston committee of correspondence has been likened to a political party manager. It provided for regular meetings, consulted with other similar bodies in the vicinity, stimulated the spread of committees in surrounding towns, kept up a correspondence with them, prepared political matter for the press, circulated it in newspapers and broadsides, matured political measures, created and guided public sentiment—in short, heated the popular temper to the boiling point of revolution and then drew from it the authority to act.

Plymouth followed Boston's lead. The popular party began to stir. The Boston committee met and organized. Its widely distributed report produced a great sensation. It began to assume the powers of a legislative and executive council. The tea importation opportunely gave the committees a subject for correspondence, and rapidly impelled the other principal towns to follow the example and appoint committees of correspondence with broad powers. By January of 1773 Hutchinson reported that 80 or more towns in Massachusetts had committees.[b] Here was the nucleus for a local federation.

If at this point one should inquire what this body had been created out of, what necessity prepared the way for its existence, and what work it had to perform, it must be confessed that the committee of correspondence had no legitimacy as a governing body, no institutional authority; that its existence was based on popular impulse, skillfully manipulated, and

[a] The selectmen, Hancock among them, rejected the first petition for a town meeting. The one finally called took no definite action. After two adjournments about 300 attended the meeting called for November 2, and Adams then put his motion. It was carried, after some debate, although it proved difficult afterwards to find members willing to serve on the committee.

[b] Bancroft (1854), VI, 445. Hutchinson, Hist. of Mass. Bay, III, 369.

that its permanence could only be insured by discarding custom, precedent, authority—the usual bulwarks of good statecraft. The earlier committees of 1764, 1768, and 1770 arose out of specific needs, and their instructions had been clear and definite; but this new creation bore no relation to them, and the language of Adams's famous motion, from which the new body must draw instructions as well as authority to act at all, is vague and florid. The contingencies which the committee of correspondence actually faced grew out of future developments and conditions which the committee itself was largely instrumental in creating. As a substitute for the existing form of government it would appear ludicrously insufficient. It was not capable, as a revolutionary institution, of meeting the requirements of a general revolutionary movement. It was the germ of a government, but one that would have been purely local.

VIRGINIA SUPPLIES A CONNECTING LINK.

The only direct injunction laid upon the Boston committee of correspondence by Adams's motion involved a function that this committee was not well adapted to perform, namely: "To state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men and Christians, and as subjects; and to communicate to the world as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made." This body would have served as well as any other, perhaps, to state the rights of men and Christians, but the rights of a province and its members as subjects of a government could not be very consistently stated by an extra-legal body composed of men who were acting as anything but subjects, with no vestige of provincial or governmental authority, a body which existed in direct contradiction of the principles and well understood desires of the established government. Yet this function was a most important one, for in it lay the key to concerted action and to union.

This function, therefore, developed a new necessity in the committee organism, namely, somebody to speak officially for the colony as a unit; and the organism promptly evolved a new arm to assume this function in the choice of committees

of correspondence by the various assemblies.[a] While one would naturally look to this body for correspondence on matters of great moment, since it was in the recess of the legislature the official mouthpiece of the colony, the governor being the mouthpiece of the Crown, it was, for reasons that will appear, never a body that originated action. As a matter of fact intercolonial correspondence was conducted by committees of all grades, town, assembly, and county, the latter a new organ of still later development—a freedom of use that added greatly to efficiency of action.

The contention that has appeared over the originator of local committees of correspondence marks also notices of the assembly committees, while the fact that the difference between the two has failed to elicit a distinction has added further to the confusion.[b] In this case as in the other the essential thing is not that some colony suggested the idea before some other, but that in all the colonies circumstances had at length combined to make the idea fruitful. However, to one who examines the instructions given to the assembly committees in the course of their appointment there can be no doubt as to the effective promoter of this part of the system.[c]

When the Virginia house of burgesses met on March 12, 1773, and appointed their committee, no other assembly had chosen one. This committee was "to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament or proceedings of administration as may relate to or affect the British colonies in America; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies respecting those important considerations; and the result of such their proceedings from time to time to lay before this house."[d]

No similar committee was appointed throughout the col-

[a] Governer Hutchinson saw at once the tremendous scope of the principle. "It was a most glaring attempt to alter the constitution of the colonies, by assuming to one branch of the legislature the powers of the whole; by continuing, by delegation, powers of government, after the authority from which delegation was derived had expired; and by uniting in one body a number of bodies, which, by their constitutions, were intended to be kept separate and unconnected. It was an act which ought to have been considered as an avowal of independency, because it could be justified only upon the principle of independency." Hist. Mass. Bay, III, 397.

[b] Prof. J. M. Garnett makes a similar classification in Va. Hist. Coll., n. s. XI, 4-5. Frothingham speaks of "legislative committees," but the distinction does not amount to a classification.

[c] The texts of the resolutions and instructions of the several assemblies may be conveniently compared in the Rhode Island Colonial Records, VII.

[d] Va. Cal. State Papers, VIII, 1.

onies for two months. Then, on May 15, 1773, their appointment began in the New England group. On that day the speaker of the house in Rhode Island wrote to the speaker of the house of burgesses notifying him of Rhode Island's appointing a committee of correspondence and inquiry.[a] The instructions to this committee were copied from the Virginia resolutions. Six days later Connecticut took similar action in the house of representatives.[b] In New Hampshire this body acted on the 27th, passing resolutions relative to those of Virginia and Rhode Island, and appointing a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry.[c] It was the 28th of May before Massachusetts acted on the Virginia letter and appointed her committee.[d] She was thus the last of the New England group and the fifth in sequence to take this action, and her instructions, like all the rest, reecho the words of the Virginia resolutions.

Thus, in the month of May, 1773, the New England colonies, acting on the incentive of the Virginia letter, and copying the words of the Virginia resolution, created a second type of corresponding committees. On June 14 Samuel Cooper wrote to Franklin: "Virginia has led the way by proposing a communication and correspondence between all the assemblies through the continent; Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire have already chosen committees, so that all New England is now united with Virginia in this salutary plan, and the accession of most, if not all, of the other colonies is not doubted.[e]

In the southern colonies the progress of the movement was slower, more than a month intervening before South Carolina, the first to act, appointed her committee, on July 8.[f] Georgia took like action on September 10,[g] Maryland on October 15,[h] Delaware on October 23,[i] and North Carolina on the 18th of December.[j]

[a] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 227–228.
[b] Va. Cal. State Papers, VIII, 22–23.
[c] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 228–229.
[d] Ibid., 229–230.
[e] Franklin's Works, VIII, 49–50.
[f] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 24–27. This committee was chosen from a "standing committee of correspondence," already existing in South Carolina.
[g] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 233–234.
[h] Ibid., 234–235.
[i] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 31.
[j] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 238.

The middle colonies, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were even more dilatory in acting. John Cruger, writing for the New York assembly on April 14, 1773, acknowledged the receipt of the Virginia communications and stated that they would be laid before the assembly when it convened.[a] In a later letter (May 29) he says that this may not be before the beginning of next year.[b] It was January 20 before the New York assembly appointed its committee of correspondence.[c] The New Jersey assembly acted similarly on the 8th of February.[d] The letter which Virginia sent to Pennsylvania did not elicit even a prompt reply. The speaker of the house, J. Galloway, wrote on September 25, 1773, that although the house deemed it important to cooperate with the other colonies, it preferred to leave the matter over to the next assembly.[e] The assembly dissolved in a few days, and no action was taken.

We find, therefore, in the early part of the year 1774 twelve committees of correspondence existing, appointed by the legislative bodies of their respective colonies. The idea was apparently embodied in a more perfect organization than ever before. But the new type did not possess activity to match its seeming importance. These assembly committees were inactive from the first.[f] The cause of this inactivity is not far to seek. In the first place, there was little or nothing for them to do. Since last June, wrote the Connecticut committee in November, 1773, nothing had happened worth transmitting.[g] On May 6, 1774, there was a meeting of the Virginia committee which listened to the report of their select committee and heard the letters read which had been received

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[a] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 15.

[b] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 230.

[c] Ibid., 287.

[d] Ibid., 288.

[e] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 28.

[f] Frothingham (Rise of the Republic, 311) says that the leaders of the Revolution took advantage of the tea act, which made taxation a living issue, to extend the organization of committees of correspondence, and he cites as evidence these assembly committees appointed between September 10, 1773, and February 8, 1774; that is, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, New York, and New Jersey. It may be questioned if the opposition to the tea act was as lively in these colonies as in the northern. The spread of the committees in this period covers only one-half the total number appointed, and their appointment was much less rapid after the passage of the tea act than before. Frothingham himself will serve as authority that in their correspondence no reference was made to the tea question, save by Massachusetts and Connecticut. (Ibid, 312.) The initiative was taken by Virginia, and Frothingham tells us that at the time "nothing especially exciting had occurred in that colony." (Ibid., 279.)

[g] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 33.

from different colonies.[a] The long intervals between their meetings denotes the lack of important business. On August 29, 1774, Warren, writing for the donation committee at Boston, to Norwich, Conn., said that there was nothing of importance happening that could not be found in the public papers.[b]

Secondly, these committees were chosen from members of the assembly, all of whom were desirous of going home when the assembly adjourned. Therefore, under ordinary conditions, the dissolution of the assembly dissolved the committee. For example, Mr. Cruger, speaker of the house in New York, wrote to Virginia, June 9, 1774, that the committee had dispersed, but that he had sent letters to convene them at the earliest opportunity, a somewhat indefinite date.[c] Again, on the 27th of the same month, he wrote to the speaker of the house in Rhode Island that the latter's letter was received on the day after the committee had broken up and the members had returned to the country.[d] The same thing occurred in Virginia. On the 30th of May, 1774, 25 of the late representatives, "legally assembled," agreed that letters be written to all the colonies, acknowledging the receipts from Boston and informing them that before they came the assembly had dissolved and most of the members returned to their counties.[e]

In the third place, the assembly committees were extremely cautious about acting on their own authority, since they were chosen from a body to which they would be held responsible. This is shown by their being given specific directions to act in certain cases and by their hesitancy to act without such in others. For example, the Massachusetts committee, in communicating to the other colonies the port act, was acting under specific directions from the house,[f] while, on the other hand, the New York committee, at a time when the house was dissolved, in June, 1774, wrote to Virginia that although they considered a congress the proper thing, they, as merely committee of correspondence, had no power to appoint deputies to a congress.[g] A few days earlier the North Carolina

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[a] Ibid., 9.

[b] Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, IV, 46.

[c] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 59–60.

[d] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 298.

[e] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 52–53. Note also Ibid., 65, "since writing the foregoing, the gentlemen of our committee returned to their home."

[f] R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 292.

[g] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 66. An early disclaimer of what was later assumed as a proper function. The local New York committee had no hesitancy in undertaking to manage an election held for this specific purpose. Supra, p. 263.

committee had expressed itself similarly on the same subject.[a] The Virginia committee also hesitated to speak for the province on decisive measures.[b]

Under such circumstances, the assembly committee of correspondence was nothing else than a standing committee of the legislative body in each colony. The speaker of the house generally acted as its secretary. It acted on advice or direction of the house, to which it was held responsible, and to which it reported its action. These committees were created by constitutional bodies, and their functions can not be considered extra-legal. In fact, they were far too regular to be efficient as pieces of revolutionary machinery. However, the choice of such committees was not entirely without result. The popular assembly in each colony received preliminary testing. Constitutional questions were raised and discussed, and arguments disseminated, a thing of some importance when the colonies were feeling their way toward a common basis of opposition to the crown which should have at least a semblance of rationality and consistency.[c] While disclaimers of any intent to sever the connection between America and Great Britain had been made, even by that arch-revolutionist, Samuel Adams himself, the very declaration was so skillfully framed as to have precisely the opposite influence.[d] More important still had been the demonstration that a body could be created which might continue to act in successful opposition to the crown when the royal governors dissolved or prorogued the assemblies. In North Carolina and in New Hampshire this efficiency of the principle was demonstrated in the spring and summer months of 1774, although no important matter of business was under way.[e] Hutchinson, always keen to discover the principle involved in any action and quick to perceive the ultimate possibilities

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[a] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 64.

[b] Ibid, II.

[c] For example, the inquiry into the proceedings of the general court of Virginia on the requisitions made for the writs of assistance, and the discussion thereof. (Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 6–9.)

[d] See, for instance, the inflammatory letter of October 21, 1773, in which these words occur: "Esto perpetua is our most ardent wish." (Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 130.)

[e] The governor dissolved the assembly in North Carolina before the news of the port act reached it. The committee called the representatives together because the governor would not. In New Hampshire the committee summoned the representatives to meet immediately after Governor Wentworth had dissolved the assembly, in May, 1774. (R. I. Col. Rec. VII, 301: N. H. Prov. Pap., VII, 366, 379 ff.)

of its development, had written to Lord Dartmouth in 1773, July 10, on this very point:

> The assemblies of Virginia, this province, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have appointed their respective committees of correspondence, who act in the recess of the courts; and the like committees are expected from the other assemblies when they shall be convened. This in some measure defeats and counteracts the powers reserved to the governors, in what are called the loyal governments, of proroguing or dissolving the assembly at pleasure.

NEW JERSEY PERFECTS A TYPE OF COMPLETE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

The committee of correspondence was essentially a local institution, and local conditions created its characteristic features in the different colonial communities. We may leave the assembly committees, therefore, at this point, as highly perfected but not very highly effective arms of the system, and turn to the development of certain features in other quarters that were to prove not only highly perfected but highly efficient as well. This leads us to the evolution of the county committee of correspondence, the best type of which is to be seen in New Jersey.

This part of the system was evolved to meet particular needs, just as the first town committee of correspondence had been. The holding of a congress had already been projected, and to take the initiative in actually convening it what better agent could have been fallen upon than that which had suggested it, which was wholly irresponsible to royal government, but immediately amenable to public opinion and responsive to local needs? Some one writing from Philadelphia on the 22d of June, 1774, outlined a plan which was essentially that on which the New Jersey committees of correspondence were constructed. This writer thought that the best method of choosing deputies for a congress would be through their nomination by representatives in the assembly. Another plan, the next best, would be for freemen qualified to vote for members of assembly to choose delegates to a provincial convention in each colony, this convention to nominate the colony's deputies to a congress. An additional advantage of this plan would be that—

> The representatives for each county will naturally form a standing committee for that county to correspond with the standing provincial commit-

tee appointed by the provincial convention to act in their behalfs, as the convention can not be kept continually assembled. The business of the provincial committee, then, will be to correspond with the other colonies and with the county committees. The county committees may request every small district within the county, whether called township, hundred, etc., to choose one person to represent that township, hundred, etc., and may convey intelligence to each of these persons by letter or by stated meetings. Thus a most regular plan might be solidly established throughout this continent for communicating needful information to the individuals of the smallest districts in every county (a point absolutely necessary), and of receiving their sentiment; and both these offices would be performed by persons the most acceptable to them. Unless some such plan as this is framed it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foresee that the affairs of this continent will inevitably be confusedly conducted to an unfortunate issue.[a]

The letter reveals political sagacity.

We are now entering upon a contest that may be continued for a long time, and we can not be too early in giving all regularity and stability to our proceedings. The whole people are oppressed; therefore they must act. Nothing should be taken for granted in a cause of such magnitude. It is not to be presumed that the body of the people in any colony will give their full and free assent to a single measure of their representatives assembled as private men. Met in legislation, they form a constitutional body. Ceasing to be that, their authority reverts to the people. In emergencies demanding public exertions, a supposed or implied assent of the people is not an assent to be regarded or depended upon. They must be represented actually, not "virtually." Can not an appeal be made to the people? Their sentiments taken, be from themselves, and not guessed at? If they have not wisdom and virtue enough to become agents in promoting their own temporal salvation it is in vain for others to attempt it.

The committee of correspondence was such an appeal to the people; it actually represented them; it made them agents in their own salvation; it gave stability to their proceedings.

The plan outlined in the Philadelphia letter had been already acted upon in New Jersey. The freeholders of Essex County met June 11, 1774, and appointed a committee of correspondence, whose particular duty was to meet with other county committees "in Order to nominate and appoint deputies to represent this Province in General congress."[b] During the summer months the other counties of New Jersey took similar action.[c] The convention thus anticipated met at New Brunswick, July 21, and nominated delegates to the continental congress which was to meet at Philadelphia in the following

[a] Force, American Archives, 4th ser., I, 441–442.
[b] New Jersey Archives, first series, X, 467.
[c] Minutes of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety, New Jersey, 9 ff.

September. The New Jersey delegates promptly began to correspond.[a]

The system at this point reached a well-nigh perfect adjustment. The elasticity of its operation in New Jersey makes that colony a model for its exposition. The inhabitants of each township elected a township committee of correspondence for the special purpose of corresponding with other township committees within the county. It could, however, extend its correspondence when necessary. The county committee was formed by the township committees from members chosen of their own number. This county committee would then correspond with the other county committees in the province, and when deemed necessary could call a county meeting or convention. It reacted through the township committees on the individual inhabitants. The county committees chose in turn certain of their own number to form a provincial committee of correspondence. The especial function of this body was to correspond with the other colonies and call a provincial congress for New Jersey when necessary. It reacted on its own colony through the medium of the county and township committees. The superiority of the provincial committee of correspondence over the assembly committees is obvious. It was always in session as a standing committee, and by referendum could at any time test the wishes of the people, since the town and county branches of the organization kept constantly in touch with them. The provincial congress on August 12, 1775, defined the qualifications of electors and the powers and functions of the different grades of committees. Thus perfected, the system was a rapidly working and highly efficient piece of administrative machinery. Connected with the popular cause through representation in Congress,[b] the action of the system was equally facile toward the central government at one end of the chain of committees and toward the individual at the other, the county committees being responsible for the execution of the resolutions and orders of the continental and provincial congresses.

With this conspectus of the framework of the system we may turn to the storm centers where local committees were brewing trouble for Great Britain, for in spite of their

[a] See Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 72.

[b] Minutes of Prov. Cong. and Council of Safety, 187; the same in Force, III, 42.

admirable adaptability as pieces of revolutionary machinery the committees rested after all for their success on the action of the mother country. If in good truth "esto perpetua" was their most ardent wish, this certainly must have been the case. But it was also equally the case whether "esto perpetua" was the motto or not.

MASSACHUSETTS SHOWS HOW TO MAKE A LOCAL GRIEVANCE A GENERAL CAUSE.

A committee of correspondence was, to repeat, essentially a local agent. In this fact lay its revolutionary power, for revolution was a local affair in its inception. A committee of correspondence simply could not act unless something occurred which touched the interests of its own community. It was functionless if there was nothing to correspond about. To work up a successful revolution the correspondence must show the identity of various local interests or create a fictitious identity. The needed stimulus came in successive acts of Parliament, giving at first something to talk about and eventually something to do. The two phases of activity are well reflected in the correspondence.

Although the tea act had little influence in prompting the organization of assembly committees of correspondence, it did give decided impulse to the formation of local committees in all the communities that were immediately interested. Massachusetts furnishes obviously a case in point. The proposed consignment of tea had produced excitement, and the assembly and local committees acted at once and in harmony. There was a paramount issue. The assembly committees sent out a circular letter, October 21, reviewing the situation and urging the necessity of action by each colony to prevent the execution of the plan of the British ministry.[a] This was the part of the larger committee.

On Sunday, the 28th of November, news spread about Boston that a tea ship lay in the harbor. The Boston committee of correspondence obtained from her owner a pledge that she should not be entered before Tuesday.[b] Meetings were then held in consultation with committees of neighboring towns—Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge—whose joint

[a] Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 303.
[b] Frothingham, Warren, 254–255.

influence was to be used to prevent landing of the tea. The town put executive action into the hands of the committee. The committee kept up a military watch to prevent any landing of the tea, sent to the neighboring towns and to Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, and Philadelphia news of their proceedings, and urged on all the necessity of strenuous opposition.[a] The owner of the ship was sent for repeatedly by the committee, who tried to force him to send the vessel back.[b] On the 13th of December the committees of the five towns held a conference and the next day a handbill was posted calling a town meeting. On the evening of the 16th the tea was destroyed, and the next morning the fact was announced to neighboring towns by the Boston committee.[c]

The destruction of the tea at Boston brought the new organization into requisition for the first time in a way both successful and popular. It had worked through the press, the public meeting, and the mob. An opportunity had been created to communicate something of importance to the sister colonies, along with exhortations to stand by the rebellious member and make her cause their own.[d] A second stimulus was not long wanting. The destruction of the tea brought its own penalty in the port act, and the port act through the skillful manipulation of the committees of correspondence was turned into a powerful force, working through popular sentiment for unity of action against the mother country.

On Tuesday, the 10th of May, news of the port bill came. The scheme of action was like that before. The assembly committee sent the act to the other colonies, requesting them to give it their immediate attention. The committees of eight adjoining towns now met the Boston committee at Faneuil Hall and determined to send letters to the several committees in other colonies where they existed, urging as a remedy a renewal of the nonimportation association, which had been used after the stamp act.[e]

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[a] Ibid., 255, 261, 265, 266. See also Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, IV, 373, ff., especially John Scollay's letter to Arthur Lee.

[b] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1873–1875, 169.

[c] Ibid., 173.

[d] The Boston Gazette, January 10, 1774, said: "The united spirit of the people of South Carolina, Philadelphia, New York, this province, etc., in opposing the subtle design of the British administration, to make the East India Company the instruments in establishing the revenue and thus enslaving the continent, forbodes a happy union of counsels among the several colonies by means of their committees of correspondence." (Cited by Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 314, note.)

[e] Boston Town Records, May 13, 1774, et. seq.

Nothing could better forecast the power that this new engine of revolution was to acquire than the success of its action on the Boston port act. It proposed the same remedy for a local grievance—the port act—that had been applied to a general grievance—the stamp act. The two were entirely different in purpose and intended operation, but the committee of correspondence seized the occasion to coerce opinion from sentiments of sympathy, and evoked therefrom a consensus of thinking that augured well for the cause of union. The port act letter was followed by an extension of local committees throughout the colonies. Southern journals began to abound with accounts of their meetings.[a] The development of the revolution was rapid from this point. The consensus of opinion that obtained on the necessity of united action prompted that movement to secure it which led to a congress, while the multiplicity of local duties accruing with every onward step led to the splitting up of this mother committee with its general duties into a host of lesser committees, each having its own special function to perform. The creation of a congress marks an unequivocal step in the progress of the revolution, and the influence of the committees of correspondence in promoting it deserves attention at this point.

NEW YORK SHOWS THAT A SLIGHTLY REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNITY MAY SUGGEST A MOST REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT—THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

While a congress would have been a very logical development from the committee organization that we have seen in New Jersey, or from the meetings of local groups of committees of correspondence, dignified by the name of conventions, that began to appear in Massachusetts after the regulating act, the actual suggestion for that most revolutionary body, the Continental Congress, brings our attention to still another community, and one in which the nonrevolutionary element was strong.

The complexity of the situation in New York renders analy-

[a] The Massachusetts Gazette of July 4, 1774, said: "The newspapers from all quarters, in every British-American colony, so far as we have yet received intelligence, are chiefly filled with accounts of meetings and resolutions of towns and counties, all to the same purpose, complaining of oppression, proposing a congress, a cessation of intercourse with Great Britain, and a contribution to the relief of the Boston poor." Cf. Scharf, Md., II, 143f. For correspondence regarding donations for the Boston poor, see further Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th ser., IV, 1 ff.

sis of events difficult, to say nothing of analysis of motives. The most pregnant action proceeds apparently from the struggles of local factions, from the attempted settlement of local issues, or from personal considerations, rather than from any well-conceived design to lay the basis for permanent local or national institutions.

New York, like Massachusetts, at the time of the stamp act trouble had a committee of correspondence. When the act was repealed this committee's nominal existence ceased, but its members, perhaps not unnaturally from their previous service, took an active part in the choice of the new committee. We have seen that New York did not quickly respond to the example and suggestion of Virginia in choosing an assembly committee. An interesting commentary on the local situation is the fact that she was even more dilatory in choosing her local committee.

This committee was formed between the 16th and the 19th of May, 1774.[a] In the choice of the committee two distinct influences appear—merchants and mechanics. The merchants, the leading element, called the first meeting, held on the 16th, which first nominated the committee. The mechanics did little but concur afterwards in the appointment. Dawson says that the committee thus formed represented the aristocratic, antirevolutionary party, who were nevertheless opposing England's colonial policy. Their attitude was perfectly rational. As merchants it was their interest to continue business, so they were antirevolutionary. But it was just as much their interest to continue it without restrictions, so they were opponents of the colonial policy. This attitude, however, brought them between two fires. On the one side was the mother country, on the other the revolutionary element in the city, the unfranchised workingmen and mechanics. To preserve their interests they had adopted exactly the same instrument that in the other colonies was a tool of revolution. To have any efficiency their committee must act with the others. It also happened that they had chosen a committee so large as to split readily into factions. The moment any such split occurred the unfranchised mass, strong enough to be deferred to in the appointment of the committee, would not unlikely hold the balance of power. Thus it might happen

[a] Force, I, 294.

that a committee at first loyalist in composition might be completely transformed by the forces acting upon it. Factions appeared early, and the mechanics began an organization on the model furnished by the merchants. Concessions were made by the latter to keep this revolutionary wing within the main body. Every movement made revealed the growing power of the more popular as well as more populous body. A split soon occurred within the committee itself, 10 or 11 of the more radical members resigning. The conservatives were forced to become more and more revolutionary in tone and make greater concessions if they were to retain their control.

The measures resorted to amounted virtually to an extension of the franchise. This concession allowed democracy a peaceful victory, and changed New York into an orthodox member of the system, working like all the rest toward revolution.[a] But the action, which was in its nature most revolutionary, had already begun. Suggestions for a congress had been whispered elsewhere, but at the moment of its practical inception it stands to the credit of New York's committee of correspondence. Royal governors could have thwarted any action on the plan of May 17, put forth by the town of Providence,[b] by simply proroguing any assembly that undertook to choose delegates according to her proposition. Appointment by some body that was not amenable to royal authority was more essential than regularity, constitutionality, or uniformity of appointment throughout the colonies. This need was exactly supplied by the committees of correspondence.

New York's suggestion was made in her reply to the letter from Boston on the port act. The date of the reply was May 23. It announced the recent appointment of the New York committee, expressed appreciation of the critical situation, and suggested that a congress be held. The burden of the letter is this idea.[c] Four days after New York's proposition had gone toward Boston the Virginia house of burgesses entered into an association and recommended the committee of correspondence to correspond with the other colonies on the same subject.[d] This was at once done. Other colonies

[a] Most of the facts in the case can be gleaned from Force, I, 294–330. Dawson, Westchester County in the Revolution, should also be consulted.

[b] Force, I, 333.

[c] Ibid., I, 297; Dawson, Westchester County, 17 ff.

[d] Force, I, 351; Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 10.

sent expressions of similar purport, and the Boston committee, which had been at first inclined to ignore the suggestion and cling to its own special case, was under the necessity of trimming its sails a little closer to a clearly revolutionary breeze.

The importance of the step now entered upon can hardly be overestimated. The earlier intercolonial correspondence had consisted largely of expressions of good will, unity of sentiment, and firmness of purpose to resist oppression. All this was aimless until some body assumed the direction of it to the accomplishment of an end. The Continental Congress was the body hit upon. The idea was extensively promulgated in the correspondence of the numerous committees and secured widespread approval. The acceptance of the idea was retroactive on the committee system, as has been shown by the reference already made to the Philadelphia letter of June 22, and that further development of the committee system which we have noted in New Jersey; that is, the evolution of new organs to perform special functions relating to the central government, a development of no little interest, since it constructed a pretty adequate scheme of representative government.

Without following in detail the discussion and correspondence on the subject of a congress, we may see by a glance at the credentials of the first delegates the part played by the committees of correspondence in getting the Continental Congress started. It appears that in some cases the committees were directly vested with authority to make the appointments.[a] This was the case in Connecticut. In New York City the delegates were chosen by "duly certified polls taken by proper persons in seven wards," the committee of correspondence arranging and managing the election. A meeting of the committees of the several districts in Westchester County, Albany (city and county), and Dutchess County confirmed the same. In New Jersey the election was conducted according to the plan already described, by committees of the several counties. The Maryland delegates were similarly appointed. It thus appears that committees of correspondence in several instances had a direct hand in selecting the men to attend the congress they had proposed.[b]

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[a] Force, I, 893 ff.

[b] As soon as Congress began to act it revealed further influences from the committees. Nearly every measure that it adopted can be found suggested in outline in some committee's letter. The "Association," with its nonintercourse and nonconsumption features, is a sufficient case in point (see Force, I, 347, 353, 384; Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 46).

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES FORCE THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE.

It was supposed that the Congress would react in the various localities through the committees. For example, the twelfth article of the association runs thus: "That the Committee of Correspondence, in the respective Colonies, do frequently inspect the Entries of their Custom Houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association."[a] The burden of work thus put upon these committees was in itself enough to insure their disintegration. As soon as any of their suggestions had received the sanction of Congress they became the basis of renewed activity in every community. Thus the functions of the committees increased many fold, and the time of their disintegration was hastened by their increase of duties. But it was to them, already organized and in active operation, that the new Congress at first looked for the local superintendence needed to carry out its regulations. Out of this necessity arose both new functions of the old committees and a whole brood of lesser committees, or rather committees with more specialized duties, like the committees of safety, inspection, observation, etc.

For example, in Maryland the various counties held meetings, adopted the resolutions of Congress, appointed new committees of correspondence, and larger committees to enforce the association. The new needs were felt to be strong enough to call for the creation of special bodies.[b] In New Jersey the division is illustrated in still a different way. The committees of correspondence of Essex County called the attention of the freeholders and voters to the association, and recommended that a separate committee be appointed for each of the three precincts into which the county was divided. For this purpose they called a meeting of each precinct on specified days, and recommended the number of men that should form the committee of each. They also advised that a new committee of correspondence be appointed to instruct the representatives to the next assembly to choose delegates to the second Continental Congress to be held in the following May. In case the assembly did not so appoint, the committees of

[a] Force, I, 915.

[b] Scharf, Maryland, II, 163. Force I, 1059–1061; 1140 pp.

correspondence of the several counties were to proceed as before to the appointment.[a] Here we have the committee of correspondence proposing new outlines of government, but retaining the possibility of its own perpetuation. Its suggestions were followed to the letter.

A general meeting of the inhabitants of the township of Woodbridge, Middlesex County, N. J., adopted the association in January, 1775, and appointed a committee of observation. The old town committee of correspondence desired to be dismissed, and a new committee was appointed. The same provision as in Essex County was made for securing delegates to the coming Continental Congress in case the assembly failed to elect.[b] It is evident from these cases that the committee of correspondence was not retaining its place as the sole or principal committee in the colonies. Its existence was no longer imperative. Concerted action was now insured by the agency of the Continental Congress. That part of the committee's function had been performed once for all by the creation of that body, and the committee itself forthwith either drops to a lesser position of local importance or becomes the instrument of occasional communication between the colonies and their representatives in Congress, or both. The one function, arising from a variety of local needs, was not of a sufficiently uniform character to preserve the type, while the other function was so infrequently exercised as to dispense with the necessity for a permanent body to perform it. The committee of correspondence, therefore, loses its former characteristics, its distinctive features disappear, and it falls into desuetude.

It may appear inconsistent to say that the decline and dissolution of the committees occurred simultaneously with an extension and increase of their duties, such as the Continental Congress is said to have caused, but such is the case. The increasing burdens themselves were an agent in hastening the dissolution. The citation of a few cases will illustrate both the nature of the increasing demands on the committees and their disintegration into different bodies which acted cooperatively to the same end.

Massachusetts was, of course, the scene of a special activity, since military operations were early begun there. Her committees assume or are delegated all sorts of duties. In

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[a] N. J. Min. Prov. Congress and Council of Safety, 34–35.
[b] Ibid., 45–46.

Worcester County, September 21, 1774, it was voted that the committee of correspondence of any town threatened with invasion should notify by immediate post the committees of adjoining towns, so that all might gather with their arms for defense. It was earnestly recommended to the committees of correspondence of the seaport towns that committees be appointed to inspect the imports and publish in the Boston papers the names of the importers, that they might be shunned.[a] Some of these requirements are similar to duties that have been previously mentioned. The system of relays outlined here was exactly the system by which news of the battle of Lexington was sent through the length of the land. The news of this event can be traced through the colonies from Watertown to North Carolina, going day and night, from town to town, the hours of arrival and departure indicating the haste with which the tidings were transmitted, township, county, and assembly committees, without distinction, assisting in the process.[b] At a later period in the Revolution the matter of establishing post riders and beacon communications was taken in hand by the committee of safety.[c]

Returning once more to Massachusetts, we may see the Boston committee taking an interest in the labor problem. On September 24, 1774, this committee mildly recommended the workmen of the town not to assist the British army in building barracks, lest umbrage be given to neighboring towns and colonies and their aid be withheld from Boston. New York was the sister colony in the committee's eye in giving this advice.[d] The recommendation develops an amusing feature when we read a letter that New York had received a fortnight earlier from Boston, unequivocally stating that Gage could find none so base in that town as to help him and so was going to send to New York.[e] On the 27th of September, the selectmen and the committee of correspondence of Boston sent for a Mr. Scott, and told him that he deserved immediate death for selling warlike stores to the enemy. A number of

[a] Force, I, 795–797.

[b] Ibid., II, 363ff.

[c] N. J. Min$_4$ Prov. Cong. and Counc. Safety, 327. It should be noted that before this arrangements had been made for a continuation of the old post-office system, but wholly in the hands of the colonists. The excitement of the time made business for newspapers, and a newspaper man, William Goddard, of the Maryland Journal, was at the bottom of the post-office scheme. Force gives some account of his activity in the enterprise. Force, I, 500ff. (See also Frothingham, Warren, 297.)

[d] Force I, 802 ff.

[e] Ibid.

people immediately assembled and manifested a willingness to put the sentence into execution, but Mr. Scott was so fortunate as to make his escape.[a] The joint committees of Boston and twelve adjoining towns resolved that any persons furnishing labor, lumber, joists, spars, pickets, straw, bricks, or any material to the enemy be deemed inveterate enemies of the people, and that committees of observation and prevention should be appointed in each town. The Boston committee sent letters to every town and district in the province, on the necessity of withholding all materials from the troops. This was still in September. In October the situation had become so alarming as to prompt the provincial congress to call upon the town officers and local committees in consultation on measures for the preservation of the town. In rapid succession committees were appointed for defense, for purchasing ordnance and stores, and on the 26th a committee of safety was created for inspection and observation, with power to call out the militia when necessary.[b] Thus, functions which had formerly belonged to the committee of correspondence were passing into the hands of special committees whose creation had been forced on by the great pressure of political events.

Everywhere new committees were arising, and by much the same process. In North Carolina, for example, the provincial congress ordered "that the respective town and county committees elect by ballot, out of their own numbers, seven persons to act as a committee of secrecy, intelligence, and observation, who shall correspond with the provincial council, the committees of safety, and the other committees and neighboring colonies, and shall have power to take up and examine all suspected persons, and if necessary send them to the provincial council or the committee of safety of their respective districts."[c] In Anne Arundel County, Md., the committee of correspondence became a branch or subcommittee of the committee of observation.[d] In Rowan County, N. C., it was appointed by the committee of safety.[e] In Maryland

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[a] Ibid., 806.

[b] Ibid., 807, 808, 830 ff. The duties of committees differed in different localities. At Worcester the committee of correspondence had charge of the bayonets; at the port towns they had charge of shipping, exports, the landing of persons; care of the indigent, quarantine, etc., were among their duties elsewhere (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th ser., VIII, 96, ff.; Force, III, 293–294).

[c] Force, III, 308.

[d] Scharf, Maryland, II, 170–171.

[e] N. C. Col. Rec., IX, 1073–1074.

it also acted as treasurer of funds subscribed for the relief of Boston, and was authorized to stimulate benefactions in the several counties. It was authorized to expend money for arms and ammunition.[a] In Frederick County it was turned into a committee of supplies and its term of office was limited. Its work resembles that of committees of other denominations more than it does the original work of correspondence. The committee in this county also was to receive subscriptions, and the names of any refusing to subscribe were to be reported. It also had the supervision of contracting for lead and handled the money collected for emergency expenditures.[b] It is evident that under this process committees of correspondence would soon disappear in the multitude of new committees.[c]

The other field open to the activity of these committees—the function of corresponding with the Continental Congress—did not perpetuate any of them into lasting importance. Congress had its own committees of correspondence, adapting the old principle to new uses, but the local and the assembly committees of correspondence had done their work once for all and their day was over. When, in 1783, the general court of Massachusetts felt the need of a committee of correspondence as a medium for the more perfect interchange of opinion between itself and the Massachusetts delegates in Congress, it was under the necessity of creating such a body anew. This committee was a lamentable failure, although its chairman was the very man to whose motion was due that famous creation of earlier days. Samuel Adams wrote to Gerry that the correspondence was to be very extensive. But the committee received a letter which it did not communicate to the legislature, an investigation was ordered, Adams narrowly escaped being censured, and the committee played no further part of importance.[d]

That the committee of correspondence went to pieces does not signify that the system it inaugurated failed. On the contrary, the system had greater efficiency than it could have had if limited to the activity of a single body, for within certain limits every ramification was an additional member working for the common cause and specializing, as it were,

[a] Scharf, Maryland, II, 170, 171, 176.

[b] Ibid., 174–176.

[c] For this tendency see further: R. I. Col. Rec., VII, 284, 285; N. J. Min. Prov. Cong. and Counc. Safety, 162, 163, 185 ff.; Stephens, Hist. Georgia, II, 112; Force, I, 328.

[d] Wells, Life of S. Adams, III, 179–181.

particular functions. The fact that the same men were sometimes on different committees assisted in their cooperative and harmonious working, since it made each part more or less familiar with the mechanism of the whole and its own appropriate field for action.

THE COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE AS INDICATORS OF COLONIAL SENTIMENT.

In view of the unequivocally revolutionary character of the committee's work throughout this period, it is very instructive to read the expressions of purpose which had been framed but a few months earlier, when these committees were forming. In no more vivid way can the rapid effectiveness of the committee system in working up the Revolution be revealed. Reiterations of loyalty accompany the appointment of many of the first committees. The meeting of Essex County, N. J., which appointed its committee of correspondence June 11, 1774, resolved first "that we will ever cheerfully render all due obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, as well as full and faithful allegiance to His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third; and do esteem a firm dependence on the mother country essential to our political security and happiness."[a] Similar expressions came from other counties. Bergen County voted it "their greatest happiness to live under the Government of the illustrious House of Hanover." Hunterdon County, on the 8th of July, 1774, resolved:

> We do most expressly declare, recognize and acknowledge his Majesty King George the Third to be lawful and rightful King of Great Britain, and all other his Dominions.

Morris County, on electing her committee of correspondence June 27, 1774, resolved:

> That George the Third is lawful and rightful King of Great Britain and all other his Dominions and countries, and that as part of his Dominions it is our duty not only to render unto him true faith and obedience, but also with our lives and fortunes to support and maintain the just dependence of these his Colonies upon the Crown of Great Britain.—That it is our wish and desire, and we esteem it our greatest happiness and security to be governed by the laws of Great Britain.[b]

There is a little residuum of this spirit in the initial correspondence of some of the committees. The responses of

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[a] N. J., Min. Prov. Cong. and Counc. Safety, 7.
[b] Ibid., 10, 11, 13, et al.; N. C. Col. Rec., X, 11.

Alexandria and Philadelphia to the Boston committee in response to the port-act letter were calm and reasonable epistles. While sympathy was expressed for the town of Boston no rash measures were proposed, and a desire was manifested for a more general consensus of opinion.[a] The function of the committees was to fan the flame of dissatisfaction in local centers so that when a deliberative body should meet it should be representative not of conservative but of revolutionary interests.

While the conservative party was large in some quarters it had nowhere the power of manifolding its influence, and it had nowhere an organization to offset that of the committees of correspondence in making use of the influence it did possess. The scope of this committee's work was not unforeseen or underestimated by the loyalists. Allusions have been made to Hutchinson's quick apprehension of the powers of such an organ. Daniel Leonard, an able Tory, wrote, with a mingling of metaphors:

> "This is the foulest, subtlest, and most venomous serpent ever issued from the egg of sedition. I saw the small seed when it was implanted; it was a grain of mustard. I have watched the plant until it has become a great tree."[b]

But the attempts of such men to stem the current were fruitless. They were keen enough to see the possibilities of the organization and the direction in which it tended, but were forced to act on the defensive. Their methods were negative, therefore, rather than positive. They would refuse to subscribe to the relief of Boston, for the purchase of arms, would refuse to do military service, to sign the association, to sell goods at fixed prices, might even voice their disapproval of the so-called patriotic acts, as in their motion to censure the Boston committee, or the protest of the Boston merchants to Gage, or the address of the Salem merchants and freeholders,[c] but their active zeal could not outrun that of the royal governors, and they, Hutchinson at their head, realized the hopelessness of their task. Wentworth in New Hampshire, Morton in North Carolina, William Franklin in New Jersey, all had the same experience to report that Hutchinson met in Massachusetts in attempting to thwart the

[a] Force, I, 485; Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 51–52, 69–70.
[b] Hosmer's Hutchinson, 238.
[c] Force, I, 424.

new machine.[a] Nobody could be held responsible. As Hutchinson said, there was no line that could be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies.

From the first moment of its creation the committee of correspondence was an agent of revolution. Its offices in reconciling the interests of colonies and mother country were confined to statements of wish or intention, and the statements are a sufficient key to their own failure. The North Carolina committee of correspondence reasoned that "the best expedient to bring about a reconciliation with the mother country" will be for the colonies to join in a nonintercourse agreement[b]. This would prove about as conciliatory as throwing tea into Boston harbor. No conciliatory advances were made to the royal governors, no instructions given to colonial agents which might pave the way to a smoothing over of difficulties. On the contrary, all propositions and measures had the reverse tendency. Before the expressions of regard for the reigning house which have been quoted had been recorded, a letter from Philadelphia to Boston ran in this wise:

> By sea they will beat us; by land, they will not attempt us; we must try it out in a way of commerce. First, by suspending all trade with Great Britain we can lessen the revenue of the Crown near a £1,000,000 per annum. Second, by suspending all trade with the West Indies we can starve them and ruin their plantations; by withholding our provisions and lumber, in six months, which will stop the 4½ per cent to the Crown, ruin a great number of merchants in London, who are concerned in the West Indies, and deliver us from the slow poison we usually import from thence. Third, by withholding flaxseed from Ireland we can ruin the linen manufactory in twelve months. This will reduce about 300,000 people to a want of employ, which, with near an equal number of British manufacturers in Great Britain reduced to the same state, will soon muster tumults enough to fill their hands and hearts at home, for there is no satisfying starving people but by killing or feeding them. These are the means we are coolly deliberating; we have other things in contemplation, as stopping our ports entirely and laying up all shipping.[c]

Conciliatory indeed! This was the spirit that permeated an organization unrivaled in its time and place. John Adams judged truly when he said that its conception embodied the whole Revolution.

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[a] Force, I, 745, 761, 762; N. H. Prov. Pap., VII, 369 ff.; Wells, S. Adams, II, 131; Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, 274; Hosmer, Hutchinson, 250 f.; N. J. Archives, 1st. ser., X, 464.

[b] Va. Cal. St. Pap., VIII, 64–65.

[c] Force, I, 347.

XIII.—JAY'S TREATY AND THE SLAVERY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

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JAY'S TREATY AND THE SLAVERY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

By Frederic Austin Ogg, A. M.

The vast importance of negro slavery as an influence in our national diplomacy after the rise of abolitionism has been very generally taken into account by the historians of the middle period. That the "peculiar institution" had not a little to do with our foreign relations in the earlier days of the Republic has perhaps not been so commonly appreciated. The subject may be said to have entered our diplomacy almost at its beginning. The provisional treaty, signed at Paris November 30, 1782, contained in its seventh article the stipulation that—

> * * * His Britannic Majesty shall, with all consistent speed and without causing any destruction or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbor within the same. * * *

Although the incorporation of the negro clause was purely the result of the chance arrival of Henry Laurens at Paris on the closing day of the negotiation,[a] the practicability of such a provision had previously been urged by Franklin in his interviews with Oswald, and the conditions attending the British withdrawal from America so manifestly demanded some such safeguard that the matter could not have long been denied serious diplomatic consideration.

Throughout the Revolution it had been a favored line of British policy to weaken the colonists' power of resistance by depriving them of the services of their slaves. To this end proclamations had been issued from time to time, notably by General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, offering freedom to

[a] Works of John Adams, Vol. III, p. 336.

all negroes who should take refuge within the British lines, and the inducements thus held out had been by no means lacking in their intended effect. Moreover, during the later years of the war, when the British armies were overrunning the slave-stocked South, very many negroes were carried off by force along with other personal property of the inhabitants. Thus Jefferson tells us that Virginia alone lost 30,000 during Cornwallis's invasion in 1778, and many more subsequently by reason of Arnold's predatory incursion. Ramsay, the historian of South Carolina, is responsible for the assertion that between 1775 and 1783 that State lost 25,000 negroes, valued at $12,500,000. According to contemporary estimates Georgia fared even more badly, losing in all fully seven-eighths of her slaves. Five thousand were sent from Savannah to the West Indies at a single time.

Of course the negroes thus carried away prior to the signing of the treaty of peace were irrecoverably lost to their masters. When the treaty was made, however, there were within the British camps a considerable number of negroes whom Laurens, by his suggested clause, hoped to save from deportation and ultimately restore to their owners. Sir Guy Carleton, successor to Clinton after the Yorktown surrender, when apprised of the treaty stipulation, assumed the ground that the negroes who had fled from their masters were no longer to be considered "property of the American inhabitants," and, besides, that in assenting to the Laurens clause of the treaty it could not have been the intention of the British Government "to reduce themselves to the necessity of violating their faith to the negroes who had come into the British lines under the proclamations of his predecessors in command."[a] The three commissioners appointed by Washington to be present at all embarkations of British troops for the purpose of detecting and reporting violations of the treaty were sometimes ignored, sometimes deceived, and sometimes prevented from even witnessing the lading of the ships; so that the carrying away of the negroes went steadily on until the last of the British had taken their departure.

When, in 1785, John Adams was sent as our first minister to the court of St. James, the question of the negroes, so long

[a] See Carleton's letter to General Washington, May 12, 1783, American State Papers, Vol. I, p. 190.

and ineffectually wrangled over by the military authorities in America, was transferred to the realm of actual diplomacy along with the other alleged violations of the treaty of peace. For almost a decade the subject was discussed—first by Adams with Carmarthen and Pitt, then by Gouverneur Morris with Pitt and the Duke of Leeds, and subsequently by Jefferson with George Hammond, the first British minister to the United States;[a] but the clearly determined British policy was to postpone an adjustment of the controversy pending the delayed execution of several engagements of the United States under the Paris treaty.

The declaration of war against England and Holland by the French convention, February 1, 1793, brought with it a train of consequences which seriously endangered the peace and prosperity of America. The British version of belligerent rights on the high seas struck deep at the trade, not to speak of the honor, of the young nation. The seizure of French goods on American vessels, the rigid enforcement of the rule of 1756 in the case of the West India trade, and the impressment of American seaman, made up a list of grievances which tested our qualities of forbearance to the extreme. Congress waxed warm in debate of retaliatory duties, preparations for war, and the laying of embargoes.

To stem the tide which seemed to be carrying the nation inevitably into war, the President resolved to send to London an envoy extraordinary, whose duty should be the securing of redress for injustice suffered during the war then in progress, and, if possible, a general treaty covering the wide range of matters in dispute between the two countries. On the 16th of April, 1794, Chief Justice Jay was nominated for the mission. Three days later the Senate confirmed the nomination. It may well be questioned whether a wiser choice could have been made. Jay's qualifications included an unyielding integrity, a keen sense of justice, a judgment unusually sound, if not brilliant, freedom from prejudice, and a lofty spirit of pride in his country's honor. Of qualifications fitting him specially for this particular undertaking he had not a few, and chief among them experience. To him, perhaps better than to any other man, was known the entire history of our relations with Great Britain. Not only had he been a com-

[a] American State Papers: Foreign Relations, Vol. I, p. 188 et seq.

missioner at the making of the treaty whose violations were to be subjects of the prospective negotiation, but by reason of occupying subsequently for a number of years the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs he had been called upon to follow closely the progress of its execution.

With much personal reluctance, but yet with a firm intention to spend his best energies in the prosecution of his mission, Jay set sail from New York on the 12th of May and landed at Falmouth on the 8th of June. By the President's letter of credence he was authorized to negotiate a settlement not only of the questions which had recently sprung up by reason of the war in Europe, but also of all infractions of the Paris treaty.[a] By Secretary Randolph's instructions the envoy was further directed to keep the two general subjects of negotiation entirely separate and to give attention first to the more immediate questions of the war.[b] Nothing was said specifically by the Secretary concerning the carrying away of the negroes by the British, but as appeared from subsequent transactions it is quite certain that the American envoy was expected to obtain such satisfaction as he could upon that point along with others connected with the treaty.

Most features of the Jay treaty, together with the richly suggestive events that crowded full its history, have been thoroughly investigated and are now easily intelligible to even the passing student of the period. Because, however, the subject of negro slavery is nowhere mentioned in the instrument, there has been a natural tendency to overlook the influence brought to bear upon the treaty, in both its making and ratification, by the slavery interests in the United States. A careful examination of contemporary state papers, corespondence, and Congressional debates reveals a connection of slavery and the treaty which no one who would understand in all its essential aspects this most important chapter in our diplomatic history can in any wise afford to ignore. It is in the very fact that slavery is not mentioned in the treaty that the point of interest lies. It should of course be understood that the part which the slavery interests played in the history of the Jay treaty was significant, not so much because by it the immediate event was changed, as because it may be regarded as on this occasion that slavery made its earliest formal entrance into

[a] Amer. St. Papers: Foreign Relations, I, 470–472.

[b] Ibid,, I, 472–474. Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay, IV, 10–21.

the diplomacy of the nation. Intermittent claims on its behalf had been made before, but now for the first time the force of public sentiment was brought definitely to bear upon the subject.

Briefly, then, we may inquire three things: (1) What effort was made to cover the negro question in the provisions of the treaty? (2) Why was the subject finally omitted? and (3) What were the effects of this omission upon the reception and ratification of the treaty in the United States?

Jay's first official interview with Lord Grenville, the British secretary for foreign affairs, was held on the 20th of June, 1794. Thereafter for some time the negotiations were exclusively along the line of the recent maritime and commercial controversies, and it was only after certain conclusions had been reached regarding these that the negotiators felt free to turn their attention to the long standing questions of treaty violation. Jay suggested the employment of verbal conferences instead of the more tedious plan of formal written communication, which was readily assented to by Grenville, and which was doubtless the part of wisdom, though it was hardly calculated to enlighten the historian a hundred years later. The consequence is that we know comparatively little of the treaty in process of formation. Jay's intermittent and far from voluminous reports to Secretary Randolph constitute almost our only reliable source of information.[a] From these we gather, however, that early in the negotiation concerning the treaty violations arose the question as to which party had been first guilty—for there was no attempt on the part of either to claim a full execution of the obligations assumed at Paris a decade before. Now, when Jay was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in 1786, he had declared emphatically in his report to Congress that there had not been a day since the treaty took effect on which it had not been violated in America, and he had roundly upbraided the States for having taken the initiative in violating the treaty through their numerous laws restrictive of the rights of British creditors.[b] It would not, of course, have been good diplomacy to make such a sweeping concession to Grenville. To do so would have meant surrender of even such ground as Jay felt he could command. He

[a] The correspondence of Jay and Randolph relative to the treaty may be found in the American State Papers: Foreign Relations, I, pp. 476–518.

[b] Secret Journals of Congress, Vol. IV, p. 183 et seq.

was too thoroughly convinced that his cause was a righteous one to sacrifice it all by making an admission which Grenville would certainly have taken for far more than it was worth. The sheer fact that the States had violated the treaty first in order of time—which, moreover, the majority of Jay's constituents would have refused to acknowledge—was no longer of great consequence in view of the general policy of recriminative violation acted upon for ten years by both nations. Jay therefore began by insisting to Grenville that the carrying away of negroes contrary to the seventh article of the treaty was the first aggression.[a] But Grenville refused to see in this any violation at all.

He held to the time-worn British contention that the treaty provision had been intended only to prevent depredation at the departure of the soldiery; that no alteration in the actual state of property was operated or intended by the article; that every slave, like every horse, which strayed or escaped from within the American lines and came into the possession of the British army became, by the laws and rights of war, British property, and, therefore ceasing to be American property, the exportation thereof was not inhibited by the stipulation in question; that to extend it to the negroes who, under the faith of proclamations, had come in to them, of whom they thereby acquired the property, and to whom, according to promise, liberty had been given, was to give to the article a wider latitude than the terms of it would warrant, and was also, unnecessarily, to give it a construction which, being odious, could not be supported by the known and established rules of construing treaties. The conclusion, then, of the whole matter, according to Grenville, was, in substance, that the British were forbidden to carry away only such negroes as had come into their possession after the signing of the treaty at Paris, and that in the disposal of those within their lines at that time they were left entirely without restriction.[b]

The detailed defense of Jay upon this point we do not have. In his report to Randolph, however, he indicated that in his argument with Grenville he had used substantially the same reasoning as in his Congressional report of 1786.[c] So that we

[a] Jay to Randolph, 13 Sept., 1794—Amer. St. Papers, I, 485.
[b] Jay to Randolph, ibid.
[c] Jay to Randolph, ibid. The report cited above.

shall certainly not go far astray in using that document to ascertain its author's personal opinion on the negro question. As to the merits of the American claims for compensation, his ideas were very pronounced. He chose to consider the matter in three aspects: (1) As to the negroes captured and disposed of during the course of the war; (2) as to negroes who remained with and belonged to Americans within the British lines; and (3) as to negroes who, confiding in promise of freedom, had fled from their masters and taken refuge with the British army. The first of these classes, declared Jay, was manifestly not comprehended in the prohibitory clause of the treaty. By the laws of war all goods and chattels captured *flagrante bello* became the property of the captors. Though some might be inclined to doubt whether negroes can ever be so degraded as to constitute mere chattels, the laws of both Great Britain and the United States clearly recognized that man might have property in man. The treaty spoke significantly of "negroes or *other property* of the American inhabitants." If captured negroes might not lawfully be carried away, no more might captured arms or provisions. In this reductio ad absurdum Jay and Grenville found themselves in perfect agreement. As to the second class of negroes—i. e., such as belonged to and remained with Americans within the British lines—Jay considered the treaty provision fully applicable, for, as he said, "As the enemy had never taken them from their masters, nor treated them as booty, the property remained unchanged." Of the validity of this proposition Grenville was not so sure.

It was Jay's third class—i. e., the negroes who, influenced by British proclamations, had fled from their masters across the lines into the British camps—that presented the greatest difficulty. Such negroes Jay believed to be clearly comprehended by the terms of the treaty. According to his logic, they remained as truly as ever the property of their masters. By mere flight they could not extinguish their slave character. Inasmuch as they had not been captured by the British, but only received as friends and refugees, they had in no sense become the property of the British, and hence must still be the property of the Americans. From this it followed that it was an infraction of the seventh article of the treaty to carry them away. Grenville, however, took the ground that when

the negroes crossed the British lines they thereby ceased to be American property. The British might or might not consider them their property, as they chose, but in any case the claims of the former owners ceased. Just because a piece of negro property had the peculiar functions of intelligence and locomotion, and so might voluntarily betake itself within the British lines, while a bag of corn or a bale of cotton must perforce be laid hold of and literally carried away, Grenville did not conceive that the former was any less a transfer of ownership than the latter.

Jay was keenly appreciative of the difficult position which Great Britain was forced to occupy by reason of having made two incompatible promises—the one to the negroes, the other to the United States; but he did at least wish to bring Grenville to acknowledge that the two promises were incompatible. He was not the man to take delight in upholding the slavery interests of his country. Personally he was vigorously opposed to the slave system, and long ago had expressed the conviction that until the States should abolish it "their prayer to Heaven for liberty would be impious." Nevertheless, he took the eminently sensible view that as long as men continued to hold property in slaves such property must be protected like any other; and on this ground he was convinced that an injury had been done his slaveholding countrymen, and in a conservative but firm manner he insisted that reparation be made.

Regarding Great Britain's conflicting engagements as to the negroes—on the one hand to give them liberty, on the other not to carry them away—Jay took ground substantially as follows: Great Britain had made solemn promises of freedom to all slaves seeking the lines of her army. These promises, held out through the proclamations of Clinton and Cornwallis, should by no means have been made, but now that they had been made and thousands of negroes had acted upon them, the United States ought not to expect Great Britain to break them. In other words, the carrying away of the negroes was justifiable in view of the pledges previously made to them. To restore the negroes now, after the elapse of a decade, would be manifestly impossible, just as Washington had urged upon Carleton that it would be; besides, such restoration would still involve the violation of Great Britain's

pledge of freedom. But, continued Jay, Great Britain ought not to expect to escape the consequences of her folly, or rather the folly of her generals in America. There was just one honorable way of escape, and that was by paying the Americans for the slaves. Thus only could faith be kept with the negroes and at the same time substantial justice be done their masters. This, then, was the thing for which Jay contended. But Grenville still denied that the slaves carried off were any longer American property.

So the negotiations dragged. Other matters, as the western posts, were taken up and conclusions concerning them reached with comparative ease. Again and again the negro question was brought forward, but always with the same result. Regarding it Jay could only record, "On this point we could not agree." At length practically everything else was settled. Projets of a treaty were interchanged and in neither was the subject of the negroes mentioned, though the evacuation of the western posts received careful attention. On the 19th of November the negotiations were closed. There was in the treaty not a word on the subject of the negroes. "Various articles," wrote Jay, "which have no place in this treaty have, from time to time, been under consideration, but did not meet with mutual approbation and consent."[a] Of these articles discussed, but not adopted, one providing compensation for the negroes carried away was by no means the least important.

In these days of ocean cables and steamships it is difficult to realize the slowness of communication a hundred years ago and the comparative isolation of our ministers abroad. There is much reason to believe that had rapid communication been then possible the Jay treaty would have been made to differ in some essential respects from the form it finally assumed—or at least the trend of the negotiation would have been considerably modified. Jay's letter of the 13th of September, in which was set forth Grenville's interpretation of the slave provision of the treaty, did not reach Secretary Randolph until the 11th of November. In his reply, the following day, the Secretary wrote: "The reasoning of Lord Grenville in relation to the negroes is so new to me * * * that its accuracy can not be assented to without the fullest reflection."[b]

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[a] Jay to Randolph, Amer. St. Papers, I, 504.
[b] Randolph to Jay, Amer. St. Papers, I, 501.

Of course the treaty had been signed long before even this mild expression of dissent reached Jay. In the meantime there was a growing uneasiness in the Department of State lest Jay should not secure an adjustment of the negro claims and lest failure to do so might materially increase the anticipated popular opposition to the treaty.

Never in the history of the country has a treaty been negotiated under circumstances of such division of sentiment. From the moment Jay was dispatched on his mission the party which sympathized with France ridiculed and denounced both the enterprise and the man who had been chosen to undertake it. When Jay wrote home that he had been well received in England, the Republicans assumed that he had betrayed the interests of his country as the price of royal favor. There was little hope on the part of the Federalists that the treaty, however liberal its terms, would not arouse a storm of opposition. The Administration recognized this hostile state of public opinion and naturally desired that the treaty be such as to give just as small legitimate ground for attack as possible. Secretary Randolph, himself a Southerner, and knowing full well the anti-British sentiment in the Southern States, due largely to Great Britain's confiscation of slave property, grew especially anxious that the negro question be not passed unmentioned in the treaty. In a letter to Jay, December 3 (about two weeks after the treaty had been concluded), Randolph declared that he was "extremely afraid" that the reasoning of Grenville about the negroes would not be satisfactory. "Indeed, I own," he confessed, "that I can not myself yield to its force. But if you omit mentioning them at all will not some quarters of the Union suppose themselves neglected?"[a] About two weeks later, but yet before the news of the treaty had reached America, Randolph sent to Jay a detailed consideration of the whole question.[b] Although this belated message had no part in the making of the treaty, yet its ingenuous reasoning merits some attention, particularly when its official character is taken into account.

The main point in Grenville's contention had been that when the negroes came within the British lines they thereby ceased to be American property. To this Randolph made

[a] Randolph to Jay, Amer. St. Papers, I, 509.
[b] Randolph to Jay, Dec. 15, 1794, Amer. St. Papers, I, 509.

reply that while property is acquired in movables as soon as they come within the power of the enemy, yet property rights thus acquired in war may, by treaty of peace, be renounced. Thus Randolph freely admitted, as Jay had not done, that the negroes in question had become the property of the British through the regular processes of war, but added that by the treaty of peace Great Britain had bound herself to release all such negroes then in her possession. He understood that this stipulation had been in the nature of a compromise, since it had been agreed that the British debts should be paid, and the States in which were a majority of the debtors depended for their ability to pay chiefly on the culture of the soil, for which, in turn, they were dependent upon slave labor. He regarded the treaty stipulation as superfluous if it signified only an engagement against further depredations. The mere cessation of the war meant that much.

It will be recalled that Grenville had declared the treaty stipulation "odious," if it meant that the negroes who had sought the British lines under promises of freedom were to be returned to their American masters. It is a rather vague principle of international law that a nation is not bound to the execution of a treaty provision which is clearly of such a nature as to violate its own conscience as well as the sense of justice and right of the world at large. Under cover of this principle Grenville had taken the ground that, even if it had been the intention of the British commissioner at Paris that the negroes should be remitted to bondage—a thing which, however, was far from being conceded—still, on the basis of common morality, England was not to be expected to execute such a stipulation. This argument aroused nothing but ridicule on the part of Randolph. He declared that the principle of "odious" agreements was entirely too vague to be made use of in the present matter. He dwelt at length upon the facts that Great Britain had fostered the institution of slavery in the American colonies, and hence was largely responsible for its existence there; that in the British colonies elsewhere slavery was maintained under the protection of the Government, and declared that it was mere cant and hypocrisy for England to repudiate treaty obligations recognizing slavery on the ground that they were "odious."

"You must be too sensible," concluded Randolph, in his letter to Jay, "of the anxiety of many parts of the United States upon this subject to pass it over unnoticed. Permit me, therefore, to beg your attention to the foregoing ideas, since I have it greatly at heart that your negotiation may not be encumbered by any obligation which may be anticipated." This well-meant but really quite unnecessary admonition reached Jay on the 5th of February, 1795. To it he could only reply that the authorities at Washington and the people at large must remember that in the negotiation of a treaty it takes two to make a bargain. "We could not agree about the negroes. Was that a good reason for breaking up the negotiations?"[a] Jay's plan of action had been to secure every possible concession from Great Britain, but never to endanger the whole treaty by stubbornly refusing to yield on comparatively minor points. That the treaty would be received with ill favor in many quarters none knew better than himself; but he felt secure in the consciousness that he had negotiated as successfully as anyone could have done under the circumstances. After returning to America, May 28, he refrained from attempting to influence the President and Senate to sanction and ratify the treaty, and did not even so much as write a defense for the consideration of the people.

Although the treaty had been signed at London on the 19th of November, 1794, it was not until the 17th of March, 1795, that a copy of it was transmitted by Secretary Randolph to the President. Congress had adjourned just two weeks before. Hence it became necessary to call a special session of the Senate to consider the question of ratification. By the 8th of June a quorum was present and the debate upon the treaty was begun. Neither the treaty nor the Senate discussion of it was at the time made public—a fact which aroused much suspicion and not a little vituperation on part of the Republicans. During the course of the deliberations considerable dissatisfaction was manifested in the Senate regarding several features of the treaty. It was proposed by some members to reject it altogether, by others to accept it only in part. As had been anticipated by Randolph, the failure of the treaty to provide compensation for the negroes was seized upon by the Southerners. Motion was made to recommend

[a] Jay to Randolph, Feb. 6, 1795, Amer. St. Papers, I, 518.

the President to renew the negro claims and attempt to secure a satisfactory adjustment of the matter. Mr. Gunn, of Georgia, presented resolutions providing that Jay be instructed to press the subject of compensation on the ground that the settlement of the question would "tend to produce the desired friendship between the two Governments." The motion, however, was lost, as were also the resolutions. After a fortnight's discussion the Senate voted, 20 to 10—a bare constitutional majority—to uphold the President in the ratification of the treaty. Washington had written of the treaty: "Although it does not rise to all our wishes, yet it appears to me calculated to procure to the United States such advantages as entitle it to our acceptance." In this opinion all the Cabinet concurred except Randolph, who was uncertain as to the wisdom of ratification.

It is much to be regretted that we have no record of the Senate debates on the treaty. These debates, however, were but the beginning of a two years' controversy, during which every phase of the subject was rehearsed to the point of exhaustion among the people and finally in the House. Popular attack upon the treaty was delayed somewhat by the fact that the Senate had ordered the terms of the agreement kept secret. About the 1st of July, however, the treaty was made public through the misconduct of Senator Mason, of Virginia, who gave a copy of the document to a Philadelphia editor. Jefferson spoke Republican sentiment when he referred to Mason's deed as "a bold act of duty in one of our Senators." He further characterized the treaty as "execrable," "an infamous act," "stamped with avarice and corruption," and, finally, "nothing more than a treaty of alliance between England and the Anglo-men of this country against the legislature and people of the United States." The publication of the treaty precipitated a storm of opposition throughout the country. Public meetings denounced it. A copy was burned before the residence of the British minister in Philadelphia. Jay was dragged in effigy through the streets. The personal character of the President and other leading Federalists was bitterly attacked. The sheets of Cobbett, Freneau, Fermo, and Bache reveled in abuse and malignancy. On no occasion since the founding of the nation had public opinion been so decided and demonstrative. Throughout the summer and

fall of 1795 the country was flooded with pamphlets, anonymous letters, and circulars.

The most ardent defender of the treaty was Alexander Hamilton, who at the close of January had resigned his Cabinet position in order to return to his law practice in New York, but who nevertheless continued to interest himself in public affairs and to exert great influence in the disposal of them.[a] Hamilton had never cherished much regard for Randolph and had upon numerous occasions interposed his own ideas to the end of modifying those of Randolph, and of Jay and Washington as well. When the treaty was finally made known, however, he entered enthusiastically into the work of securing its speedy ratification and its complete execution. Through two channels Hamilton sought to reconcile the country to the work of Jay —first, in his state paper submitted to President Washington July 9, 1795,[b] and second, in his "Camillus" essays,[c] published at intervals during the closing months of the same year.

In brief, Hamilton's position on the question of compensation for the negroes was as follows: That the conduct of the British soldiery in "seducing away" the negroes was "to the last degree infamous," but to have surrendered them to their masters after promise of liberty would have been even more infamous; that it had not been the intention of the British commissioners at Paris to stipulate any such surrender (substantially the same argument used by Grenville); that if the treaty provided for any such surrender the provision was, as Grenville said, "odious;" that under the laws of the United States negroes were property, and therefore, when they fell into the possession of the British, by whatsoever means, they became British property by virtue of the ordinary rules of warfare; that in any event the United States had been the first party to violate the Paris treaty; and, finally, that the whole subject was involved in so much honest doubt that "the acting of the other party on a construction different from ours could not be deemed such a clear manifest breach of treaty as to justify retaliation."

Popular disapproval of such sentiment, as well as of the treaty in whose defense it was uttered, increased rather than

[a] See Jefferson's letter to Madison, Sept. 21, 1795, Jefferson's Writings, VII, 31.
[b] Works of Alexander Hamilton, IV, 322 et seq.
[c] Ibid., IV, 371 et seq.

diminished as the summer of 1795 went by. Hamilton did all within his power to stem the tide. Jefferson spoke of him as "really a colossus to the antirepublican party" and as "without numbers a host within himself." The very unsettled state of the public mind gave rise to some of the most remarkable of our early controversial literature. Under the pseudonym of "Camillus," Hamilton began the publication of a series of essays which had for their sole purpose the reconciling of the people to the action of the Administration in ratifying the treaty. In the third essay the subject of the negroes received the most careful attention. The argument advanced was virtually repeated from the paper submitted previously to the President. In the Camillus essay, however, Hamilton expressed with much more vigor the conviction that in demanding compensation for the negroes the United States was exceeding her rights under the treaty of Paris. Of course, in estimating Hamilton's attitude on this question the circumstances under which he wrote must be kept in mind. He was attempting to defend the work of Jay and to secure popular support for the treaty, and was, therefore, inclined to set forth the various issues from the British rather than from the American point of view. He naturally dwelt longest upon those things wherein the contention of Great Britain was most securely grounded. The bounds of truth and propriety, however, seem never to have been seriously transgressed. In behalf of the British contention that the treaty provision meant merely that there was to be no further depredation, a vast array of arguments was brought forward. These arguments need not be stated here, inasmuch as they were all based upon facts and theories which we have already had occasion to notice.

In the fifth Camillus essay Hamilton made another vigorous plea of justification for Jay's treaty from the standpoint of the negro question. Of the three great objects aimed at by the United States in negotiating the treaty of 1794—compensation for the negroes, surrender of the western posts, and compensation for spoliation during the war then in progress—two had been satisfactorily achieved. One—compensation for the negroes—had been abandoned. But this claim, declared Hamilton, was not only the least important of the

three, but was very doubtful in its justice. In abandoning it the United States had suffered no dishonor. "It is a fact," said Hamilton, "which I assert on the best authority, that our envoy made every construction of the article relating to this subject, and to obtain compensation; and that he did not relinquish it till he became convinced that to insist upon it would defeat the purpose of his mission and leave the controversy between the two countries unsettled." Hamilton asserted that, in view of these things, none except "certain hot-heads" who would have opposed the treaty on some ground anyway could fail to see that it was far better for the United States to secure what had been gained by the work of Jay than to forfeit all by stubbornly holding out for a claim which could not be well substantiated. "There was no general principle of national right or policy to be renounced. No consideration of honor forbade the renunciation; every calculation of interest invited to it."

Our loss in not having a record of the Senate debates on the Jay treaty is largely compensated by the fact that the House, stepping beyond its accustomed limitation into a field which many regarded as forbidden to it, during the spring of 1796 took into consideration the Jay treaty and gave it more extended and deliberate attention than had the Senate in its brief session during the previous summer. Three weeks were consumed by the House in discussing its disputed constitutional right to engage in the consideration of treaties.[a] By some it was maintained that the House was vested with discretionary power to carry a treaty into effect or to refuse to do so by failure to vote the necessary financial supplies. By others it was contended that the Constitution vests the treaty-making power exclusively in the President and Senate, and that the House must acquiesce in all treaties made under the sanction of these powers. Edward Livingston, of New York, moved that the President be requested to lay before the House the papers relating to the Jay treaty. The motion was carried, the Republicans being in the majority; but Washington refused to comply with the request on the ground that to do so would set a dangerous precedent, since, in his belief, the House had no share in the treaty-making power. The right to demand the papers was reaffirmed by the House, and the debate drifted

[a] The debate began on the 7th of March. It is reported in full in the Annals of Congress, Fourth Congress, first session.

into a general consideration of the merits and faults of the Jay treaty. Of this debate Chief Justice Marshall afterwards declared that "never had a greater display been made of argument, of eloquence, of passion;" and Washington declared that it "suspended in a manner all other business" of the House and "agitated the public mind in a higher degree than it has been at any period since the Revolution."

The debate was opened by the notable speech of James Madison, April 15. Madison spoke for the Republican element of the House and of the country, and, as might be expected, manifested extreme dissatisfaction with the treaty.[a] Among its faults he deemed by no means the least its failure to provide for the execution of the slavery clause of the Paris treaty of 1783. He could discover no adequate excuse for "the very extraordinary abandonment of the compensation due for negroes." In his estimation the attempt of Hamilton to discredit the American claim was little less than treasonable. Until recently, Madison contended, Great Britain had repeatedly recognized the essential justice of the American demands, and had postponed compliance with them merely until the Americans in turn should have fulfilled certain obligations. The truth of this proposition was beyond question. Not only had Carleton recognized at the time of the deportation of the negroes that it might be subsequently necessary for England to pay for them, but Carmarthen and Pitt, in their discussions with Adams and Morris, had generally acquiesced in the justice of the American claims. These admissions on the part of the British ministers furnished the most clinching argument at the disposal of the American claimants. It was not until Grenville's negotiation with Jay that all obligations with regard to the negroes were disclaimed by the British. Madison, therefore, charged Jay with having yielded to a mere makeshift, an afterthought, which Grenville had been shrewd enough to beguile him into recognizing. The United States, continued Madison, ought never to have acceded to the British interpretation of the peace treaty. One nation had as much right to construe the terms of the agreement as the other. If no conclusion could be reached through the regular channels of diplomacy, the matter should have been settled by a board of arbitration. To abandon the claim, as

[a] Annals of Congress, Fourth Congress, first session, I, 975.

Jay had done, was to admit either that the United States had been in the wrong or that her right to interpret the treaty was not so good as Great Britain's. However desirable the obtaining of commercial concessions for the merchant class, the securing of these could not, as Jay had urged, be regarded as compensation for the losses of the slaveholders. The Government of the United States was under just as much obligation to secure justice for the agricultural as for the merchant classes.

On the day following Madison's speech the House listened to a very able argument along the same line by Mr. Nicholas, of Virginia.[a] He, too, maintained that the right of the former owners to compensation for the negroes was well founded. He realized, as he said, that in the practical work of treaty making it often becomes necessary to forego certain rights and to abandon certain just claims, but he did not think that, in consideration of what the United States had received, Jay had been justified in abandoning the claim for compensation. He lamented the recent inclination of Great Britain (and the acquiescence of certain prominent Americans) to interpret the treaty of peace as applying only to the negroes who remained in possession of the inhabitants when peace was declared. He thought it too late to extort such an unwarranted meaning from a contract after it had existed ten years. In support of his contention that Great Britain never denied that the clause applied to *all* the negroes in both British and American possessions, he referred to three well-known and very pertinent facts: (1) That Mr. Adams, who had been one of the commissioners, informed the Senate in the course of its deliberations on the Jay treaty that it was the unquestionable meaning of the article to save all negroes and other property then in the hands of the British, and that during his stay at the British court as the first American minister this construction of the treaty had never been denied, and that it seemed to be understood by the ministry that, on a settlement with the United States, compensation must be made; (2) that Mr. Jay himself, while Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had had ample occasion to investigate this whole matter on both sides of the question and had arrived at the conclusion that we were entitled to compensation; (3) the reputed author of the best

[a] Ibid., I, 1003.

defense of the treaty (Mr. Hamilton) in the year 1783 had himself introduced a resolution into Congress declaring that the negroes, etc., had been carried away by the British armies, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the treaty.

In reply to the argument of Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Swift, of Connecticut, denied the validity of the American claims in a tone so decisive that not even Grenville himself could have done it better.[a] It was enough, Mr. Swift asserted, simply to look at the article itself in the treaty of peace. He was surprised that any person could ever have entertained an opinion that the slaveholders were entitled to compensation. If the treaty stipulation be studied, he thought, it will be evident that it was intended only to prevent the British from carrying away negroes and other property that should be taken in the future, and could have no reference to those captured during the war and before the treaty, the property of which had vested in the captors. That point was so clear, said he, as not to admit of any doubt. On any other construction they might claim all the property plundered during the war, which no one wished to do. Swift therefore asserted that the only respects in which the treaty of peace had been violated were the nonpayment of British debts and the retention of the western posts. This was a radical position assumed with rare self-assurance. It called out a strong counter argument from Mr. Giles, of Virginia, to the effect that unless by the provision of the treaty of peace had been intended the restoration of negroes captured during the war, the entire clause was superfluous; for when the treaty was made the British were in New York and the negroes in the Southern States, and it was not to be supposed that the commissioners feared that after peace should be declared the British army would start southward on a slave-hunting expedition.[b]

On the whole, the best defense of the Jay treaty brought forth during this debate was that by Mr. Hillhouse, of Connecticut.[c] In his speech of the 19th of April he undertook to prove that the assertions of foregoing speakers (Madison, Nicholas, Giles, and others) were without foundation of fact, and that the American claims could be maintained on neither a legal nor a moral basis; that negroes, at least in the estima-

[a] Annals of Congress, 4 Cong., 1 sess., i, 1015.
[b] Ibid., i, 1026.
[c] Ibid., i, 1078.

tion of the commissioners, were property admitted of no doubt; "negroes or other property," said the treaty. By reason of this fact, as well as by the acknowledged laws of war, the negroes who during the course of the war had by any means come into possession of the British thereby became British property, to be disposed of at will. The treaty provision was clearly not retrospective. It applied only to negroes who at the time of the declaration of peace were still in the possession of the American inhabitants. If any of this class had been carried off by the British, the treaty would have been thereby violated; but no accusation of this sort had been brought. In all such cases of doubt, where the freedom of a human being is involved, the benefit of the doubt should be given to the side of freedom. Upon this proposition Mr. Hillhouse based a clear and forcible plea for the liberty of the black man worthy of the abolition orator of Garrisonian times.

It is significant that the five speakers whose opinions we have just noted represented but two States. Madison, Nicholas, and Giles were from Virginia; Swift and Hillhouse from Connecticut. The three Virginians were agreed that compensation for the negroes should be demanded. The two Connecticut speakers contended that it was both illegal and immoral to make such a demand. Already the inevitable divergence of opinion between North and South as to the nation's attitude on the slavery question had begun to appear in the councils of state. During the years immediately following the treaty of peace the people of the United States had been practically unanimous in defending the American claims for restoration of the negroes or compensation for losses incurred. But after a decade of discussion and apparently futile efforts along this line there came to be an appreciable number of the people, particularly, of course, in the Northern States where the loss was not felt and where there was a feeble but rising tide of sentiment against the slave system, who were more than willing to see the claims abandoned. And not only had many of them come to believe that it was highly inexpedient to press the claims, but many also were contending, after the fashion of Swift and Hillhouse, that it had never been the intent of the treaty that compensation be made for negroes captured by the British during the war. So that while it was being urged by the slaveholders of the South that

even Great Britain had never declared for this loose construction of the treaty until she came to negotiate with Jay, it was beginning to be asserted by men of the North that even if Great Britain had really been so late in advocating this interpretation of the agreement, she nevertheless would have been in the right had she done so a decade before. As one of the participants in the House debate pointed out, men's interpretations of treaties are subject to change just as are their constructions of constitutions. Economic considerations and moral feelings have much to do with both.

It would be easy to exaggerate the antislavery sentiment thus manifested during the agitation over the Jay treaty. Despite the arguments and pleas of such men as Hamilton, the treaty never became popular; and a leading source of dissatisfaction continued to be its failure to secure compensation for the negroes. Whatever else may have been deemed settled by it, certainly the negro question was not. The slaveholders of the South, knowing well the abolitionist propensities of Jay, were not slow to conclude that he had willingly betrayed their interests by trading off their claims in return for commercial privileges for New England. Hamilton's testimony that Jay had abandoned the negro claims only when compelled to do so by fear of breaking off the entire negotiation, did not satisfy the claimants. And, moreover, since the people in the North could not find in the treaty any very substantial commercial advantages the acquisition of which could be attributed to the abandonment of the slave owners' demands, there remained little ground for hope that the question might not again disturb our diplomatic relations.

After surveying at such length the various constructions put upon the provision of the treaty of peace relating to negroes and the various arguments pro and con upon that subject used in attack or defense of the Jay treaty, it seems hardly necessary in closing to do more than merely offer a few suggestions upon the merits of the controversy. Diplomacy has been said to abhor certainty as nature abhors a vacuum. While it is to be hoped and believed that this principle is falling into disrepute along with many other relics of Machiavelism, yet so long as language remains flexible will diverse interests of men dictate conflicting interpretations of identical forms of expression. Certain it is that the negotiations at Paris concerning

the negroes were incidental rather than fundamental. The British agent claimed restitution of confiscated Tory estates. In rebuttal the American commissioners claimed compensation for the negroes and other property which had been taken as plunder by the British soldiery during the war. It being found that no agreement could be reached on these contested points, they were relinquished for the time and other matters taken up. Finally, at the last moment, and without discussion, Mr. Laurens's provision against the carrying away of negroes was inserted. In due time the execution of the treaty was called for by each nation. Upon three matters, the posts, the debts, and the negroes, there was hesitation. As to the simple meaning of the provision regarding the posts and the debts there could be no division of opinion. The question on that score was merely as to whether or not the plain stipulations should be carried out.

But as to the negroes there was uncertainty. Did the clause enjoin the restoration of all negroes held by the British at the close of the war, or did it apply only to such as might be taken after the treaty of peace? As time went on the British became more and more firm in the latter conviction. And the same view began to be advanced in America, much to the chagrin and disgust of the Southerners who had been called upon to suffer the heaviest losses. If an attempt at an impartial interpretation of the treaty on this point were to be made, it would seem that so far as the question was of strict legal construction the right was largely on the side of Great Britain, but so far as it was a matter of the intent of the negotiators the right was even more certainly on the side of the United States. From a moral standpoint there was not much distinction between the claims of the two parties. A study of the earlier negotiations, the letters and conversations of the commissioners, as well as the expressions of opinion of British ministers and agents during the years immediately following the negotiations of the treaty, convinces the present writer that it was understood by the commissioners on both sides that the negro clause was to be retrospective in its operation. The testimony of John Adams that such was the case has already been cited. If it be wondered that the British agent did not object to the incorporation of such provision in the treaty, it should be remembered that there had

already been placed in the instrument a stipulation concerning the restoration of Tory property, which had previously been regarded as balancing the negro claims.

But that the words of the treaty actually and clearly expressed this intention admits of serious doubt. It was declared that the evacuation should be made "without carrying away any negroes or other property belonging to the American inhabitants." The crucial point was whether the negroes whom the British carried away could any longer be considered property of the American inhabitants. Clearly if by their changed conditions the negroes ceased to be property of the American inhabitants the claims set up by the United States were without foundation, for the treaty applied only to such property. Secretary Randolph's idea that, though the slaves had become property of the British, they were engaged to be restored to their former American owners by reason of the treaty stipulation was certainly erroneous. For whatever that stipulation may really have meant, it manifestly did not enjoin the handing over of British property to the people of the United States. The whole matter then resolves itself to the one question, Was the American claim of retention of property rights in the negroes justifiable under the recognized principles of international law? It is a well-established rule that slaves escaping in time of war from one belligerent to another, even though the latter be a slaveholding power, are legally free from their former masters. Halleck asserts that under the shield of the law of nations such slaves can not be regained by their former masters even through the operation of the law of postliminy.[a] Dana, in his edition of Wheaton's International Law, says the same thing.[b] It matters not whether the refugee slaves actually gain their freedom or merely effect a change of masters, if the operation takes place in the course of a recognized state of war the authorities of the army sought are under no obligation and usually have little disposition to return them. It would seem, then, that so far as those slaves were concerned who voluntarily sought the British lines the ownership of their masters had been destroyed beyond the point of revival.

The case of the other class of negroes—i. e., those carried

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a Halleck, Elements of International Law, p. 358.
b Wheaton, International Law, ed. by Dana, p. 441.

off by force—presents a somewhat different problem. So far as a slave is to be considered as a mere article of private property—"a movable corporeal chattel"—he is not subject to capture and appropriation any more than other private property. In his character as a human being, however, the slave differs widely from such other property. Since he can be used by the will of his master or State in active service against the enemy, it is generally regarded as legitimate for that enemy to take possession of the slave by force and turn his services against his former master. In other words, the condition of the slave follows the fortunes of war in the sense that he is subject to capture and service. There can be no doubt that if the British had been successful in the war the slaves would rightfully have remained in their possession, or, at least, at their disposal. The property rights of the American inhabitants would have been considered extinguished. It is doubtful, however, whether a different outcome of the war could give a different status to the captured negroes. By the laws of war they had become British property, and had thereby ceased to be American property. The ethics of the day among both combatants did not elevate the negro above the condition of ordinary property. His status was closely approximated to that of horses and cattle. The case set up by the United States was founded, not on moral principles, but on the alleged rights of property. If it could not be maintained that the negroes taken by the British continued to be American property, the claims of the slaveholders fell of their own weight. But the authority of modern international law (although not so clearly defined at the time of which we are speaking as it is at the present day) must be conceded as giving its support on this point to the side of the British. And since the treaty provided only against the carrying away of American property, it would seem that the negroes taken during the course of the war were not included in the literal meaning of the treaty stipulation. This does not mean that the British conduct with regard to the negroes was in all respects justifiable. It simply means that, given the process by which the slaves had come into the possession of the British armies and given the generally accepted rules of international law on the subject, the legal defense set up by Grenville and his colleagues must be judged well-nigh impregnable.

XIV.—THE LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF NATURALIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1776–1795.

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Before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, which declared the right of the people to establish a new government, the Continental Congress had defined the citizenship of the colonies. It resolved (June 6, 1776), while considering a report of its committee on spies, "That all persons abiding within any of the United Colonies and deriving protection from the laws of the same owe allegiance to the said laws, and are members of such colony."[a]

Hamilton accepted this position and developed its application to those who had been within British lines during the war, and to Tories generally, in his Letters from Phocion, written in 1784. He maintained that residents of New York, formerly British citizens, had the opportunity of making choice of American or British citizenship immediately after July 9, 1776. By choosing British citizenship they chose to become alien enemies in the place of their residence, and were under the necessity of withdrawing from the State. Persons who remained were and continued to be American citizens, although the fortunes of war later left them within the enemy's lines, where they owed a temporary and qualified obedience, and although they took voluntary part with the enemy and became traitors thereby.[b] Bancroft states this theory of citizenship resulting from the assertion of independence, and adds that it explains why for twelve years in American state papers "free inhabitants" and "citizens" were convertible terms, either or both being used.[c]

[a] Journals of Congress, ii, 229.
[b] Lodge: Works of Alexander Hamilton, iii, 449–470.
[c] Bancroft: History of the United States, v, 200.

The early Continental Congresses required no oath even from their members. Soldiers at enlistment declared merely that they had voluntarily enlisted, and bound themselves to conform to the rules for the government of the Army. Late in 1776 they were sworn "to be true to the United States of America and to serve them honestly and faithfully." About the same time Congress established an oath of allegiance for officers in the Continental service and for persons holding civil office from Congress. They were required to acknowledge the independence of the "Thirteen United States of America," renounce allegiance to King George, and swear to support, maintain, and defend the United States.[a]

During the Revolutionary war repeated efforts were made to detach the foreign element from the British army by offers of land and citizenship. A committee of Congress, reporting on plans for encouraging the Hessians and other foreigners to quit the British service, declared it to have been "the wise policy of these States to extend the protection of their laws to all who should settle among them, of whatever nation or religion they might be, and to admit them to a participation of the benefits of civil and religious freedom." Congress adopted the report and resolved that "these states will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of England * * * and shall chuse to become members of any of these states; and they shall be * * * invested with the rights, privileges and immunities of natives as established by the laws of these States." In 1781 Jefferson, as governor of Virginia, republished the offer of Congress and promised to recommend further specific donations and exemptions in behalf of foreigners deserting from the British army. Opinions vary as to the result of these overtures. Of 29,867 Germans sent to America, 12,554 were not returned at the end of the war. It has been estimated that 5,000 of these had deserted, largely while prisoners of war. German writers claim, however, that the Germans deserted less freely than did the English soldiers.[b] Several other acts of Congress showed a willingness to welcome new citizens, but were otherwise unimportant.

[a] Journals of Congress, i, 118; ii, 367, 426.

[b] Journals of Congress, ii, 310, 330; Ford: Writings of Jefferson, ii, 445; Lowell: The Hessians in the Revolution, 285–300.

A remarkable proposition is contained in a letter from John Adams at Paris to the president of Congress, as follows:

> There is another point of very great importance, which I am persuaded will be aimed at by the English ministers; I am sure it will be by the people of England, whenever terms of peace shall be talked. For facilitating the return of commerce they will wish to have it stipulated by the treaty, that the subjects of Great Britain shall have the rights of citizens in America, and the citizens of the United States the rights of subjects in the British dominions. Some of the consequences of such an agreement to them and to us are obvious and very important; but they are so numerous, and it is so difficult to determine whether the benefits or inconveniences prevail, that I should be sorry to have so great a question left to my determination.[a]

In the course of the negotiation of the Jay treaty in 1794 Lord Chancellor Loughborough (formerly Wedderburn) proposed "that in either country, the subjects or citizens of the other shall be exempted from all the disabilities of alienage." John Quincy Adams wrote that this was "certainly extremely liberal," but he thought that such a provision would be contrary to an article in the Constitution.[b] Doubtless this was the provision for a uniform rule of naturalization. Jay thought best to leave the subject for future consideration. Professor Dicey, of Oxford University, has strongly advocated this measure within recent years.

The history of the provisions for naturalization in the Articles of Confederation can be briefly given. Franklin's sketch of May 10, 1775, contains no reference to citizenship. Independence was not yet planned for.[c] The draft of August 12, 1776, shortly after the Declaration, is in Dickinson's handwriting. It provided that the inhabitants of each colony should always enjoy the same rights, liberties, privileges, immunities and advantages that they then had, except that each colony might enforce upon the inhabitants of other colonies such restrictions upon trade rights as it enforced upon its own members.[d] With the matter thus before them it is strange that the draft of the committee of the whole (August 20, 1776) contains no reference to the subject. Ten weeks later Congress added the provision that was embodied in Article IV, as follows:

> The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the United States in this union, the free inhabitants

[a] John Adams: Works, vii, 137.
[b] J. Q. Adams: Memoirs, v, 400; N. Y. Nation, 64, 198.
[c] Secret Journals of Congress, i, 283.
[d] Secret Journals of Congress, i, 292, 304.

of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States. * * *

Madison, in The Federalist,[a] argued that the construction was scarcely to be avoided that a State necessarily conferred the rights of citizenship in other States upon any person whom it allowed to become an inhabitant within its jurisdiction. But if the term "inhabitants" were made to include only citizens, even then, he said, the very improper power would still be retained by each State of naturalizing aliens in every other State. The law of one State was thus "preposterously rendered paramount" to the law of another, within the jurisdiction of the other.

Bancroft found in the "intercitizenship and mutual equality of rights" of all members in the confederation "a new quality and an enduring unity" not found before in confederations. Congress had at first defined only the membership of each colony. The Articles of Confederation brought in the rule that membership might be transferred from one State to another.[b] While there is here doubtless the original expression of this character by the lawmaking body common to the new union, and is perhaps a new quality in federations, yet there must be taken into account the earlier common English citizenship of the great majority of the members of the confederation and the common rights that it involved. Those, whether continued or not throughout the preliminary states of their combination, must have done much to render intercitizenship in the federation inevitable. In other words, if here is a new character in federations, it is here because this is a federation born out of conditions to which the new character was fundamental. The intercitizenship of naturalized citizens was, on the other hand, not a matter of course. There is little to show that their status in this respect had been worked out generally in either the colonial or the revolutionary period. Colonial naturalization was usually limited in its benefits, by explicit provision, to the colony naturalizing. The restriction was not made with reference to rights in other colonies. It merely marked the limit of power under the colony's charter, the act of 13 Geo. 2, or the veto power of governor or Crown. England did not permit colonies to

[a] No. XLII.

[b] Bancroft: History of the Constitution of the United States, i, 118.

create English citizens, and often restrained them in the making of colonial citizens. A Virginian, who was an Englishman, upon settling in Maryland became a Marylander. There was no necessity for this result following if he was a foreigner.

There is a case of naturalization, in the colonial period,[a] first by Virginia and later by Maryland; and it seems probable from the record that the results of the Virginia naturalization were lost by the subsequent proceedings in Maryland. At any rate, the Virginia lands of one Dr. George Hacke, who was naturalized in Virginia in 1653 and again in Maryland in 1663, are said to have escheated at his death, and were regranted to his heirs, because he was a foreigner. But with the common tie one of their own formation, the rather anomalous condition that some of the citizens of one State should, and others should not, require naturalization upon removing to another State would naturally be done away with.

The transfer of citizenship from State to State provided for by the Articles of Confederation very soon led to complaints due to the easy naturalization laws of some of the States. Edmund Randolph, writing to Madison, made suggestions with reference to the intrusion of obnoxious aliens through other States. Madison replied (August 27, 1782) that his hints merited attention, and that the subject had been several times mentioned in Congress. He believed that no committee had ever reported a remedy for the abuse, but thought that a uniform rule of naturalization ought certainly to be recommended to the States. Their individual authority seemed, if properly executed, to be competent to the case of their own citizens.[b] This last statement seems to mean that States might be left to control State, as distinguished from Federal, citizenship.

I proceed to consider the work of the constitutional convention. In view of the correspondence referred to between Madison and Randolph I find conscious reference to the matter in hand in one of the resolutions offered by Randolph on May 29, "that the National Legislature ought to be empowered * * * to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent, or in which the harmony of the

[a] Virginia Historical Magazine, v, 256.
[b] Madison Papers, i, 161.

United States may be interrupted by the exercise of individual legislation." Another of his resolutions, "That the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers within the several States ought to be bound by oath to support the articles of union," is a step toward recognition of a new citizenship that met with considerable opposition. These provisions were unchanged in the resolutions as agreed to in Committee of the Whole.[a]

Among Patterson's propositions was one identical with the first-mentioned one of Randolph's. Another read, "*Resolved*, That the rule for naturalization ought to be the same in every State."[b] Randolph's resolutions as cited were approved by the convention and referred to the Committee of Detail.

Consideration of the report of this committee developed wide divergence of opinion as to the term of citizenship to be required of members in either branch of Congress. Important elements of the naturalization problem were involved and a wide range of discussion ensued. As to membership in the House the battle raged about the terms of three years and seven years and a compromise term of four years. Wilson would leave it to the electors to impose any desired limitation, while Gerry wished that in future any eligibility might be confined entirely to natives. Hamilton was against embarrassing the Government by minute restrictions. He proposed requiring only citizenship and inhabitancy. This would leave discretion to Congress and answer every purpose. Madison wished to maintain their professed character of liberality and to invite foreigners of merit and republican principles. America was indebted to immigration and had advanced most rapidly where it was most encouraged. The people would prefer natives for office. Only four States—Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia—voted for Hamilton's amendment. Three of these would agree to only four years' citizenship being required. Three others voted to require nine years.

Gouverneur Morris opened up a new field for debate by offering a proviso that the limitation of seven years should not affect the rights of those already citizens. One member thought it necessary to prevent putting any who had become

[a] Elliott's Debates, i, 408; Madison Papers, v, 182 f.
[b] Elliott's Debates, i. 177.

citizens below the level of natives, while another asserted that age qualifications might as well be called disfranchisements. Some doubted the propriety of retrospective restriction. When foreigners were naturalized they had been placed on an equal footing with natives.

It was claimed that equal privileges had been pledged by invitations to foreigners, and urged in reply that only individual States had done this. The United States were free to discriminate as they should think necessary. Madison found in this doctrine a subtlety by which every national engagement might be evaded. If the new Constitution violated pledged faith, the States who formed it would be violators. Pinckney declared that the laws of the States varied much as to naturalization, and the United States could not be bound to respect them at such a time when there was a sort of recurrence to first principles. Mason was struck by the propriety of the doctrine to which Madison had objected. Wilson found guarantees in the constitution of Pennsylvania and in the Articles of Confederation that obligated his State to maintain her pledged faith. Foreign powers would use such a breach of it to deter their subjects from emigrating to the United States. Morris's proviso failed by a vote of 5 to 6.[a]

For eligibility to the Senate the committee had required four years' citizenship. Morris, urging the danger of admitting strangers to the public councils, sought to change this to fourteen years. His supporters asserted a peculiar danger and impropriety in opening the Senate's doors to those who had foreign attachments. Except for the Revolutionary deeds of many, Mason would limit eligibility there to natives. Madison was not averse to some restrictions on the subject, but any restriction in the Constitution was unnecessary and improper. Congress was to regulate naturalization and could require different periods of residence for the different privileges of citizenship. Respectable, liberty-loving Europeans, ready to transfer their fortunes hither, though not coveting public honors, would be mortified by incapacity. State legislatures would choose no dangerous number of strangers, nor would foreign powers use strangers as instruments of their purposes. Franklin was not opposed to a reasonable residence requirement, but should be very sorry to see

[a] Elliott's Debates, i, 224, 232, 240; Madison Papers, iii, 1299–1305.

anything like illiberality inserted in the Constitution. Wilson mentioned that some of the ideas advanced might exclude himself, although he shared in making the Constitution. Morris closed the debate by urging that they should govern themselves by reason and not by feelings, and not be polite at the expense of prudence. Men who could shake off attachments to their own country could never love another. Only four States voted for his amendment. Nine years carried by a vote of 6 to 4.[a]

The uniform rule clause of the Constitution was reported by the Committee of Detail and apparently passed with little if any comment or opposition. There was no age or birth qualification for the President in the report. The limitation finally adopted was reported by a special compromise committee and agreed to without opposition. The report had provided that all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States should pertain to citizens of each State. The provision was agreed to as reported, 9 to 1, South Carolina opposing and Georgia divided.[b]

The act of 1790 was the first response of Congress to the grant of power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization. More immediately it was a response to the following clause from Washington's annual message (January 8, 1790): "Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization."

While a bill was in preparation the House discussed at some length questions raised by a petition of one H. W. Dobbyn, of Ireland, praying Congress to grant him lands on terms to encourage him to bring settlers to the United States. It was objected that Dobbyn was an alien and might not be able to conform to the new plan for naturalization soon to be reported; that both naturalization and land sales ought to be by general laws; and that, in view of the notoriously rapid growth of population from the existing inhabitants, sufficient in itself to people the territory, it was a mistake to throw away lands on foreign speculators, who were less likely to harmonize with than, if numerous, to embarrass a republican government.[c]

[a] Elliott's Debates, i, 235; Madison Papers, iii, 1273–1279.
[b] Elliott's Debates, i, 229, 245, 272, 283, 291; v, 522; Madison Papers, v, 434.
[c] Annals of Congress, 1 Cong., 2 sess., 1097, 1104, 1108, 1110.

The House debated at considerable length the naturalization bill, recommitted it, and discussed for several days and amended the new bill. The Senate considered the bill for five successive days in Committee of the Whole and passed it with one amendment. The original bill provided that all free white persons who had already migrated into the United States, who should prove by oath that they intended to reside in the United States, take an oath of allegiance, and had resided therein for one year, should be entitled to all the rights of citizenship, except that of holding office under either a State or the General Government. For office holding a residence of two years longer was required.

The main lines of argument fall under a few general heads, such as constitutional and legal questions, protection from dangers, and the promotion of immigration. It was an open question whether a uniform rule might be progressive and probational. Madison thought it a nice question how far they should admit to citizenship, step by step. Boudinot asserted that citizenship ought to carry with it full and complete, not partial, rights. The view of national control that seemed to be involved in the idea of progressive naturalization, or at least that was assumed in the proposed methods of realizing it, was the serious obstacle in its way. The real difficulty was the fact that progressive naturalization opened up all the problems of state and national citizenship and called for decisions and definitions that could otherwise be avoided or postponed. Lawrence (New York) held that while Congress would establish the rule of naturalization, the effects of it were to be determined by the States. Congress had only to point out the mode for becoming citizens. It was doubly doubtful as to the power of Congress to fix any residence term as a qualification for membership in the State legislatures. White (Virginia) ventured to doubt the power of Congress to decide when aliens could hold lands within the States. A Virginia member saw clearly that Congress could fix the term of residence preliminary to office holding under the United States, but had nothing to do with prescribing the qualifications for State offices. Tucker (South Carolina) cited the constitutional provision as to voters as proof that the States and not Congress were to define the privileges under naturalization. Throughout the debate the principal rights involved in citi-

zenship were regarded as land holding and office holding. Only occasionally did suffrage as an independent right receive notice.

Apart from the constitutional questions, every point had to be considered with reference to its effect on immigration. The problem was to adjust the naturalization law so as to gain the maximum advantage from immigration with the least harm or danger to republican government and institutions, and to the other interests of the country. It was argued that the term of residence in the bill would tend to restrain immigration; also, that it would exclude the good and not the bad. The newcomer ought to vote as soon as he was taxed. All comers, rich or poor, would add to the wealth or strength of the country. The evil to result from restraining immigration was greater than the benefits from a term of residence. Conduct could be restrained by laws. A member suggested that it might be well to admit persons to hold land without their ever coming to the United States, as Pennsylvania had done; it would result in easy borrowing of money.

On the other hand, the dangers to be apprehended from foreign-born citizens lacking in character, in attachment to free institutions, in steadfast purpose of residence, or who might be paupers or even criminals, were strongly urged by a majority of the speakers. The object of the constitutional provision had been to guard against an improper mode of naturalization, rather than to provide easier terms. A residence requirement was the practice of almost every State. All modern experience had shown the propriety of a line between the citizen and the alien. There could be no assurance of a good citizen without requiring a term of residence in which to come to esteem the government. If only an oath was required, aliens might evade the laws intended to encourage the trade of citizens, and thus have in trade all the advantages of both citizens and aliens. One member, wanting the term "citizen" to be venerated, favored a term of probation and testimonials at the end of it, and would have the grand jury or district courts decide as to character. Another wished a term of probation and vouchers for good behavior. These plans were objected to as involving inquisition and expelling the unworthy. They led to a test of the faith and politics of all who came for admission. Stone (Maryland)

would give property rights after six months' residence, requiring an oath of allegiance and of intended residence. For voting and office holding he would require seven years' residence, following, he said, the example of the Constitution in this respect. An immigrant desired property, and not political rights.

Boudinot (New Jersey) would rather increase the term of residence to two years and omit the office-holding restriction. One speaker would, if the residence requirement was omitted, deprive of their citizenship those who left the country and remained abroad a given time. Other propositions were to leave naturalization to the State legislatures; to receive farmers, manufacturers, and mechanics on liberal terms, but to exclude merchants and factors, and also criminals; to invalidate land titles if residence were interrupted within three years; to grant inheritance rights in the United States only when the favor was reciprocated by European nations; to make easy the return of Tories to citizenship; and to provide for the case of children born abroad. One member declared that he saw no extrication from a wilderness of ideas more various than on any other question.

Maclay's Journal is the only record of the debates in the Senate. We are told in it that the debates were exceedingly lengthy and that a great number of amendments were moved. Only one passed. Maclay says:

> It is a vile bill, illiberal and void of philanthropy, and needed mending much. * * * We Pennsylvanians act as if we believed that God made of one blood all the families of the earth; but the Eastern people seem to think that He made none but New England folks. * * * The fact is, the adoption of strangers has set Pennsylvania far ahead of her sister States. They are spiteful and envious, and wish to deprive her of this source of population; but it will scarcely do to avow openly such ungenerous conduct. It therefore must be done under various pretenses and legal distinctions. * * * The governing ideas, however, seem to be the following: That the holding of property was separable from and not actually connected with naturalization; that laws and regulations relating to property, not being among the powers granted to Congress, remained with the different States. Therefore, Congress would be guilty of an assumption of power if they touched it; that the holding of property was a common-law right, and the disability of aliens to hold property from that quarter.

The bill as passed provided for the naturalization of free white aliens after two years' residence in the United States, upon

application to any common law court of record in the State where they had resided for one year. They were to satisfy the court of good character, and take an oath, administered by the court, to support the Constitution of the United States. Minor children resident in the United States at the time became citizens also. Children born abroad of citizens were to be natural-born citizens of the United States, unless the father had never resided in the United States. Any citizen already proscribed by a State was not to be readmitted to citizenship except by the act of the legislature of the proscribing State.[a]

At the beginning of the session of 1794–95 a House committee prepared a bill to amend the act of 1790. After debate, amendment, and recommittal the bill lost its character as an amendment and became a substitute for that act. The existing easy access to citizenship was held to be dangerous; improper persons were not excluded; vagabonds and fugitives found asylum; foreign agents could take the oath to save tonnage charges. To remedy this latter evil one proposal was that those who renounced all foreign allegiance forever and declared on oath their intentions to become citizens should pay no more tonnage dues than if they were fully naturalized. Some opposed favors to mercantile people; others thought that they brought large capital. Madison said that the clause belonged to the commercial regulations and not in that bill, and it was withdrawn.

There was earnest discussion over the status as to naturalization of persons who had once expatriated themselves. A member did not favor perpetual allegiance, but thought it ill policy to admit back such persons when they must have lost real attachment for any government. Measures proposed were that a special law of the State abandoned and also a law of the United States, evidently private acts for each case, be required. But the Constitution required uniformity in the naturalization law, and Madison thought that Congress had no authority to readmit American citizens. Another member was very willing that they should never be readmitted. A motion to exclude them wholly was debated for hours. A

[a] House Journal, 1 Cong., 2 sess., 146, 147, 159, etc.; Senate Journal, xi, 34–48; Annals of Congress, 1 Cong., 2 sess., 988, 989, 992, etc.; 1094, 1095, 1147, 1160, 1463, 1516; Maclay's Journal, 208–211, 213–217.

member, while thinking that men could expatriate themselves without express consent of the Government, and that acceptance of allegiance by the United States presupposed the right to tender it, yet held that worthy citizens were unlikely to throw off their allegiance, and that to prohibit return was a fit penalty. Another member strongly disapproved of expatriating all who became citizens elsewhere. Many persons were made such merely as a mark of esteem, and had no design of renouncing their allegiance. This superlatively patriotic proposition, greatly to restrict, if not prohibit, repatriation, was renewed several times in later years, indicating persistence of the thought that a man's change of country is due to choice of government, and that, therefore, one who has abandoned the United States has disapproved of its Government and, as a rule, can not or will not adequately repent of this ill-doing. It is interesting to note the very general assumption that attachment to one or other kind of government was what determined men's migrations from country to country. The prominence of this idea argues that the element of fact represented by it must have been considerable, and the fact has an important bearing upon the question of the character of the immigrants generally.

Besides a longer residence requirement than two years, it was desired that the new law provide a better test of character and political opinions. It was moved to require the oath of two creditable witnesses that the alien was of good moral character and "attached to the welfare of the country." This last phrase was brought to satisfactory form only by a series of changes, as follows: "Attached to a republican form of government," "attached to the Constitution of the United States," "attached to the principles of the Government of the United States," "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States." An effort to strike out the word "moral" from the phrase "good moral character" was successfully opposed on the grounds that the word had nothing to do with religion, and that to omit it would slander the American character.

A great struggle arose over the matter of renouncing titles of nobility, and it "called up all the warmth of the House." To the one side the proposed restriction was totally trifling legislation, characterized by frivolity and inefficiency, seeking to

give effect by law to chimerical whimsies, involving only ghosts of nobility. It tended both to spread alarm and, on the other hand, to establish indirectly the principle that privileged orders could exist in the United States. One State had tried and dropped it. The public mind was completely guarded against the introduction of titles, and they would never become current; nothing was so impossible as the establishment of an American nobility. The oath of allegiance, by destroying all connection with the old government, was a solemn abjuration of nobility. Moreover, not titles, but privileges were the dangerous thing; and by the equal division of estates in America individuals were prevented from becoming so rich as to trample upon the necks of their equals. Finally, there was no constitutional authority for taking away titles; Congress could not hinder their use nor make it a crime to call a man a viscount. Any nonofficeholder could receive a title from a foreign king, and an alien could accept a title an hour after naturalization.

To the other side it seemed that a large part of Europe had declared against titles, and there was no telling where the process would stop. There was danger of an inundation of titled foreigners. A great proportion of the fugitive French nobility might finally be expected here. They might acquire influence, vote, and go to Congress. Madison thought that republicanism was likely to pervade Europe, and an indefinite number of titled characters be thrown out. He expected a British revolution, and expected the British peerage to be thronging this country. Those coming here could reasonably be required to renounce everything contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. He would not wish to have as a citizen one who refused the proposed oath.

A member argued that as it was unlawful to manufacture titles in the United States it should be unlawful to import them; otherwise they would soon become as prevalent as in England. Another wished to require an oath that the new citizen would never accept any title. Much was made of admissions that the principle contended for was implied in the Constitution and of the claim that the will of the people favored the amendment.

The struggle became fiercer than ever when notice was given of a call for the yeas and nays on the question. Dexter

(Massachusetts) announced that he would vote for the Virginia amendment with a further amendment which he offered, as follows: "And, also, in case such alien shall, at the time of his application, hold any person in slavery, he shall in the same manner renounce all right and claim to hold such person in slavery." Another member proposed to add, "and that he never will possess slaves." Giles replied that he should think his amendment very important if such extraordinary resources were adopted against it. He was sorry to see slavery made a jest, and it had no proper connection with the subject. He owned slaves, regretted it, and should rejoice to be shown the way out. The thing was reducing itself as fast as it was prudent. Why was such opposition as this made to the call for the yeas and nays? Dexter replied that the call was made with the design to hold up certain people to public odium. He would withdraw his amendment if the Giles motion was withdrawn. Sedgwick (Massachusetts) also saw in the call the design to fix upon members a stigma as friends of nobility, when they were not so. Giles withdrew his part of the call after Dexter had withdrawn his motion. Others insisted that the yeas and nays must and should be taken, and twenty-three members supported this demand. Dexter immediately renewed his antislaveholding amendment, and required a roll call upon it. His motion was lost by 28 to 63, while that of Giles carried by 59 to 32.

The questions involved in filling the blanks were discussed at length, but reports are very incomplete. Madison said that there was danger of losing the bill altogether by mere waste of time if they descended to discriminate all the qualities of a citizen. Both the ten years and the seven years proposed for the first blank were "by much too long," and would oblige the friends of the bill to oppose it.

The bill passed rapidly through the Senate. It was agreed to insert the words "any of" after "citizen of" in the clause that as amended reads, "That any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of any of the United States, on the following conditions:" and then by a vote of 13 to 11 "and not otherwise" was added. Thus the words "a citizen of the United States" disappeared from the bill. The idea that citizenship pertained to the individual States dominated the Senate. The new relation determined

by naturalization was State citizenship. The power vested in Congress to establish a uniform rule of naturalization was the power of making State citizens from aliens. And this power was declared to be an exclusive one. By another Senate amendment, however, courts in the Territories were empowered to naturalize therein, and clearly the citizens thus made were not then made citizens of a State. The Senate had not been quite consistent in carrying out its idea, but it conceded what it did only after it had, by repeated modifications of the language of its amendment, excluded from it direct mention of United States citizenship. Here, again, the nationalizing influence of the Territorial possessions of the United States is made apparent. A proposal that the clerk of the court should send to the Secretary of State at the seat of the General Government for record there a certificate of each naturalization and a list of the children affected thereby failed to pass. On January 26, 1795, the bill passed the Senate with amendments, which were at once agreed to by the House. It became a law three days later with the title "An act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization and to repeal the act heretofore passed upon that subject."[a]

The conditions of naturalization under the new law were:

1. Three years before naturalization a declaration of intention, to be sworn to in a State or Federal court.

2. At the time of applying for citizenship the alien to declare on oath that he has resided five years in the United States (and one year in the State or Territory), that he renounces all foreign allegiance, and will support the Constitution of the United States.

3. The court to be satisfied of his residence, good moral character during the required five years, and that he has been for that time attached to the principles of the Constitution.

4. Any title or order of nobility must be renounced.

Aliens resident in the United States at the time of passage of the bill were to be naturalized upon declaring two years' residence and meeting the other requirements mentioned above. The provisions of the act of 1790 in regard to children and proscribed persons were reenacted. New points in the law were longer residence and a preliminary declaration

[a] See Annals and House Journal for Dec. 22, 26, 29, 30, 31, 1794, and Jan. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 1795; and Senate Journal for Jan. 9, 14, and 15, 1795.

of intention, renunciation of former allegiance and titles, more specific mention of courts empowered to naturalize, and proof of attachment to country. No requirement of the former law was omitted.

Except for the short interval between 1798 and 1802 the provisions of this act have, with slight changes, controlled the admission of foreign-born persons to citizenship in the United States.

XV.—THE INFLUENCE OF PARTY UPON LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

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THE INFLUENCE OF PARTY UPON LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

By Prof. A. Lawrence Lowell.

The extraordinary development and permanence of political parties in every large democratic country has of late years attracted universal attention; and in America the growing sense of the importance of party in public life has been shown not only in the discussions of observers and reformers, but also by the laws now enacted in almost every State in the Union to regulate the party machinery. Political organizations have emerged from the twilight of private collections of men whose proceedings concern no one else, into the strong glare that falls on associations of a public character whose action affects the entire community. And yet we are singularly ignorant of the real influence which party exerts upon public affairs. We hear much general denunciation of its action, much talk of party dictation, and recently some political theories have been based upon the assumption that political action in America is almost entirely determined by the party machines. But a careful observation of current politics seems to show that the vehemence in the outcry against party and in the complaint of its despotism by no means always corresponds with the actual extent of its power.

It seems useful, therefore, to examine carefully the control of party over the work of legislative bodies; for this is at the same time one of the most vital fields of political activity, and one in which it is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the extent of party influence without thorough statistics. With that object in view, a study has been made of the English Parliament, the Congress of the United States, and several State legislatures; the number of members of each party who voted for or against every question in the course of a session

being tabulated wherever the names are recorded; that is, whenever a division, or a vote by yeas and nays, took place. In the case of Parliament, normal sessions of the House of Commons have been selected at intervals of about ten years since 1836—the year when the division lists were first printed—so that the tables show both the amount of party voting at any one moment, and the tendency to change with the course of time. In America, where a general law of change does not appear so clearly, the examination has been less extensive historically, and is more nearly confined to existing conditions.[a]

As the labor required to compile these statistics is very great, it seemed worth while to print, not only a general summary of the results, but also the materials on which those results are based, in order that anyone interested in the subject may be enabled to use them in connection with an investigation of his own. With the exception of a few sessions, therefore, which have been omitted because they do not throw any additional light on the problem, the tables at the end of this paper contain, for each of the sessions examined, a list of all the divisions, or yea-and-nay votes, not unanimous, with a brief statement of the question voted upon and the number of members of each of the principal parties who voted yes and no.[b] In attempting to condense into a single line an abstract of the question at issue it is often impossible to present its full significance, or to explain the exact state of the parliamentary procedure under which it arose, but it is hoped that enough has been given to make the nature of the subject-matter involved clear, and a marginal reference to the number of the division in England,[c] or to the page of the legislative journal in America, will make it possible to identify readily the vote if necessary. From these lists unanimous votes are omitted, because to insert them seemed unnecessary, and, in fact, they occur only in consequence of a peculiar procedure. No one would, of course, care to insist upon a call of the roll when there was no opposition; and hence the names of the persons voting in such cases would

[a] The statistics for several sessions of Congress and for the New York legislature were worked out for the writer more fully than they can be presented here, by Mr. J. B. Studley, of the Harvard Law School, whose systematic method of attacking the subject has been an invaluable assistance.

[b] Only the members actually voting are counted. Pairs are left out of account, and so, in accordance with the usual English practice, are the tellers in the House of Commons.

[c] The numbers set against the divisions in the table for 1836 are those of the writer. The official lists of divisions were not numbered at that time.

not be recorded were it not that in a number of States the constitution requires a yea-and-nay vote on the final passage of every bill. Under these circumstances the quantity of unanimous votes is sometimes prodigious. In the senate of New York, for example, there were in the session of 1899 1,235 yea-and-nay votes, of which 961 were unanimous. Except for the provision in the constitution there would have been no roll call on these votes, and to include them in our list would merely swell the tables inordinately, without any corresponding advantage.

In the tables some abbreviations have been used, but these, such as "adj." for adjourn, "2 R." and "3 R." for second and third reading, or "6 mos." for a motion that the bill be read this day six months, will be obvious to anyone familiar with parliamentary procedure. The only symbol that might not be readily understood is that of "(vs)" in the House of Commons. A motion there is often put, not in the form in which it is made, but reversed. Thus, if a motion is made to amend a bill by omitting certain words in order to substitute others, the question is often put in the form "that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the bill." This putting of a question backward is very common in the case of many kinds of motions, and the (vs) is inserted to show that it has been done.

The tables for the different sessions are followed by an appendix giving summaries of the results in a comparative form, and in preparing these it has been found convenient to use symbols to denote the extent of party voting. A party vote of any party is arbitrarily defined as one in which more than nine-tenths of those of its members who voted were on the same side of the question; a non-party vote as one in which one-tenth or more of the members are found on each side—that is, a vote where at least one-tenth of the voting members of the party split off from the rest. A party vote is indicated in the table by an asterisk, a nonparty vote by a dagger. For every division or vote the attitude of the two leading parties, and only those two, is taken into account, and hence there are for every vote two marks, one for each of the two chief parties. In England the first mark always refers to the vote of the Conservatives, the second mark to that of the Liberals,[a] while for America the first mark indicates the Republican[b] and the second the Democratic vote. Thus, the symbol *†, for

[a] In 1836 I have called the party Reformers. [b] In the Twenty-ninth Congress Whigs.

example, means that the Republicans cast a party vote on the question at issue and that the Democrats did not. The actions of any smaller political groups, though included in the tables, are omitted from the summaries because in Anglo-Saxon countries, where there are almost always two main parties, the small groups have little effect upon the question of the control of legislation by party, and the attempt to include them in the summary would either produce a false impression or make the symbols extremely complicated.

It sometimes happens that both parties vote on the same side. Clearly such a case ought to be distinguished from those where they vote upon opposite sides, and hence wherever either party casts a party vote upon the same side of a question as the majority of the other party the two marks are inclosed in brackets. To use the illustration already given, the symbol (*†) shows that the Republicans cast a party vote, while the Democrats did not, but that the majority of both parties voted the same way.

In order to bring the results into a tabular form for the purpose of comparison, the final summary gives in four columns, for the several sessions of the bodies examined, the number of occasions (1) where there were party votes of both parties on opposite sides, that is, true party votes, indicated thus * *; (2) the occasions where one party cast a party vote and the other party did not, but where the majorities of the two parties were opposed, and these include, of course, both *† and †*; (3) the cases where this happened, but the majorities of the two parties were on the same side, that is, (*†) and (†*), and (4) the number of instances, marked thus ††, where neither party cast a party vote. Each of the columns is followed by another giving the percentage, an arrangement which shows at a glance the comparative extent of party voting in the different bodies examined.

From this final summary there have been omitted not only the unanimous votes, but those which were nearly unanimous—that is, where more than nine-tenths of both parties voted on the same side. Such votes occur, either where a third party, like the Home Rulers in England, is forcing divisions resisted by both of the main sections of the House,[a] or where,

[a] In the sessions of the House of Commons selected, the number of such votes never exceeds seven, except in 1881, when it reaches the enormous figure of 212, these being on questions brought forward by the Home Rulers, and opposed, almost solidly, by Conservatives and Liberals alike.

as in some of the State legislatures, a yea-and-nay vote is required on the passage of every bill; and in neither case can the number of such votes be fairly taken into account in estimating the comparative amount of party voting in the body.

The results of the summaries are further displayed graphically in charts, the lengths of whose columns show for every session the percentage of each of the four classes of votes. The proportion of cases where both parties cast party votes is indicated by the black column at one end, the non-party votes by the shaded column at the other, while the mixed votes are shown by the two columns that lie between, the cases where the party vote of one party and the majority of the other were on opposite sides appearing in a column alternately shaded and black, and the cases where they were on the same side being portrayed by narrow black and shaded columns side by side. The columns are so drawn that one per cent of the total number of divisions in the session[a] is represented by a sixteenth of an inch, the combined length of all four columns being always six and two-thirds inches. By looking, therefore, at the relative amounts of black and shaded surface one can readily compare at sight the proportion of party votes in different legislative bodies, or in the same body at different times.[b]

ENGLAND.

In choosing sessions of the English Parliament for examination, an effort has been made to avoid, as far as possible, those in which a change of ministry occurred, or which were for any other reason abnormal. The ones selected were 1836, 1850, 1860, 1871, 1881, 1894, and 1899.[c]

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[a] Excluding, as already stated, unanimous and nearly unanimous votes.

[b] A careful observer may note slight discrepancies between the charts and the summary. These are due to corrections made in the summary after the charts were photographed. None of the changes, however, were of sufficient size to make it worth while to draft the charts afresh.

[c] Years in which a change of ministry or a dissolution took place or a great war was raging have been avoided.

For 1836, 1850, 1860, 1871, and 1894, the printed division lists were used, but for the other two years, 1881 and 1899, these were not to be had at the time the tables were made up. For 1881 the figures are taken from the Parliamentary Buff Book, compiled in that year from the division lists by Mr. T. N. Roberts. For 1899 the lists of divisions were taken from Hansard, which has recently begun to print them again. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to procure absolutely complete lists for any of these years except 1881 and 1894. For each of the other years one or more divisions are omitted from the collection of lists, and these are noted in the following tables. But as the number of divisions omitted does not exceed seven in any year, the possible error is very small, so small as to be hardly perceptible in the percentage of results.

It has not always been easy to classify all the members of Parliament under their respective parties, especially on account of the habit that prevailed with a number of public men, during the middle portion of the century, of styling themselves officially Liberal-Conservatives. Of these men, some had really become Liberals and some Conservatives; but the task of classifying them is rendered less difficult by the curious psychological fact that most of them, though disliking to call themselves by a party name, were unusually constant in going into the lobby with the party whip. A more serious difficulty arises in dealing with certain semidetached groups of members. Ought the Radicals or Home Rulers, for example, to be classed at a particular time as Liberals or not? It is evident that this will affect the result materially, for as they did not vote with the Liberal whips as steadily as the other members of the party, to exclude them increases the apparent amount of party voting, and to include them diminishes it. In deciding this matter the writer has been guided by the prevailing attitude of the group during the session in question. The Radicals have, in fact, been classed throughout as Liberals, for although they appear in the table of votes for 1850 in a distinct column, their votes have been added to those of the Liberals in computing the party votes and in compiling the summary of results. The Home Rulers, on the other hand, have been classed as a separate party in 1850, 1881, and 1899, while in 1894 both sections of the Nationalists are treated as members of the Liberal party.[a] In the other sessions considered the Irish members do not appear as a distinct group. On the other side of the House the Peelites are excluded in 1850, but the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists are counted together as one party in 1894 and 1899.[b]

A glance at the summary of results shows a great change in the amount of party voting in the House of Commons from 1836 to the end of the century; a change, moreover, that is progressive, not spasmodic, and therefore due not to accidental but to permanent causes. In 1836 the proportion of divisions where both parties cast party votes on opposite sides is

[a] It makes, in fact, no difference in the results whether the small body of Parnellites is counted in 1894 with the Liberals or not.

[b] In America the question is less important, because in the sessions selected the third parties have been small. The manner in which they have been treated is noted in the summary of results.

22.65 per cent. This diminishes in 1850 to 15.89 per cent, and in 1860 to 6.22 per cent. It then rises, in 1871, to 35.16 per cent, in 1881 to 46.73 per cent, and in 1894 reaches 76.03 per cent, falling a trifle in 1899, to 68.95 per cent. This last fall, by the way, is largely counterbalanced by the great increase in 1899 over 1894 in the divisions where a party vote was cast by one party and the majorities of the two parties were on opposite sides, and the corresponding decrease in the cases where the majorities of the two parties were on the same side. The column of divisions where neither side of the House cast a party vote tells the same story. The proportion of these divisions in 1836 was 25.97 per cent. It increased until 1860, when it was 50.19 per cent, and then diminished every ten years until in 1894 it was only 4.13 per cent, and finally almost vanished in 1899, with 2.28 per cent.

It would appear, therefore, that the amount of party voting in the House of Commons diminished until about the middle of the century, and since that time has increased steadily. The figures place the lowest point in 1860, but it would probably be more correct to place it earlier, for this is a case where the attempt to group the members into parties is misleading. In the table for 1860 all the members of the House are classed as Conservatives or Liberals, whereas in 1850 they are classed as Protectionists, Peelites, Liberals, and Repealers, and in computing the amount of party voting, only the Protectionists and Liberals, as the two principal parties, are taken into account. The fact is that in 1850 the House was so broken into independent groups that it is impossible to divide it, as in 1860, into supporters and opponents of the Government. The disintegration of parties was, indeed, greater in the years that followed the repeal of the corn laws, and the fall of Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, than at any other period since the reform bill of 1832, and hence it is at this time that taking, not the two chief parties alone, but the House as a whole, party voting was really at its lowest point.

The change in the amount of party voting, indicating as it does the strength of party cohesion, and the extent of control of the leaders over their followers, finds its expression also in the rise and fall of the number of defeats for the Government in the different sessions of Parliament. Such defeats can easily be recognized in the lists of divisions in the tables below,

because for each division where the Government whips were tellers, an "aye" or "no" in the first column of the table shows the side on which they acted. It will be observed, therefore, that in 1836 the Government suffered only one defeat, in 1850 they suffered twelve, in 1860 seven, in 1871 nine, in 1881 three, in 1894 one, and in 1899 none.

The number of defeats in any particular session is, of course, largely a matter of accident, and is, moreover, liable to be swelled to an inordinate amount when, as in 1868, a ministry is struggling for existence without a majority in the House. Still, in the long run, it varies inversely with the strength of the hold that the treasury bench has over its party, and the last table at the end of this paper, giving the total number of Government defeats in the House of Commons in each session since 1847, certainly shows, though with some fluctuations, that they have tended to diminish steadily from the middle to the end of the century. The jagged line in the chart for the House of Commons, and still better the special chart which follows it, show this result graphically, the line being for each year as many eighths of an inch above the base of the chart as there were defeats for the Government during the session.

Another piece of evidence that leads to the same conclusion is to be found in the extent to which the members of the party in power vote against their own ministers. A statement of the number of times a majority of the party in power went into the lobby against the Government whips is inserted at the end of the table of divisions for each session, and it will be seen that in 1836 this happened four times; in 1850 twelve times; in 1860 three times, while on three more occasions the party was evenly divided. In 1871 it occurred eight times; in 1881 twice; in 1894 twice, if the Home Rulers are not counted in the ranks of the Liberals, and five times if they are included, and finally, in 1899, when the Conservatives were in power, not only did it not happen at all, but never did so much as one-fifth of the Unionists who took part in the division vote against the Government. During the middle period of the century it was not uncommon for a cabinet to be saved from defeat at the hands of its own followers by the help of its opponents. Now such occurences have become rare.

Nor is this due to the fact that cabinets, for fear of defeat, have grown cautious and leave questions open more than formerly. On the contrary, with the decay of legislation by private members' bills, the proportion of divisions in which the Government whips are tellers has increased. In 1836 it was less than one-half, but in the sessions of 1894 and 1899 it was not far from nine-tenths; and that this progress, though somewhat irregular if taken from year to year, has been on the whole continuous is made evident by comparing a series of sessions together. Taking the ten years from 1851 to 1860, inclusive, the Government whips were tellers in 69.91 per cent of the divisions, and in the years 1878 to 1887 in 81.81 per cent.

The tendency toward greater party cohesion in England is not confined to any one party, for although the Liberals have always been more independent than the Conservatives, and less willing to follow implicitly the guidance of their chiefs, yet the change of which we are speaking has not been less marked in their case. Their proportion of party votes, while always smaller than that of the Conservatives, has borne to it a ratio not very far from constant. If we take those proportions, calculated for the years under consideration upon the basis already explained, they may be summarized as follows:

Year.	Number of divisions.	Conservatives.				Liberals.			
		*	%	†	%	*	%	†	%
1836	181	102	56	79	44	73	40	108	60
1850	321	145	45	176	55	118	37	203	63
1860	257	79	31	178	69	65	25	192	75
1871	256	156	61	100	39	142	55	114	45
1881	199	142	71	57	29	132	66	67	34
1894	242	221	91	21	9	195	81	47	19
1899	351	319	91	32	9	266	76	85	24

The falling off in the percentage of party votes among the Liberals in 1899 was due, of course, to their being in opposition instead of being in power, and the fact that the party votes of the Conservatives did not show a corresponding increase after they took office is no doubt to be accounted for by their enormous majority, which has been a continual stumbling block in the way of party discipline.

A political change of so marked a character as this, extending

over many years, has not been accidental, and its causes are to be sought, partly in the special conditions of English history during the period, and partly in the normal development of the parliamentary system.

The feelings aroused by the agitation for the reform bill of 1832 kept party spirit in a state of activity for some years. Party lines at that time were not, indeed, so clearly drawn, and the members of a party were not so united, as at the present day. The Whigs and Radicals were not a homogeneous body, and the Whig ministers were often sustained in resisting the demands of their Radical supporters by the help of Tory votes. Still the reform bill had brought a new meaning into politics, and the Conservative reaction that followed the first successes of the Liberals seemed destined to result in two fairly well balanced parties confronting each other permanently and alternating in power. But this condition of things did not last long. Neither parties nor opinions were thoroughly consolidated. Events were moving too fast for that; and the repeal of the corn laws was followed not only by a split in the Conservative ranks which never healed, but also by a general loss of party cohesion. This was the time when Lord Palmerston, having been forced out of the ministry for expressing, on his own authority, approval of the coup d'état in France, had his "tit for tat with John Russell," as he said, and "turned him out" on the militia bill within two months. For some years Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, like the leaders in a continental parliamentary government, were alternately turning one another out, and sitting as colleagues in the same cabinet. During the fifties three different ministries were driven from power by the desertion of a part of their Liberal followers. The parties were, in fact, in a state of confusion. The Liberals depended for a working majority, and hence for their tenure of office, upon the sufferance of the Peelites; but although these two groups long maintained a separate existence they hardly differed in opinions from one another more than they did among themselves; and since they had together an assured majority in Parliament it was possible for their members, and especially for the Whigs who stood midway between the Peelites and the Radicals, to indulge in domestic differences without permanent danger to their principles or their supremacy.

As it takes two to make a quarrel, so no party can be maintained in fighting discipline unless it has another party to fight with, strong enough to be a serious menace to its tenure of power. This the Liberal party did not have for more than a score of years after Peel's downfall in 1846. During the earlier part of that period one-half of the former Conservative party was friendly, while the other half was impotent; and the same conditions that made strongly concerted action unnecessary for the Liberals made it useless for their opponents. In the course of Lord Palmerston's second administration the Peelites disappeared as a separate body being absorbed for the most part into the ranks of the Liberals. The death of that statesman in 1865 removed the great obstacle to reform, while the election of 1868 placed so large a majority in Mr. Gladstone's hands that he could afford to neglect small numbers of dissentients in his own party. Then came the golden age of Liberalism, when its principles could be worked out without too much regard to the exigencies of party warfare; and it did not pass away until Disraeli had built up a formidable Tory party—a process that was not entirely complete for some years after the reform bill of 1868 had brought a new element into the electorate. Until 1874 the Conservatives never obtained a majority in Parliament. They came into office, indeed, on three occasions, but only as stop gaps while the majority were adjusting their differences and drawing together for a fresh control of the Government. After the extension of the franchise in 1868, however, the real alternation in power of the two great parties began, and except for the election of 1900, which was held during the stress of war, there has been for the last thirty years a very near approximation to a regular swing of the political pendulum at each successive election. Under such conditions the necessity for cohesion has become an ever-present motive for party discipline.

That the Liberal split over the first home-rule bill did not, like the quarrel among the Conservatives after the repeal of the corn laws, result in a general weakening of party ties may be attributed partly to the fact that the measure having failed, the question remained unsettled; partly to the democratic nature of the electorate, which increased the influence of party as a political force; and partly to a factor which

must now be considered -the normal development of the parliamentary system.

Government by a responsible ministry, where it has grown up spontaneously as in England, is essentially the product of party rivalry. It was not the inevitable consequence of the long struggle between the House of Commons and the Crown, for some other device might very well have been found for bringing the executive power under the control of Parliament. It was rather the result of the condition of the House itself, for it is not conceivable that this form of government should have appeared had Parliament never been divided into Whigs and Tories. Each step in the growth of the system has been the result of a strife between the two factions of which the House was at the moment composed, and in fact the whole plan would be meaningless if parties did not exist. The reason for the resignation of a ministry upon the rejection of a measure it has proposed is that the defeat indicates a general loss of confidence in the policy of the party in power and a preference for another body of leaders with a different policy. If this were not so the Swiss system of remaining in office, but yielding on the point at issue, would be far more reasonable.

The parliamentary system is therefore the natural outgrowth and a rational expression of the division of the ruling chamber into two parties. But, like every rational form of government, it reacts upon and strengthens the conditions of its own existence. It is based upon party, and, from the law of its nature, tends to accentuate party. When men recognize that the defeat of a government measure means a change of ministry, the pressure is strong to sacrifice personal opinions on the measure in question to the more important general principles for which the party stands; and the more fully the system develops, the more clear is the incompatibility between voting as the member of Parliament pleases on individual measures and maintaining in power the party he approves.[a]

Moreover, since the ministry may be overturned at any moment, its life depends upon an unintermittent warfare, and it must strive to keep its followers constantly in hand; and since every defeat, however trivial, even if not fatal, is damaging, it must try to prevent any hostile votes, an effort

[a] The English view of this matter is presented with admirable clearness in Mr. Lecky's Map of Life, pp. 120–135.

which explains in part the much larger average attendance at divisions to-day than formerly. It follows that the tendency of the Parliamentary system in its development is towards more and more strict party voting.

This tendency has been increased by the wide extension of the franchise by the reform bills of 1868 and 1885. In a small and highly educated electorate, and still more within the walls of a legislative chamber, it is possible to perceive the finer shades of politics, to appreciate the value of compromise, and even to bear with temporary coalitions; and hence party lines may be somewhat vague. But a democracy understands only broad alternatives, clearly marked issues and the frank opposition of party leaders. It has a better comprehension of the struggle between the two front benches than of the bearing of the measures debated. Unless some matter of local interest is involved—and this the English practice, and especially the admirable system of private bill legislation, eliminates almost altogether—a democracy is prone to support the party, with comparatively little regard for matters of detail.

A high degree of party voting appears, therefore, to be a natural consequence of the parliamentary system, and may be expected to continue in normal times so long as that system retains its character. If it should ever happen that the authority of the Cabinet on the one side, and of the electorate on the other, became predominant, and Parliament lost much of its importance, a general election might be nearly equivalent to the periodic choice of a commission of government. If so, the fiction an entire agreement on all public questions might not be necessary, and the leaders of a party might, perhaps, be more free to express their individual differences of opinion, but in that case parliamentary government would have lost its character.

All this does not mean that the majority can do whatever it pleases without regard to the wishes of the minority. To some extent that is the case; but it would be a great mistake to suppose that the parliamentary system in England was developing into party tyranny. There is another side to the shield, for the very fact that the Government must avoid defeats often makes it cautious, if not timid. It can not disregard the opinions of the minority, because they are in

most cases shared by a part of its own followers, and the vote of a small fraction of its own supporters added to that of the opposition may be enough to involve defeat. The same forces that lead a member of the party to sacrifice his personal opinions to party necessity lead the cabinet to modify their policy in deference to the protests of a few supporters. If, therefore, the parliamentary system can be said to involve party despotism, it is a despotism tempered by many powerful forces both within and without the dominant party.

One cannot leave this subject without attempting to explain the opinion, which is certainly common among members of Parliament, that party lines are not more strictly drawn than they were formerly. It is often said that there is as much independent voting as ever. That such an opinion is erroneous is proved by the figures, but that it should be held is significant. The truth is that the degree to which a man is sensible of party constraint, the extent to which he complains of party tyranny, or conversely of laxity of party discipline, depends not upon the amount of authority actually exerted, but upon the relation which it bears to the amount he thinks ought to be exerted. It is curious that in 1894, when party voting was carried much farther than it had been formerly, the periodicals were full of laments over the breaking up of the House of Commons into groups, and of gloomy forebodings of a breakdown of parliamentary government on account of the impossibility of maintaining party cohesion. Nor were these views entirely unwarranted. The parliamentary system in its present form requires a party discipline far more strict than it did a generation ago, and perhaps more strict than it will always be possible to maintain. A man may be as unconscious of the pressure of party as he is of that of the atmosphere, if it is natural, constant, and evenly distributed, and this is very much the case in England. The belief that private members of Parliament are as independent as ever is no doubt based in part upon the fact that in former times debate was left mainly to the ministers and a few of their most active opponents, the country squire, who had the privilege of writing M. P. after his name, speaking rarely, and fulfilling his duties by walking through the lobby on important divisions. Now most members are anxious to have their constituents look upon them as active at Westminster, and hence

the number of men who take part in debate has increased very much, while every man who rises to his feet seeks to make it appear that he is expressing his own personal opinions. The result is one that perplexes the stranger in the gallery. He hears so many men on both sides of the House speak freely of the merits and faults of a measure, urge amendments, and criticise the attitude of the ministry, that he begins to think that the result of the division is really doubtful; but when the tellers bring in their report he finds that the Government has obtained the usual majority.[a] Curiously enough, the very fact that private members take a larger part in debate has helped, by consuming the time of Parliament, to diminish the opportunity of passing private members' bills, and, in short, of passing any bills without party pressure. It has thus tended to increase the proportion of divisions in which the Government whips are tellers and the votes are cast on party lines.

AMERICA.

The legislative bodies in the United States present a different array of figures and a different set of problems.[b]

Five Congresses have been selected for examination. First, the Twenty-ninth Congress, elected in 1844, when the Whig and Democratic parties were in full activity. This may be regarded as a normal antebellum Congress. The President (Polk) was a Democrat, and the same party had a good working majority in each House. Ten years later the Whig party had begun to go pieces under the pressure of the slavery question, and hence the next Congress taken is the Thirty-eighth, elected in 1862, during the heat of the war, with a Republican majority in both branches, and Lincoln as President. The third is the Fiftieth Congress, elected in 1886, with a Democrat in the White House, a slight Republican

[a] It may be argued that the amount of party voting appears greater than it really is, because a member who does not like a party measure will often abstain from voting altogether, although he may hesitate to vote against it. But a man who from party motives abstains from the vote he would otherwise cast is yielding a half obedience to his party; so that even in such cases the recorded votes furnish an indication, though not an exact numerical measure, of the control of party over the votes of its members.

[b] The statistics of votes in America are taken in all cases from the yea and nay votes in the journals. Unanimous votes are omitted, and as has already been observed, these are exceedingly numerous in many of the State legislatures, owing to the common constitutional provision requiring a yea and nay vote on the passage of every bill. Even when a bill has been opposed at some stage its final passage is often unanimous; but this is, of course, very unlikely to occur where the bill has been opposed on party lines. Votes which are invalid for lack of a quorum—that is, votes without a quorum other than on motions to adjourn and for a call of the House—are also omitted from the tables.

majority in the Senate, and a slight Democratic one in the House. Then the Fifty-fifth, chosen in 1896, when the Republicans controlled the Executive and both Houses; and, finally, the Fifty-sixth, which has been taken because the amount of party voting varied so widely in the different sessions of the preceding Congress as to make the results appear abnormal. Of these Congresses the detailed list of votes in the Thirty-eighth, Fiftieth, and Fifty-sixth are alone printed in the tables, but the summaries that follow include the results for all the five Congresses, the percentage of the different classes of votes being given for each session, as well as for the Congress as a whole.

A comparison of the figures for these different dates makes it clear that any general tendency that may exist toward a change in the amount of party voting does not work by any means so steadily as in England. The amount of party voting varies very much from one Congress, and even from one session, to another, and does not follow closely any fixed law of evolution. It is, indeed, much less in the Twenty-ninth Congress than in the Fifty-sixth, and, no doubt, it tends on the whole to increase; yet with the great fluctuations that have taken place, sometimes between two sessions of the same Congress, one must be cautious in drawing conclusions. It has happened in about half of these Congresses that the proportion of party votes has been nearly twice as large in one session as in another. The most striking instance occurs in the Fifty-fifth Congress. Here the percentage of cases where both sides cast party votes was in the first session of the House 85.71 per cent, and in the third session only 20.00 per cent; while in the Senate it was 69.47 per cent in the first session and in the third it disappeared altogether. Wherever this happens, and in fact whenever the amount of party voting is peculiarly large, it is because of some one particular measure on which the parties are sharply divided. In the Fifty-fifth Congress it was due to the Dingley tariff bill, which the Houses had been called together in a special session to consider. In the same way the 66.48 per cent of party votes in the Senate in the second session of the Fiftieth Congress was almost entirely due to the Mills tariff bill, or rather to the Senate substitute therefor.

In Parliament at the present day contentious legislation is

in the main conducted by one party and opposed by the other, and hence the amount of party voting is nearly constant. In Congress this is by no means so true, and the amount of party voting depends largely upon the accident of some question on which the parties are sharply divided happening to come up for decision. On other matters party lines are less strictly drawn. In short, in England the parties frame the issues. In America the issues do not, indeed, make the parties, but determine the extent of their opposition to each other in matters of legislation

In general the result of the statistics for Congress shows that whereas during the middle of the century the amount of party voting there was at least as great as in Parliament, and while in particular sessions the English maximum has been exceeded, yet on the average party lines at the present day are decidedly less strictly drawn than in the House of Commons.

Of the five State legislatures examined, two (those of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania) have large and constant Republican majorities. The other three (New York, Ohio, and Illinois) are controlled sometimes by one party and sometimes by the other, although in the recent sessions studied it so happens that the majorities in all of them were Republican. These five States furnish, therefore, examples of the activity of party in legislation, both where one party is certain of its predominance, and where the struggle for supremacy is acute; and it may be remarked that in no State in the Union would a larger amount of party voting be expected than in the three selected from the second type.

The writer has made no attempt to examine the history of party voting in the State legislatures, and in fact the results seem to show that such an effort would hardly repay the labor involved. It has been enough to discover the existing conditions, and therefore the statistics relate for the most part to the latest legislative session available at the time they were compiled. In the case of New York, however, where the state of things is exceptional, the year 1894 has been taken as well as the year 1899, and the result seems to indicate that while the conditions differ from those in other States they are normal in New York. In Pennsylvania also it was felt that the marked absence of party voting in 1899 might be due to the war then waged against Mr. Quay by a large section of the

Republicans, and hence the year 1895 was examined also. The result showed more party voting in the senate and slightly less in the house.

In New York alone among the States considered is the amount of party voting considerable. Here the proportion of party votes is about 25 or 30 per cent in the senate and 45 or 50 per cent in the assembly;[a] and there is no very great difference in this respect between the sessions of 1894 and 1899. These figures are so much larger than those of any of the other State legislatures examined as to suggest a difference in kind rather than in degree, and to place the State in a class by itself. Party politics in New York have always run high, and the people have always been divided evenly enough to keep the strife keen. At the same time great size has made more possible than elsewhere a real party division upon State issues instead of upon national ones alone; while the eternal antagonism between the city and the country falls in readily with the existing party lines and furnishes a never-failing source of party votes at Albany.

In the other State legislatures the amount of party voting is much less. In Ohio it is about 15 per cent in the senate and 10 per cent in the house; in Illinois, 5½ per cent in the senate and 12½ per cent in the house, the larger figure in the latter being no doubt due in part to the fact that the house is chosen by a system of minority representation, a device which tends naturally to increase the influence of party. In the two remaining States the proportion is smaller still. In Pennsylvania the maximum for either branch of the legislature in the two sessions of 1895 and 1899 was about 6½ per cent and the minimum was nothing, the average for the two sessions being a little over 3 per cent for the senate and a little over 2 per cent for the house. In Massachusetts the proportion for 1899 was about 1 per cent for the senate and 6 per cent for the house; but this really means a single party vote in the senate and only 3 in the house.

From the point of view, however, of legislation by party even these figures are misleading. Thus, in Ohio, of the 20 party votes in the senate 11 were cast in the election of officers of the body, most of whom, such as clerks and assistant sergeants-at-arms, had no possible connection with public

[a] That is the proportion of cases where both of the principal parties cast party votes on opposite sides.

policy. The same may be said of the 5 party votes in the election of members of State boards, trustees of lunatic hospitals, and other State institutions. The men chosen were no doubt intended to see that the employees under their control were of the right political faith, but they were not expected to apply to the lunatics committed to their care a treatment peculiarly Republican. The remaining 4 votes were the only ones directly connected with the enactment of laws, so that the proportion of party votes on questions of legislation was about 3 per cent. The same thing is true of the other branch of the Ohio legislature. Here 11 of the 18 party votes concerned the election of officers of the house, while another was on a resolution of sympathy with the Boers, and thus the proportion of party votes on legislative measures, including the election of the speaker, who is a real political officer, was only about 3½ per cent.

A similar remark may be made in the case of Illinois, although to a much smaller extent; while in Pennsylvania the only party vote in the senate in 1899 was that for the election of a president pro tempore, and of the 7 party votes in the house 4 related to the election of officers of the body and another to a resolution to invite President McKinley to visit the State. Except in New York, therefore, the amount of party voting on legislation proper in the States examined is very small; and this must be at least equally true of all those States—and they form a majority of the whole number—where one of the parties is in a hopeless minority.

In making a comparison of the influence of political parties upon legislation in different public bodies, statistics of the proportion of votes on which party lines are drawn furnish an imperfect test, because the forms of procedure may make a material difference. In the House of Commons, for example, a single member can force a division, whereas in Congress, save in exceptional cases, such as the passage of a bill over the President's veto, the yeas and nays can be ordered only on the demand of one-fifth of the members. Now, it may be assumed that where the parties in Congress are sharply divided on any measure they will call for the yeas and nays in order to place themselves on record; but it is by no means certain that this will be done where the opposition is not on party lines and an oral vote shows a decided majority. It may well happen that non-party votes are found in the division lists

of Parliament which would not appear as yea-and-nay votes in the Journals of Congress, and such votes may be sufficiently numerous to produce a substantial effect on the percentage. We should therefore expect, under similar conditions of parties, to find the roll call more nearly confined to party votes at Washington than at Westminster.

Another test of the direct effect of party on legislation, and perhaps a fairer one, is the proportion of bills actually enacted on which there has been a party vote at some stage, and for the purpose of comparison it may be useful to consider first public bills only, reserving for a moment the question of private acts. There are in every legislative body a considerable number of measures that go through by common consent, and the proportion of these, as well as of the bills that are fought, but not on party lines, varies very much. Taking the sessions of Parliament from 1896 to 1900, we find that the number of public bills enacted in a session (including both Government and private members' bills) runs from 53 to 69, while the number of these that had a party vote at some stage of their passage through the House of Commons runs from 11 to 18.[a] The total number of these public bills enacted during the five years was 312, and the number of them that had a party vote was 72, or 23.09 per cent. If we turn to the preceding Liberal ministry we reach a period when the political conditions were abnormal. In the year 1894, for example, there was a party vote at some stage in the case of only 4 of the 60 public bills enacted; but it must be remembered that the House of Lords actually rejected one of the Government bills and dropped another. In fact, Lord Rosebery's ministry was not in a position to attempt to carry through contentious legislation. It is impossible, therefore, to obtain statistics on

[a] The figures for the different sessions are as follows:

Year.	Public bills enacted.	Party votes.	Per cent.
1896	60	13	21.66
1897	69	16	23.19
1898	66	11	16.66
1899	53	18	33.96
1900	64	14	21.88
Total	312	72	23.09

Although party votes in supply are, of course, frequent, they are not treated in this table as votes on the consolidated-fund bills based upon them. The only party votes on the consolidated-fund and finance bills that are taken into account are those cast directly upon those bills.

this point for a normal period in which the Liberal party was in power without going back to a time when the party system was much less developed than it is now. But there is no reason to suppose that the figures given above would not fairly represent the proportion of laws enacted by party votes under a normal ministry of either party at the present day.

The proportion of public bills enacted on which there was a party vote at some stage of their passage through the House of Representatives at Washington is very much less. For the Thirty-eighth Congress this was true of 18 out of 232 bills, or 7.76 per cent. In the Fiftieth Congress, where the President and the House belonged to one party and the Senate to the other, party legislation was obviously difficult to carry through, and only 1 public bill, out of 154 enacted, had a party vote in the House. Again, in the Fifty-fifth Congress the House cast party votes on 14 out of 195 public bills enacted, or 7.18 per cent. The difference between public bills, on the one hand, and private and local bills, on the other, is, of course, marked in Parliament by a difference of procedure. This is not the case in America, and in making up the statistics for Congress there have been omitted not only all bills that would be treated as private in England, but also all building, bridge, and light-house bills, of which there were a large number, and on which no party votes occurred.

So far as these figures may be taken as a guide it would appear that when the executive and both branches of the legislature are controlled by the same party the proportion of public laws enacted on which there is a party vote at some stage in the House of Commons is about 23 per cent, while in the House of Representatives it is between 7 and 8 per cent; that when the executive and the lower House belong to one party, but the upper House is controlled by the other, and dares to use its power, the proportion in England is about 7 per cent, while under similar conditions in Washington the proportion is less than 1 per cent. The number of sessions examined for this purpose is, of course, far too small to justify any reliance upon the precise figures obtained, but they would seem to make it clear that the proportion of actual public legislation on which there are party votes is much larger in Parliament than in Congress.

The suggestion already made that a difficulty in procuring

a yea-and-nay vote may enhance the proportion of party votes does not apply to the legislature of New York, because such a vote is required on the passage of every bill. But an examination of the proportion of public bills enacted there which received a party vote at some stage is instructive. In the session of 1894 there were enacted 309 public measures, and of these only 9, or 2.94 per cent, had a party vote in the assembly at any stage. In the general session of 1899 this was true of 10 out of 328 public bills, or 3.05 per cent. So that while in New York the proportion of party votes appears to be large, the actual influence of party on public legislation is small.

If this is the case in New York it is evident that in most of the States the proportion of public laws enacted on which there has been a party vote must be almost imperceptible. Moreover, it must be remembered that the greater part of the field of legislation—the laws that govern the ordinary relations of life—fall into the domain of the States, and when this is taken into consideration it is manifest that the total influence of party over legislation in public matters is less by far in America than in England.

Hitherto we have been considering in this connection only public laws. Party divisions on private and local bills, although not unknown in the House of Commons, are rare. There are, no doubt, a few bills affecting London which for a smaller place would be treated as private, but on account of their importance excite general interest, and on these, whether brought in as public or private, the parties are apt to take sides. It may fairly be said, however, that in England the activity of party is almost entirely confined to public measures. This is by no means so true in the United States. Purely private bills—that is, measures touching an individual or a corporation—are not, indeed, the subject of many party votes, but, as we have seen in the case of Ohio, a power of election to public office, even where that office involves no real public policy, is freely used in favor of partisans. In regard to local bills the practice varies a great deal. Congress has, of course, little power of this kind, except in the case of local improvements, such as river and harbor bills, and these are not usually fought on party lines, although political influence, as compared with an impartial estimate of public utility, is a

most important factor in the distribution of the grants. In New York, the only State where the amount of party voting is considerable, there is quite as much of it on local as on public laws. Of the 338 local bills enacted there in 1894, 10 had party votes in the assembly at some stage, and this was true of 14 out of the 268 enacted in 1899, a proportion somewhat larger, in fact, than in the case of public bills. Of these measures a number relate, of course, to New York City, but there are not a few that deal with other places.

In the remaining States party votes on local matters are uncommon.

We have seen that the proportion of party votes is distinctly less at the present day in Congress than in Parliament, and taking legislation as a whole, State as well as national, the influence of party on public measures is far less in America than in England. This is the more remarkable because democracy, which tends to add to the strength of party, has existed much longer here than in Great Britain. It remains for us to consider, as in the case of England, the cause of the phenomenon, and to explain the general impression that party wields a singularly despotic sway in the United States.

At the period when the Constitution gave to American institutions their definite outward form, the conception of party in its modern shape was unknown. The idea of permanent political organizations struggling for mastery within the state would have shocked the philosophers and statesmen of that day. Like Rousseau, they would have deemed such a state of things incompatible with orderly self-government. They would probably have insisted that one of the parties in a case of that kind must be bent upon revolutionary objects; and in fact the greatest contribution of the nineteenth century to the art of government has been "Her Majesty's Opposition," that is, the existence of a party out of power which is recognized as perfectly loyal to the institutions of the state, and is ready at any moment to come into office without a shock to the political traditions of the country.

The framers of the Constitution did not foresee the rôle that party was to play in popular government, and they made no provision for it in their plan. The people were to pick out the wisest men they could find, and these in turn were to choose the best man in the nation for President and the next

best for Vice-President. Congress was also to be composed of men selected for their personal merits, and public questions that arose were to be settled by discussion, mutual concession, and, failing all other means, by majority vote. But no means were provided by which a political party could bring the President and the majorities in the two Houses into accord, and so give effect to its opinions. In England this is simple enough, because the executive and the majority in the House of Commons must always be in harmony, while the House of Lords can not resist anything on which they are seriously intent,—unless, perchance, it is convinced that the cabinet has lost the confidence of the public. Moreover, the American system furnished no machinery whereby a party could formulate its policy, select the candidates for high office, and insure that they should be the real leaders of the party and able to control its action; but in England the party policy is determined by the cabinet, and its members are the men who in the constant battles in the Commons have made themselves the leaders of their fellows. Our fathers would probably have felt a strong aversion for these objects had they been suggested, and certainly no attempt was made to attain them; and yet they are absolutely essential to a thorough government by party.

But while the framers of the Constitution did not provide an organization appropriate to party government, they established a system in which parties were a necessity. It was from the first inevitable, and soon became evident, that the real selection of the President would not be left to the judgment of the electoral college—a result which was made the more certain, first, by providing that the members should assemble by States, and hence should not meet together as a whole for deliberation; and second, by excluding from the college all Congressmen and holders of Federal offices—that is, all the leading men in national public life. Washington was designated by the universal sentiment of the nation, but such a piece of fortune could not occur again, and as the selection of his successors would certainly not be left to the individual discretion of the electors it behooved like-minded men who did not propose to throw their votes away to agree upon a candidate in advance, and this was equally true whether the choice of electors was made by the legislature of a State or directly

by its people. As early as the year 1800, at the first election of Jefferson, the electoral college not only failed as a real organ for choosing the President, but as a piece of mechanism it proved so badly adapted to the party system that it had to be remodeled by the eleventh amendment of the Constitution. During the next score of years the need of some means of concentrating opinion in the selection of Presidential candidates was concealed by the succession of Virginians nominally recommended by the Congressional caucus but practically determined by the President himself.

With the ending of this period, which could under no circumstances have continued long, the want of some kind of machinery for selecting Presidential candidates became apparent. In a small country, where the voters were few and near enough together to confer with each other readily, the need would not have been acute, and an understanding might have been reached informally. But in a nation as large as the United States this was an impossibility, the more so because the habit of direct choice of the electors by the people had now become general, and at the same time the number of voters had been much increased by the extension of the franchise in the several States. It followed that unless the result of an election was to be a matter of chance, men who had similar objects in view must be brought to unite upon a candidate by some kind of party organization. After a few experiments in the recommendation of candidates by State legislatures the plan of national party conventions was evolved, and it has remained the regular method of selection.

National party organizations were thus a necessary consequence of the virtual election of the President by a popular vote throughout the nation. In some form they must exist in any country for the nomination of public officers who are chosen by a large electorate; and it may be observed that there has never existed any other single constituency in the world anywhere near so large as that which chooses the President of the United States. Moreover, this is not the only large electoral body in America. Each of the States, for example, is a single constituency for the choice of the governor by popular vote. It is, indeed, curious that democracy in Europe adheres to the custom of dividing the country for political purposes into comparatively small electorates, while

in the United States it is the habit to make whole communities single constituencies for the choice of their chief officials, a state of things that involves the need of elaborate party machinery for nomination, and hence the creation of huge party organizations on a popular basis.

In the English system of parliamentary government, therefore, party works within the regular political institutions, not, indeed, within the legal institutions, because, as writers on the British constitution never weary of telling us, the cabinet and all the conventions of parliamentary government are quite unknown to the law, but within and as a part of the recognized institutions of government. The machinery of the parliamentary system developed out of the party life, and is simply the party machinery acting as an organ of the State. The cabal or group of party leaders, for example, has become the treasury bench. In fact, so far as Parliament is concerned, the machinery of party and of government are not merely consistent; they are one and the same thing.[a]

In America, on the other hand, the machinery of party has perforce been erected outside of the regular organs of government, and hence it is less effective and more irregular in its action. If in England a member of the majority in the House of Commons refuses to support an important measure upon which the cabinet insists, and if enough of his colleagues share his opinion to turn the scale, the consequence must be a change of ministry or a dissolution; but under similar circumstances in America no such dire results will follow. The measure will simply be lost, but the member can retain his seat undisturbed till the end of his term, and the administration will go on as before. Hence the difficulty in carrying out party platforms, and the discredit into which they have fallen in consequence. Moreover, a platform, however elaborate, can not include more than a small part of the matters that arise in Congress. The general public are interested in few things, and these alone find a place in the platform. For the rest, even the moral compulsion that attaches to a party

[a] The English party organizations outside of Parliament, the National Liberal Federation, the National Union of Conservative Associations, and the local organizations, really exist in order to nominate members of Parliament in the constituencies and to carry elections by propagating the policy laid down by the leaders in Parliament. They neither select the leaders nor formulate their policy, and the nearest approach to an attempt to do so, in the adoption of the Newcastle programme, proved to be a very serious injury to the Liberal party.

declaration of faith is lacking, and hence it is exceedingly difficult to bring about party cohesion in such matters.

The system of committees in American legislative bodies tends also to remove measures from the field of party politics, for the committees to which bills are referred are always composed of members of both parties, and although it sometimes happens in Congress, in the case of a tariff bill, for example, that the majority and minority of a committee virtually meet separately, so that the bill when reported is really a party measure, this is an exceptional procedure even in Congress, and in many of the State legislatures it is entirely unknown. The work of the committees is usually in the nature of compromise; and if, as is often the case, the report of a committee is unanimous, or the divisions among the members do not run on party lines, it is obviously impossible to treat the bill when reported as a party measure. In Parliament, on the contrary, the great legislative committee is the cabinet, and every bill it introduces is of necessity a party measure so far as its own side of the House is concerned. If seriously opposed, the resistance is almost certain to come from the other side, so that the fight is likely to be conducted on party lines. With the present tendency to leave the initiative to the Government, this is getting to be true of almost all important questions. But the conditions in the United States effectually prevent such a result, and party issues can in the nature of things cover only a small part of legislation.

All this applies with still greater force to the States. The parties in America are essentially national parties. They exist primarily to elect the President, and only in a secondary degree to elect State officers. Hence they are divided mainly upon national issues, and it is difficult for them to take sides upon questions of State legislation without drawing lines that cut across the regular party lines, and offend a certain number of their adherents. Thus it happens that the members of most of the State legislatures are elected on party lines that have comparatively little connection with the questions they are called upon to decide. The same thing is true, and for the same reason, of the English borough councils, which are usually elected on party lines, but not usually divided upon them in their actual work; and it is noteworthy that in a provincial borough council the absence of party from the deliberations

is referred to with pride. To say that there is politics in a council is a term of reproach, as it is in America, because it usually implies personal politics rather than a difference of opinion on public policy.

It has been argued that party exists in America in order to bring about an accord among public bodies that were made independent by the Constitution; to force into harmonious action the various representatives of the people;[a] but it would seem more correct to say that party exists primarily to select those representatives. It does no doubt exert an important influence in helping the public bodies to cooperate, but it does not and can not exert the same direct pressure upon its members here that it can in England, and hence it is tempted to resort to other means of consolidating its authority and maintaining party cohesion. The most obvious means is patronage, in the form of appointments to public office, and that is one of the reasons why it is more difficult to get rid of the spoils system in America than in England.

This brings us to the problem already suggested, the attempt to explain the prevalent impression that party is more powerful and despotic in America than in England. But first we must repeat that the amount of irritation produced by partisan dictation depends, not upon the extent of that dictation, but upon the question whether it is felt to be justifiable or not. A very strenuous exertion of party pressure for a legitimate purpose will not cause as much complaint as a far smaller pressure for an object felt to be improper. Few sensible people object to a caucus of members of Congress to determine the attitude of a party upon the currency, but everyone resents the appointment of a grossly unfit postmaster because he happens to have a pull on an influential politician; and herein there is a great deal of popular confusion between the party and the machine, because people do not comprehend the relation that the machine bears to the party, or the class of matters with which it deals. The experience of the writer on the Boston school board at a time when an effort was made to get politics out of the schools may serve as an example. There was, unfortunately, a good deal of politics in the board, but this did not mean that the board was

[a] e. g. Henry Jones Ford's Rise and Growth of American Politics, a book full of penetrating suggestions. See also Professor Goodnow's Politics and Administration, which develops the same idea from a different point of view.

run on party lines, and it was not always easy to make people understand the distinction. As a matter of fact, there were very few, if any, strict party votes during the whole period. Moreover, the party machines were never opposed to each other, although they were sometimes quite ready to act together. Nor did they ever interfere with any question of public policy, but solely in personal matters relating to appointments to positions under the board. Now, this is a sample of what commonly happens, and is as commonly misunderstood. It is often stated that in the State legislatures the party boss, or the party caucus, dictates the action of the party on pending measures, and then carries it into effect by a party vote, so that legislation is really the work of the machine.[a]

That this is an error is proved by the statistics. If it were true, Pennsylvania, which possesses the most centralized kind of machine—a boss—ought to have in her legislature a long series of party votes, but in fact she has almost none. It is not true, because, in the first place, the machine rarely controls more than a part of the members of the party, and in the second place, the machine meddles very little with general legislation. It knows that to attempt to dictate to its followers on general legislation would only weaken its authority over them, and hence it confines its attention to the distribution of spoils, to laws that bear upon electoral machinery, and to such bills as affect directly the persons from whom it draws its revenue. It has, indeed, been pointed out that the very position of the boss depends upon the fact that parties exist for public objects, while he exists for private ones;[b] and this is so well recognized that the great corporations which desire to obtain either improper legislation or protection against

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[a] Professor Goodnow, in his Politics and Administration (p. 170), quotes with approval Mr. Horace E. Deming as saying: "The deliberative functions of the legislature as conceived by the 'fathers' have absolutely ceased to exist for many purposes. It registers automatically the will of a third party, and as little the results of its own deliberations as the electoral college. The form of a legislature survives, but the substance and the spirit have vanished. * * * The legislative power * * * is exercised by one man or a small, self-constituted group, through dummies who are still in name representatives of the people."

Another example, from quite a different source, may be found in a recent pamphlet advocating the referendum on behalf of working men, and entitled "Majority Rule." (Amer. Federationist, Vol. IX, No. 1½.) In it the author, Mr. George H. Shibley, says (p. 3): "From the foregoing it is clear that on all important bills the vote of each legislator is controlled, not by his own judgment, but by the decision of the party caucus, the control of which is in the machine that selects the nominees."

[b] See an article on "The American Boss," by Judge Francis C. Lowell, in the Atlantic Monthly for September, 1900.

unscrupulous attack subscribe impartially to the campaign funds of both political parties. In short, as the ward heeler tersely expresses it, "There is no politics in politics." This is the aspect of public life that provokes an outcry from reformers. It is what Minghetti, writing of Italy, called the undue interference of parties in affairs that ought to lie outside their field. Parties in America are not, as a rule, despotic on public questions, because they have little cohesion; but their influence, or rather the influence of the machine, or of the individual politician, is freely exerted in things quite apart from those issues of public policy which form the only rational ground for party activity.

Every attentive observer must have remarked the much greater complaint of party politics in the government of our great cities than in the legislatures of most of the States. But that is not surprising when one considers how few questions of general public policy come before the city councils. Most questions of municipal policy are, in fact, carefully kept out of their control, and decided by the State legislature itself. On the other hand, the councils have had far greater opportunities than the legislatures for personal politics in the form of patronage and jobbery, and in these the machine has had a baneful sway. It is here that the field for legitimate party action has been least, and for improper influence has been greatest, and hence it is in the cities that indignation at party tyranny has been hottest.

A comparison of England and America shows that the influence of party upon legislation is on the whole much greater in England than in the United States, but that it is more closely confined to public measures. Each of these conditions has its evils, some upon the surface, others less obvious, though not less potent. But it is no part of the object of this paper to describe them, still less to attempt to weigh them in the balance or suggest remedies for them. The first effort of the student of government to-day must be to discover the facts, in the faith that any light thrown upon political conditions can not fail to help toward a wise solution of the problems they involve.

[Conservatives, 260; Reformers, 395; vacancies, 3; total, 658.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Reformers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	London and Brighton Ry. bill, 2 R., amend. Monday next. (vs.)		(††)	17	110	58	172
2	Mr. Buckingham's compensation bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	1	84	80	41
3	Aberdeen public school bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	2	63	117	9
4	Poole Borough, select com. to inquire into borough election, adj. of House	No	**	33	2	4	107
5	Same, adj. of debate	No	**	31	2	3	103
6	Same, that Mr. Sergeant Jackson be now heard	Aye	**	2	28	104	2
7	St. Pancras paving bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	.....	106	131	21
8	London and Gravesend Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	7	85	56	92
9	Poole Borough, same motion as No. 4, amend. inquiry into intention of town council to dispose of property. (vs.)	Aye	†*	7	61	179	8
10	Stafford disfranchisement bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of House		(†*)	1	4	3	51
11	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		†*	2	4	51	2
12	Municipal corps (Ire.) bill, instr. to com. to provide for abolition of such corps, etc	No	**	211	9	32	298
13	Spirit licenses, motion to go into com. to reduce the duty, adj. of question	Aye	††	30	77	135	77
14	Dublin steam packet bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	38	30	125	29
15	Bridlington harbour bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	52	22	31	84
16	Soap and tallow duties, motion to go into com. to repeal soap duty, etc	No	††	93	24	32	171
17	Medway navigation bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	4	33	51	13
18	Macclesfield small debts bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.) (Ayes, 92; noes, 43, part of list of noes lost)		(*†)	58	1	34	17
19	Same, amend. to leave out cl. limiting commitment for debt to 7 days. (vs.)		*†	70	1	26	75
20	Same, that bill do pass, adj. of proceedings		*†	1	85	72	35
21	Same, that bill do pass, adj. of House		*†	1	90	52	38
22	Same, that bill do pass, adj. of debate		(*†)	.....	87	43	54
23	Same, that bill do pass, adj. of House		(*†)	81	3	85	17
24	Metrop. suspension bridge bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	40	60	86	15
25	Macclesfield small debts bill, that bill be passed		*†	139	1	62	66
26	Constabulary force (Ire.) bill, new cl. (judges may disallow items in accounts), 2 R	No	†*	13	3	5	57
27	Royal Dublin Society, select com. to inquire into its admr	Aye	**	1	12	48	1
28	Todmorden (Lancashire) inclosure bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	26	1	12	76
29	Cork city voters, motion for return of marksmen among £10 householders	No	**	8	.....	1	23
30	Municipal corps (Ire.) bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	10	178	250	22
31	Hull and Selby Ry. bill, 3 R., 6 mos.		(†*)	30	8	97	1
32	Same, new cl. to prevent Sunday travelling		(†*)	8	20	6	79
33	Landed property, leave to bring in bill for equal division among children of intestate		(††)	2	17	27	28

House of Commons—Divisions—1836—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Reformers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
34	Mutiny bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. on abol. of flogging. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	120	3	93	92
35	London and Norwich Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(†*)	26	17	73	3
36	Leith municipal and police bill, leave to present on or before Monday		**		40	76	2
37	Foreign corn and grain, motion for select com. on entry for manufacture and export	No	(††)	7	42	32	35
38	Mutiny bill, new cl. abol. of flogging	No	(*†)	3	74	59	60
39	Sheffield and Tinsley road bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	2	19	15	36
40	Dover Harbour bill, motion to commit, adj. of debate		††	5	35	53	11
41	Registration of voters bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. instr. to com. to abol. prepayment of poor rates for registration. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	94	1	60	50
42	Dublin Steam Packet Co. bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	27	97	94	76
43	Pension list, motion for select com. to revise	No	(*†)	14	136	132	133
44	Grand Junction Ry. bill, 2 R. of amends. made by com., amend. to recommit. (vs.)		††	19	32	87	10
45	Same, that vote of Sir Samuel Whalley, a subscriber, be disallowed, adj. of debate		(††)	11	39	39	50
46	Lord's Day, leave to bring in bill on observance of, prev. quest		*†	125	6	75	76
47	Dartford Canal, etc. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	38	26	75	16
48	Carlow County election, motion that it appeared that O'Connell agreed to elect Raphael for £2,000, amend. in wording. (vs.)	No	**	154	6	16	237
49	Same, motion condemning the bargain, motion that other orders of the day be now read	Aye	**	7	148	232	18
50	Great Nor. Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	28	40	57	59
51	Bishops, motion that their attendence in Parl. is prejudicial to cause of religion		(*†)		112	53	67
52	Agric. distress, motion for relief of	Aye	††	18	126	190	46
53	Edinburgh poor rates bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	*†	3	64	105	13
54	Midland Countries Ry. bill, to recommit. (vs.)		(††)	12	65	13	113
55	Strangers' gallery, adoption of report of select com. for a ladies' gallery		††	42	44	91	51
56	Lt. Col. Lord Brudenell, motion for select com. on appointment of		(*†)	2	180	41	140
57	Poor rate bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	7	1	34	12
58	Perlethorpe Chapelry bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	32	8	39	46
59	Glamorgan Canal bill, to refer to com. on Merthyr Tydfil, etc., Ry. bill		††	25	24	16	59
60	Factories regulation bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	††	31	113	148	62
61	Dublin Steam Packet Co. (No. 2), leave to bring in bill		††	26	32	80	33
62	Private bills, motion on costs for abstracts of titles, amend. to refer to com. on rys. (vs.)	No	(††)	31	34	53	66
63	Church lands, motion for copy of surveys, amend. to read order of day. (vs.)	No	(*†)	3	42	37	57
64	Roman Cath. marriages bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	2	84	99	7
65	Joint-stock banks com., motion for instr. on payments in Bank of Eng. notes	No	(*†)		25	12	73
66	Trinity North Leith harbour bill, 2 R. of amends. this day fortnight. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	50	11	116	4
67	Aberdeen public school bill, to recommit		**	3	90	154	15

68	Newcastle and Nor. Shields Ry. bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	26	5	64	13	
69	County of Carlow, inquiry into ejectment, etc., of electors	No.	(*†)	3	54	49	68	
70	Over (Cambr.) enclosure bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	35	5	27	59	
71	Same, 3 R., 6 mos., amend. this day fortnight. (vs.)		*†	5	59	81	25	
72	Lord's Day bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	30	5	14	70	
73	Constabulary (Ire.) bill, Lords' amends., amend. thereto	No.	**	11	1	1	52	
74	Gravesend pier bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	2	35	12	57	
75	London and Dover Ry. bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	64	10	112	14	
76	Jewish disabilities, motion to go into com. to consider	Aye.	**	1	16	70	3	
77	Church of Ireland bill, 2 R., amend. leave to bring in bill for commuting tithes, etc. (vs.)	Aye.	*†	9	220	291	41	
78	Mr. Buckingham's claim, to agree to report of select com	No.	*†	2	54	58	38	
79	Copyright (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate		†*	69	15	10	153	
80	Mun. corps. (Ire.) bill, Lords amends. motion to disagree	Aye.	**	13	212	311	26	
81	Tremoutha Ry. bill, 2 R. of amend., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	42	32	82	20	
82	Mun. corps (Ire.) bill, that borough of Bandon be included in Schedule B	No.	(**)	1	14	7	133	
83	Excise licenses (Ire.) bill, amend. on fasts and feasts	No.	*†	70	7	16	141	
84	Metrop. susp. bridge bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)		†*	12	22	97	8	
85	Pontefract election expenses, that letter of complaint lie on table		*†		98	97	38	
86	Parish vestries bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	1	30	42	30	
87	Stockport gas bill, to refer petition to select com		**	18	1	5	48	
88	Ballot, leave to bring in bill for		*†	1	96	87	43	
89	Court of sessions audits (Scot.) leave to bring in bill	Aye.	*†	1	56	92	13	
90	Fisheries bill, new cl., adj. of debate		††	18	10	11	48	
91	Liverpool docks bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)	No.	*†	142	4	31	194	
92	Tithes commutation bill, amend (comrs. to be members of Church of England)	No.	†*	19	4		54	
93	Same, another amend. (expenses to be paid by a rate on commuted amounts)	Aye.	(*†)	17		43	10	
94	Same, another amend. (to omit exception of hop gardens). (vs.)	Aye.	(*†)	34		70	24	
95	Same, 3 R., new cl. for rates on rent charge	Aye.	**	2	33	105	6	
96	Same, amend. to leave out cls. 37 and 38. (vs.)	Aye.	(*†)	56		97	39	
97	London and Brighton Ry. bill, 2 R. of amends., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	24	19	76	42	
98	Business of the House, motion to sit on Thursday next from 12 to 3		*†		38	44	13	
99	Registration of births, etc. bill, 3 R., new amend. (name of child need not be registered before baptism) moved.	No.	**	63	1	9	96	
100	Marriages bill, 3 R., 2 R. of new cl. (no licensees to be married except in Church of England unless conscientious scruples).	No.	**	65	5	3	127	
101	Same, amend. to leave out consc. scruples against religious ceremony. (vs.)	No.	**	57	2	10	106	
102	Same, that bill do pass, 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye.	†*	6	48	98	6	
103	Orders of the day, motion to read		††	36	36	19	83	
104	Spirituous liquors sale bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)		19	15	33	
105	Members of the House, motion against member becoming paid advocate in Parl. of public or private affairs, prev. quest.		†*	54	23	13	156	
106	Head money, that payment of it to electors is a violation of freedom of elections, adj. of House		†*	8	1	1	35	
107	Church of Ireland bill, order for com., amend. for abol. of tithes. (vs.)	Aye.	(*†)	14		47	18	
108	Same, amend. civil and mil. officers not to be obliged to attend religious ceremonies, etc.	Aye.	††	5	11	39	27	
109	Poole corp. bill, order for com., amend. to substitute small debts bill. (vs.)		††	2	17	41	15	

House of Commons—Divisions—1836—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Reformers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
110	Same, original order for com		(*†)	1	22	32	35
111	Established Church bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. against translation of bishops. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	59	3	65	41
112	Same, that speaker leave chair	Aye	(*†)	54	3	88	19
113	Same, order for com., amend. to substitute hand-loom labour bill. (vs.)	Aye	††	5	36	60	15
114	Same, instr. to com. (only clergymen who know Welch to hold Welch benefices)	No	(††)	27	25	47	39
115	Hackney carriages metrop. bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)		(**)	50		68	2
116	Omitted from lists						
117	Established Church bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of the whole) 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	33	2	57	41
118	Same, new cl. (£10,000 income for Bishop of Durham)	No	(**)		33		99
119	Same, new cl. (bishops' incomes reduced until adequate provision for parochial clergy)	No	*†	1	40	43	42
120	Trinity (North Leith) harbour, leave to bring in bill		*†	2	48	72	8
121	Church of Ireland bill, 3 R., amend. that petition for loss by Danes in 1807 to be referred to select com. (vs.)	Aye	††	11	17	48	34
122	County elections polls bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of the whole). Amend. Monday next. (vs.)	Aye	**		18	47	
123	Complaint to the House, motion that Mr. Cundy (who had accused a member of corruption) be again called in, amend., to take up order of day on stamp duties. (vs.)	No	††	37	25	18	89
124	Paper duties bill, 3 R., amend. no excise on a certain patent until Oct. 11, 1838, amend. no excise during life of patent. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	19	7	37	14
125	County elections poll bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of the whole) adj. of debate	No	†*	24	3	2	49
126	Medway navigation bill, 2 R. of amends., 3 mos. (vs.)		*†		39	41	16
127	Charitable trustees bill, report stage, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	4	83	129	5
128	Trinity (North Leith) harbour bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		†*	2	15	62	4
129	Same, that com. have leave to sit to-morrow		††	4	18	72	8
130	Established Church bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	62	3	112	41
131	Poole corporation bill, order for com., amend. to postpone to await printing of documents. (vs.)		**	2	48	127	9
132	Same, instr. to com. to leave undisturbed councillors whose elect. not impugned		**	37	2	6	115
133	Stamp duties on newspapers bill, new cl. (proprietors of papers must be registered)	Aye	**		14	58	1
134	Same, that bill do pass	Aye	†*	2	6	53	1
135	County elections polls bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of whole), 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**		40	88	3
136	Same, amend. to leave out 1st cl. (vs.)	Aye	†*	9	37	92	3
137	Same, amend. to leave out 2d cl. (vs.)	Aye	**		47	90	6
138	Same, amend. act not to apply to elections between Nov. 1 and May 1		**	43		7	92
139	Hackney carriages (metrop.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	11		34	5
140	Trinity (North Leith) (No. 3), leave to bring in bill		*†		13	32	11
141	Poole corp. bill, 3 R		**		24	74	6

142	Charitable trustees bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of whole), 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**		31	81	5
143	Same, 2 R. of new cl. on appointment of clerical trustees	No.	**	31		4	82
144	Same, 2 R. of new cl. on trustees of Louth school	Aye	**		31	65	2
145	Same, that further proceedings be deferred, 6 mos.	No.	†*	8	5		67
146	Same, amend. to add "and freemen"	No.	**	19		2	55
147	Inns, alehouses, etc., bill, 2 R. of new cl. (hours of opening and closing), adj. of House	No.	(†*)	3	7	2	40
148	County elections polls bills, 2 R	Aye	**	1	46	94	8
149	Char. trustees bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**		12	54	
150	Customs bill, order for com., amend. House will early next session inquire into working of the poor law. (vs.)	Aye	*†	2	24	82	23
151	Tithes commutation bill, agreement in an amend. by Lords	Aye	(*†)	31		51	33
152	Same, disagreement with an amend. by Lords		(*†)	24		43	19
153	Church of Ireland bill, Lords amends., 3 mos., amend. "Now"	No.	*†	199	5	32	255
154	Railroad bills, resolutions of select com., amend. to No. 28		(††)	7	12	15	38
155	Jewish civil disabilities bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		**	1	20	38	2
156	Bribery at elections bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)		(†*)	3	2	34	
157	Medical witnesses bill, 3 R., adj. of House	No.	(*†)		1	4	31
158	Same, 3 R. new cl. (act not to extend to Scotland), adj. of debate	No.	(**)		2		34
159	Post-office commissioners bill, amend. to leave out cl. 5 (1st commissioner may sit in House). (vs.)	Aye	†*	2	10	61	1
160	Gold and silver (Scot.) bill, 3 R		(*†)	14		53	8
161	Trinity (North Leith) harbour bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		††	2	10	27	20
162	Registration of voters bill, 3 R., amend. (to protect rights of persons already registered)	No.	**	22	1	2	72
163	Same, that bill do pass	Aye	**	2	23	78	
164	Pensions duties bill, report, 2 R. of new cl. to exempt pension of Duke of Marlborough		††	9	4	28	31
165	Same, that the cl. be added, amend. to recommit. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	19	2	36	33
166	Same, that the cl. be added, adj. of debate	No.	(††)	4	23	29	38
167	Benefices plurality bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	20	1	46	27
168	Marriages bill, 2 R. of Lords amends., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	4	2	59	1
169	Same, agreement with Lords in clause B	Aye	(††)	5	2	42	7
170	Established church bill, agreement with an amend. by Lords	Aye	††	16	3	35	42
171	Same, agreement with an amend. by Lords, 3 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	25	1	41	30
172	Stafford Borough, that no new writ issue till next session, amend. "till this day sevennight." (vs.)	Aye	†*	1	5	44	
173	Civil offices decoration bill, 3 R	Aye	†*	1	2	44	
174	Bribery at elections bill, report, adj. of House		†*	3	1		43
175	Same, adj. of House		†*	2	1	1	37
176	Jewish disabilities bill, order for com., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**		3	42	
177	Pensions duties bill, amend. to leave out "exempting the pensions of the Duke of Marlborough." (vs.)		††	15	6	19	30
178	Jewish disabilities bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		†*	2	13	42	
179	Bribery at elections bill, 2 R. of amends. (made in com. of whole), 3 mos. (vs.)		**		4	26	
180	Common fields inclosure bill, printing of Lords amends., amend. to print bill as amended by Lords. (vs.)		(*†)	2		22	3
181	Same, 2 R. of Lords amends		(**)	20	1	40	4

House of Commons—Divisions—1836—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Reformers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
182	Bribery at elections bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	6	1	44	.....
183	Same, new cl. to prevent procuring votes by offer of Gov. places, 2 R.	.....	(†*)	2	5	.....	40
184	Same, amend. to leave out cl. 4. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	5	4	39	.....
185	Same, amend. to cl. 5 to omit penalty of perpetual exclusion from office. (vs.)	.....	†*	1	3	37	.....
186	County elections bill, agreement with Lords amends.	.....	(*†)	22	1	28	25
187	Common fields inclosure bill, amend. (to increase distance from cities within which no inclosure to be made).	Aye.....	(*†)	11	.....	40	6

Out of 186 divisions printed above, the number of cases where 10 per cent or more split off were 79 Conservatives, 108 Reformers; of these last, Government whips were tellers in 44 and were not tellers in 64. Cases where 10 per cent did not split off: 107 Conservatives, 78 Reformers.

It is not always easy in these earlier sessions to determine the cases where the tellers acted for the Government, but this would seem to have happened in 91 out of the 186 divisions.

Government tellers defeated once (No. 114). Majority of Reformers went against Government tellers 4 times (Nos. 78, 114, 119, 170).

Reformers almost equally divided for and against Government tellers 5 other times (Nos. 34, 37, 38, 43, and 165).

House of Commons—Divisions—1850.

Protectionists Conservatives, 217; Conservative Peelites, 104; Liberals, Whigs, etc., 297; Radicals, 21; Repealers, 18; vacancies, 1; total, 658.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals, Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Public business, orders, on days when they have precedence, to be read without any question being put, adj. of debate.	.....	††	54	24	1	36	21	86	5	4	.....	1
2	Address, amend. That repeal of corn laws has produced agric. distress.	No.....	**	176	5	6	62	9	219	.....	19	1	6
3	Ceylon, com. to inquire into admr. of, amend. condemning Gov. (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	9	57	24	5	99	2	5	2	3	2
4	Same, amend. that certain persons be summoned to attend the com.	No.....	*†	70	3	14	14	11	88	2	3	3	1

5	Marriages within prohibited degrees, leave to bring in bill	.....	†*	14	39	12	16	111	9	10	.....	2	1
6	Roman Cath. religion, leave to bring in bill to repeal penal acts	.....	**	1	52	2	19	60	6	4	.....	4	.....
7	Tyne River conservency bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	22	25	15	14	86	20	6	4	2	.....
8	Prison discipline, motion for select com., amend. (to include Ireland). (vs.)	Aye.....	††	3	8	5	.....	14	5	1	1	.....	4
9	Ministers' money, motion to revise Irish church rates	No.....	*†	2	48	4	17	54	30	11	1	5	.....
0	Transportation, leave to bring in bill to abolish	No.....	††	15	14	3	14	5	77	6	3	3	2
11	Bankruptcy bill, motion for select com. (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	.....	14	2	13	54	27	1	2	.....	5
12	Public business, orders of day to have precedence on Thursdays, amend. Gov. orders not to have precedence. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	21	18	30	2	85	13	3	5	1	.....
13	Same, main question put	Aye.....	††	12	23	32	2	94	17	4	5	1	.....
14	Bankrupt members bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	10	27	3	7	20	32	1	3	.....	4
15	Small tenements rating bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	74	.....	17	.....	82	1	5	1	4	.....
16	Relief of poor, motion to consider	.....	**	181	1	43	31	24	218	1	15	3	8
17	British elect. tel. co. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	*†	27	2	11	3	27	6	3	.....	7	1
18	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. 18 Mch. next. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	90	18	23	146	2	9	.....	9	.....
19	Same, main question put	Aye.....	**	3	85	24	6	149	1	9	.....	8	.....
20	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, in com., motion to report progress	No.....	**	76	4	4	20	.....	149	.....	7	.....	11
21	Same, that chairman leave chair	No.....	**	65	.....	3	5	1	124	.....	7	.....	10
22	Same, to report progress	No.....	**	61	1	3	6	1	128	.....	9	.....	11
23	Same, that chairman leave chair	No.....	**	65	4	4	14	1	147	.....	9	.....	10
24	Same, to report progress	No.....	**	65	4	4	13	1	149	.....	9	.....	10
25	Same, that chairman leave chair	No.....	**	70	4	5	15	.....	157	.....	8	1	10
26	Cambridge and Shepreth Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	48	26	8	24	38	72	3	4	1	9
27	Extension of suffrage, leave to bring in bill	No.....	(*†)	.....	93	.....	54	70	94	15	1	11	.....
28	Copyholds enfranchisement, leave to bring in bill	.....	†*	9	21	17	7	67	4	4	.....	.....	.....
29	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, amend. (only an occupier "as tenant or owner" to vote in counties). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	2	81	7	20	139	1	7	.....	11	.....
30	Same, motion that blank be filled with £8 (instead of £15)	Aye.....	**	2	120	12	23	177	1	10	.....	12	.....
31	Same, that cl. 2 stand part of bill	Aye.....	*†	1	63	.....	25	120	16	10	.....	13	.....
32	Same, cl. 3, amend. to omit rating requirement. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	30	.....	5	85	1	8	.....	13	.....
33	Same, amend. (same as No. 29 for boroughs)	No.....	**	59	1	24	3	.....	146	.....	7	.....	13
34	Same, motion that blank be filled with £8	Aye.....	*†	56	1	20	.....	65	71	1	6	.....	12
35	Newcastle port act, motion for return of the working of that act	.....	(*†)	.....	1	1	.....	5	12	.....	2	.....	1
36	Wood used in shipbuilding, motion to consider duties upon	No.....	††	2	4	6	.....	29	26	5	2	3	.....
37	Marriages bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	17	74	14	33	137	20	12	.....	2	3
38	Kilrush Union, motion for commission to inquire into state of	No.....	††	15	6	2	5	30	63	8	2	8	.....
39	Ballot, leave to bring in bill	.....	*†	.....	91	.....	41	99	44	14	.....	8	.....
40	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. to reduce military expenditures. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	85	10	47	4	135	59	4	9	.....	7
41	Same, in com., amend. to reduce land forces	No.....	(*†)	.....	65	1	38	35	113	8	4	6	3
42	Same, amend. to reduce sea forces	No.....	(*†)	1	29	.....	22	15	64	2	2	1	.....
43	Taxation of the country, motion to reduce expenditures, prev. quest.	No.....	*†	99	7	11	32	33	143	8	5	5	3

House of Commons—Divisions—1850—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals, Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
44	Athy, etc., road bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	17	16	9	1	38	16	2	2	2	2
45	Public libraries bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	*†	7	64	9	24	91	12	7	1	4	.....
46	Highways bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	22	46	23	5	90	3	6	.....	3	1
47	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, amend. not to disfranchise voters already registered.	No.....	(*†)	.....	15	.....	4	29	59	4	2	5	.....
48	Same, amend. about list of voters already registered. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	32	7	5	122	5	6	.....	9	.....
49	Same, another amend. to cl. 20 (notice to register). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	4	43	9	7	118	6	5	.....	8	1
50	Oaths of members, motion to add Hume to com. on	.....	(††)	15	2	10	1	21	10	1	1	.....	2
51	Slave trade, motion against maintaining vessels to suppress	No.....	††	81	29	25	32	40	158	5	6	3	7
52	Larceny summary jur. bill, motion that com. have power to divide bill.	.....	(††)	42	24	21	3	52	23	8	.....	1	2
53	Transfer of landed property, motion to reduce restrictions on	No.....	*†	.....	49	2	17	43	44	5	.....	2	.....
54	County rates bill, that Kershaw be member of com. on	.....	†*	1	7	1	3	28	1	5	.....	2	.....
55	Australian col. gov. bill, amend. against appointed members of council. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	18	29	22	12	122	24	3	9	.....	3
56	Same, adoption of the clause	Aye.....	**	6	86	14	32	166	24	5	4	7	1
57	Chief justices' salaries bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. April 12 next. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	6	23	11	7	77	18	4	2	2	1
58	Same, amend. (salary to be £7,000 instead of £8,000)	No.....	††	17	4	5	10	15	66	1	4	.....	2
59	Royal Academy, that accounts be laid before House	.....	(††)	4	9	.....	1	13	35	1	1	1	1
60	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. insufficient accommodations for naval asst. surgeons. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	2	14	2	7	34	20	2	6	.....	1
61	Same, reduction of salaries in admiralty office	No.....	(††)	10	13	4	7	15	87	3	2	1	1
62	Same, reduction of wages in naval establishments	No.....	(††)	1	2	1	9	11	54	1	1	1	.....
63	Dundee, etc., Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	8	30	3	11	26	37	2	1	.....	.....
64	Window tax, motion for repeal of	No.....	††	16	12	5	10	46	56	8	1	2	1
65	County court extension bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	No.....	(††)	48	11	17	5	68	50	10	1	1	.....
66	Public libraries bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	4	49	13	11	74	3	7	.....	1	.....
67	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, amend. to cl. 57. (to omit appeal from revising barrister "only if he thinks it reasonable"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	25	2	7	89	1	4	.....	7	.....
68	Same, adoption of cl. 110 (£8 occupiers to have votes)	Aye.....	**	.....	36	2	4	110	2	4	.....	9	.....
69	Distressed unions advances (Ire.) bill, 2 R., adj. of House	No.....	†*	19	16	4	6	.....	98	.....	3	.....	8
70	Same, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate	No.....	(†*)	6	20	.....	8	.....	95	.....	3	.....	8
71	Official salaries, motion for select com., amend. duty of Gov. to reduce. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	5	131	33	18	194	5	12	2	6	3

72	Same, amend. (inquiry to include incomes of clergy)	No	(*†)	2	78	4	42	73	87	9	1	7	.....
73	Stamp duties bill, amend. (to reduce duties)	No	*†	95	.....	32	5	32	125	3	2	2	3
74	Paper duty, motion to abolish	No	††	44	21	2	30	27	136	12	1	4	2
75	Patronage of board of control (India), motion for return of	No	*†	8	.....	2	3	8	48	1	2	4	.....
76	Larceny sum. jur. bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	42	27	24	10	64	27	3	7	.....	5
77	Same, amend to cl. 1 (to strike out age limit of 16 years)	.....	††	25	23	6	16	19	52	.....	6	.....	5
78	Same, that chairman leave chair	.....	††	11	24	4	9	33	35	7	1	6	1
79	Same, amend. (to insert age limit of 16 years)	.....	††	24	13	11	6	46	44	1	9	2	6
80	Same, amend. (no whipping over 14 years)	.....	(††)	39	32	30	13	86	40	9	3	6	1
81	Marriages bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	No	††	53	15	19	18	17	106	.....	9	.....	4
82	Same, adj. of House	No	††	31	19	8	18	13	97	.....	9	.....	4
83	Same, adj. of debate	No	†*	31	12	7	16	10	92	.....	8	.....	4
84	Australian col. gov. bill, amend. giving repr. assembly to Van Diemens Land and So. Aus. (vs.)	Aye	*†	6	97	16	24	184	23	7	4	5	2
85	Same, amend. against appointed members of council. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	14	9	15	2	126	6	2	5	2	4
86	Same, amend. on changing appropriations made in the colonies	Aye	(††)	46	8	29	1	119	38	3	5	6	2
87	Eng. and Ire. univs., motion for inquiry into state of, adj. of debate.	.....	(†*)	78	22	42	.....	137	9	9	.....	5	.....
88	Affirmation bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	1	107	8	32	109	8	8	.....	3	.....
89	Australian col. gov. bill, that cl. giving power to establish gen. assem. for Aust. colonies stand part of bill.	Aye	†*	2	7	3	.....	55	3	3	.....	.....	.....
90	Security for advances (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	†*	13	35	24	3	137	3	4	.....	8	.....
91	Naval prize balance bill, 2 R	Aye	(†*)	11	4	10	1	47	.....	1	.....	1	.....
92	Distressed unions advances (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	25	11	14	.....	80	.....	7	1	6	.....
93	Same, in com., amend. to cl. 3 (treasury not to require payment in less than 40 years). (vs.)	Aye	††	5	12	11	.....	63	12	5	1	1	6
94	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. to abolish stamps on bills of lading, etc. (vs.)	Aye	††	8	50	17	12	124	20	3	3	4	4
95	Salaries and wages (public service), motion for revision of, prev. quest.	No	**	136	6	16	43	14	201	4	11	3	8
96	Benefices in plurality bill, amend. (to forbid all pluralities). (vs.)	.....	(*†)	86	1	27	5	50	40	3	3	.....	4
97	Same, amend. (no pluralities if income more than £100 apiece). (vs.)	.....	(†*)	14	57	1	23	1	74	.....	5	.....	3
98	Attorneys' certificates, leave to bring in bill to repeal duty on	No	††	69	15	17	19	52	99	11	2	6	1
99	County courts extn. bill, amend. (chan. not to settle lawyer's fees in small suits).	No	(††)	24	31	10	17	29	100	3	5	.....	8
100	Distressed unions advances (Ire.) bill, amend. limiting debts	No	††	54	6	9	20	20	96	2	4	6	3
101	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, amend. (payment of rates not to be prerequisite for voting). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	33	.....	8	.....	62	16	1	5	2	5
102	Same, another amend. (to omit that joint occupiers may vote). (vs.)	Aye	*†	.....	30	1	6	64	16	6	.....	7	.....
103	Same, another amend. (to reduce qualification from £8 to £2). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	25	.....	5	1	48	27	1	7	1	8
104	Same, another amend. (register to be in force until Aug.) (vs.)	Aye	†*	2	18	5	3	68	.....	5	.....	12	.....
105	Court of chancery (Ire.) bill, amend. in com	No	†*	17	5	2	10	3	77	.....	1	4	2

House of Commons—Divisions—1850—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals, Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
106	Australian col. gov. bill, motion to recommit	No	†*	25	10	7	24	5	122	4	6	1	3
107	Same, new cl. giving bishops and laity power to regulate church affairs.	No	**	69	2	26	8	5	161	2	9	------	7
108	Advertisement duty, motion in favor of repeal	No	(*†)	4	61	2	40	25	104	7	1	1	3
109	Journeymen bakers, motion to inquire into sanitary condition of.	No	††	15	9	5	8	15	76	5	1	4	------
110	Irish fisheries bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	14	60	3	30	14	93	------	4	6	4
111	Extra mural interments bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	No	(†*)	2	30	1	27	------	62	1	3	------	1
112	Elections (Ire.) bill, amend. on additional polling places. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	37	32	9	4	98	5	5	1	8	2
113	Manchester rectory division bill, amend. (vs.)		†*	28	49	28	9	116	2	13	------	7	------
114	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	4	156	19	27	205	3	11	------	15	------
115	Australian col. gov. bill, 3 R., amend. to afford people of colonies an opportunity to consider the measure. (vs.)	Aye	**	8	96	19	22	180	6	11	3	8	1
116	Same, amend on sale of waste lands	No	†*	63	8	13	19	4	178	1	9	1	8
117	London Spring Water Co. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	18	78	5	35	50	79	10	4	7	------
118	Metropolitan waterworks bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	19	91	7	44	73	78	10	2	6	1
119	Foreign corn, motion to consider acts on importation of	No	**	169	3	4	47	10	219	------	15	------	14
120	Life policies of assurance (No. 2) bill, that chairman leave chair.		††	15	15	16	7	37	33	1	6	------	5
121	Marriages bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)		††	2	18	3	9	29	12	7	------	1	1
122	Same, amend. bill to affect only future marriages with deceased wife's sister. (vs.)		††	17	34	10	21	69	11	12	------	3	2
123	Same, amend. act not to apply to Scotland		††	64	18	37	8	34	106	------	9	2	3
124	Court of prerogative (Ire.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate		†*	21	9	11	6	1	69	------	2	------	5
125	Same, 2 R., adj. of House		†*	13	11	4	11	2	67	------	2	1	4
126	Same, 2 R., adj. of debate		†*	13	10	4	9	2	57	------	2	1	5
127	Lord lieut. abolition (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate.	No	(†*)	6	44	------	25	5	129	------	10	8	5
128	Same, original question	Aye	(†*)	30	5	23	------	102	5	8	------	7	7
129	Supply, appropriation for misc. services and searching expeditions.	Aye	(*†)	35	------	18	------	85	15	4	4	3	1
130	Wood used in shipbuilding, motion for drawback that chairman leave chair.	Aye	*†	------	1	1	4	46	11	2	2	1	1
131	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend., leave to bring in bill to repeal addl. window taxes. (vs.)	Aye	††	10	40	21	13	95	10	4	1	------	1
132	Same, reduc. of approp. for new Houses of Parl	No	††	36	4	10	6	39	61	5	3	4	1
133	Same, reduc. of approp. for comrs. public works in Ireland	No	*†	32	3	3	14	11	97	1	4	------	6
134	Chester and Holyhead Ry. bill, 2 R. of new cl		††	54	38	9	22	49	62	6	9	------	6
135	Supply, reduc. of approp. for expenses Houses of Parl	No	††	14	14	2	23	24	69	6	2	2	2

136	Same, reduc. approp. admr. of poor laws	No	†*	28	11	3	14	3	118	.....	10	2	4
137	Same, another reduc. approp. admr. of poor laws	No	†*	46	19	4	20	3	128	1	10	2	4
138	Same, reduc. approp. salary Chief Sec. for Ireland	No	†*	37	22	2	17	1	108	1	6	.....	3
139	Private bills (group 13), motion to excuse member from attendance.	Aye	(*†)	3	60	5	25	25	86	5	10	3	2
140	Elections (Ire.) bill, 2 R. of cl. for addl. polling places	Aye	(*†)	50	1	20	.....	90	14	8	1	.....	5
141	Same, amend. (addl. places only in town where quarter sessions held).	No	(*†)	2	43	.....	17	39	56	5	2	6	.....
142	Same, another new cl. for addl. polling places	No	(*†)	2	36	.....	16	22	54	4	1	5	1
143	Post-office, motion to prevent collection, etc., of mails on Sunday	No	*†	41	2	15	3	31	55	4	6	2	3
144	Sugar, motion that slave-grown sugar ought not to compete with that of British colonies.	No	**	173	4	46	20	11	224	2	17	1	10
145	Supply, reduc. of grant for Maynooth College. (vs.)	Aye	**	2	44	5	7	53	3	2	1	6	.....
146	Metrop. interments bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. for select com. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	19	12	20	7	114	24	3	11	3	3
147	Same, that cl. 2 stand part of bill	Aye	(††)	14	13	11	6	104	26	4	9	2	3
148	Court of prerogative (Ire.) bill, membership of select com	.....	**	1	25	3	4	91	.....	6	.....	5	.....
149	Same, same	.....	**	2	27	1	3	69	.....	2	.....	3	.....
150	Same, same	.....	**	2	30	1	4	66	2	2	.....	4	.....
151	Aberdeen Ry. bill, 2 R. of new cl. (Co. not to favor one Ry. Co. over another).	.....	††	8	43	3	21	40	35	8	1	2	1
152	Public business, precedence of orders, without Gov. priority, for June 27.	.....	(*†)	53	5	28	4	84	22	3	5	1	1
153	Poor law (Ire.), motion condemning existing law	No	**	47	3	7	4	8	71	.....	8	3	4
154	Practice act (Ire.), amend. bill, that cl. 2 stand part of bill	Aye	**	.....	8	3	3	33	3	2	.....	1	1
155	Education bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	.....	140	1	65	48	80	7	1	2	1
156	Factories bill, 1st cl., amend. lessening protection to employees (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	81	2	36	5	115	37	9	1	5	.....
157	Same, amend. on protection to children	No	*†	32	.....	17	5	17	91	6	2	.....	4
158	Metrop. interments bill, amend. to cl. 19. (fees for removing bodies). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	15	.....	13	.....	58	36	2	9	.....	3
159	Same, amend. to cl. 20 (fees for interment)	No	(††)	17	30	6	23	30	113	9	3	2	2
160	Drainage of land advances bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	27	3	8	.....	36	1	2	.....	.....	.....
161	Same, that cl. 4 (loans for building) stand part of bill	.....	(††)	6	43	6	11	30	46	.....	5	3	2
162	Metrop. interments bill, that cl. 27 (charges for funerals) stand part of bill.	Aye	(††)	17	2	11	3	72	12	3	7	1	1
163	Same, amend. to cl. 30 (compensation to incumbents)	No	*†	4	48	4	21	72	53	7	3	1	1
164	Same, that chairman report progress	No	(*†)	3	45	2	21	41	74	4	3	2	1
165	Same, motion to go into com. again on Tuesday at 12	Aye	(*†)	32	2	16	1	83	15	3	4	2	1
166	Supply, reduc. of approp. for Houses of Parl. (vs.)	Aye	††	22	26	30	5	88	22	1	5	3	4
167	Same, amend. for select com. on increase of cost of Houses over estimate. (vs.)	Aye	††	6	25	9	6	65	14	1	7	4	3
168	Lord lieut. abol. (Ire.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	(††)	25	36	6	22	20	125	1	5	11	.....
169	Post-office, motion that memorials about salaries be laid before House, adj. of House.	.....	(†*)	7	4	5	1	48	5	2	.....	1	1

House of Commons—Divisions—1850—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals, Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
170	Metrop. interments bill, amend. (vestries may provide cemeteries).	No	(*†)	2	23	1	15	25	59	7	3	1	.....
171	Same, that cl. 53 (overseers may levy a rate) stand part of bill	Aye	(††)	17	4	13	3	59	23	4	5	.....	2
172	Ramsgate and Margate harbours, motion for select com. to inquire into revenue, etc., amend. to include Dover.	No	(††)	12	21	5	8	33	42	2	.....	8	.....
173	Same, main ques. put	No	(††)	22	10	9	2	37	35	2	.....	8	.....
174	Home-made spirits in bond, motion to consider duty on	No	*†	25	1	5	1	40	47	7	3	8	1
175	Landlord and tenant bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	14	14	8	4	37	3	4	1	1	.....
176	Same, amend. (to omit compensation to tenant for food of cattle). (vs.)	.....	††	13	42	9	13	36	25	4	4	3	.....
177	Same, that cl. 9 (persons who may contract as owners) stand part of the bill.	.....	(††)	32	31	17	3	60	9	5	3	3	.....
178	Small tenants rating bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	30	4	17	2	42	7	5	2	.....	.....
179	County court extn. bill, 2 R. of new cl. (on appeals)	No	(†*)	13	14	4	17	7	67	1	9	.....	1
180	Public libraries bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	4	16	10	4	64	1	8	.....	1	.....
181	Same (in com.), that chairman report progress	.....	††	4	20	7	13	47	12	8	1	2	2
182	Same, that House go into com. next Wednesday, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	.....	27	5	17	67	2	9	.....	4	1
183	Marriages bill, amend. (act not to affect eccles. censure, etc.)	.....	††	57	14	29	6	17	114	.....	10	.....	1
184	Same, amend. (act not to apply to Ireland)	.....	*†	58	6	28	6	24	107	.....	12	3	1
185	Post-office, motion that memorial for clerks be laid before House	No	(†*)	5	20	.....	9	2	33	1	2	2	.....
186	Factories bill, amend. ("no child")	No	*†	99	9	21	23	26	121	7	5	6	2
187	Same, amend. closing hour 6 instead of 5.30. (vs.)	Aye	*†	6	103	22	17	142	14	7	8	4	.....
188	Metrop. interments bill, new cl. (compensation to abuttors for making cemetery).	No	(†*)	11	31	.....	19	6	121	1	7	1	2
189	Borough courts (Ire.) bill, amend. to reduce limit of attach. from £20 to £10. (vs.)	.....	†*	5	16	13	.....	75	1	5	.....	2	.....
190	Lord lieut. abol. (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	49	41	50	6	179	15	9	1	8	7
191	Landlord and tenant bill, adj. of House	.....	†*	8	7	3	9	.....	40	.....	2	.....	3
192	Same, new cl. excepting certain glebe lands, adj. of debate	.....	(†*)	2	7	.....	7	1	33	.....	1	.....	3
193	School establishments (Scot.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	1	68	1	25	81	7	9	.....	2	.....
194	Charitable trusts bill, amend. to cl. 1 (removal of trustees). (vs.)	Aye	†*	3	9	2	5	51	.....	6	.....	3	.....
195	Same, that cl. 8 (jurisdiction of county courts) stand part of bill	Aye	†*	4	12	2	4	43	.....	7	.....	5	.....
196	County court extension bill, 2 R. of new cl. on appt. of Irish barristers to English county courts.	.....	††	20	16	5	11	25	82	4	2	4	.....
197	Same, 2 R., new cl. on venue of actions	No	(††)	16	17	4	12	33	53	1	5	1	3
198	Landlord and tenant bill, 3 R., adj. of House	.....	†*	12	11	8	9	6	72	.....	3	3	1
199	Ramsgate and Margate harbour bill, instr. (to include Dover)	.....	(††)	1	4	3	5	10	34	.....	1	.....	.....

200	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. to extend scriptural teaching in Irish schools. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	9	122	18	17	176	3	12	10	.....
201	Landlord and tenant bill, 3 R., adj. of debate	.....	†*	23	10	5	5	5	65	2	1	4
202	Surrey roads bill, 2 R. of new cl. on buying out owners of tolls	.....	(*†)	1	31	.....	18	14	29	5	5	3	.....
203	Larceny sum. jur. bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	50	5	19	1	47	15	2	2	1	2
204	Copyholds enfranchisement bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	10	64	6	12	76	5	7	2	4	1
205	Accident on railways bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	42	16	.....	20	6	65	3	5	2	2
206	Foreign policy, motion approving Govt	Aye.....	**	6	183	19	66	254	12	18	2	13	1
207	Westminster bridge bill, motion to refer to select com	.....	(†*)	44	8	21	2	59	4	10	1	4	.....
208	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. on opening of a mailed letter in Van Diemans Land. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	3	1	2	1	38	7	2	4	.....	4
209	Landlord and tenant bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	17	15	5	.....	27	2	2	.....	2	.....
210	Same, amend. to omit "or Ireland." (vs.)	.....	(††)	27	3	7	.....	29	8	1	.....	.....	3
211	Charles Rathband Hyatt, to print his complaint against Comr. Fonblanque.	.....	(**)	.....	34	.....	19	1	46	.....	4	.....	4
212	Exhibition of 1851, motion that report be sent to select com., amend. (no building in Hyde Park). (vs.)	.....	†*	21	36	11	1	120	9	10	.....	4	1
213	Same, main ques. put	No.....	†*	38	20	.....	12	6	121	1	10	1	3
214	Homemade spirits in bond bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	*†	1	71	6	13	85	36	3	3	.....	12
215	Malt tax, leave to bring in bill to repeal	No.....	††	89	23	5	32	22	182	4	8	3	2
216	Railways-abandonment bill, amend. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	8	11	2	7	4	58	1	2	.....	.....
217	Mercantile marine (No. 2) bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. to refer to select com. (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	6	20	16	4	90	10	4	.....	4	.....
218	Eccles. commission bill, amend. (to transfer all powers of old comrs. to new ones). (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	19	.....	6	.....	34	16	1	6	.....	.....
219	Same, that cl. 6 (appt. of comrs.) stand part of bill	Aye.....	(*†)	23	.....	10	.....	40	25	3	7	.....	1
220	Same, amend. (to cl. 13) that Episcopal fund be merged in the common fund. (vs.)	No.....	**	83	7	23	10	5	134	.....	9	.....	3
221	Homemade spirits in bond bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	No.....	*†	75	3	11	11	25	101	1	6	8	.....
222	Mercantile marine bill, amend. to leave out words "foreign-going ships." (vs.)	Aye.....	(†*)	14	3	10	2	42	2	3	.....	1	.....
223	Same, amend. to cl. 19 (certfs. of service)	Aye.....	(††)	16	3	13	1	60	14	2	1	1	.....
224	Elective franchise, leave to bring in bill to make franchise in boroughs same as in counties.	No.....	*†	2	70	3	28	77	60	14	1	4	.....
225	Coffee, motion for select com. on decline of trade	No.....	(††)	28	46	9	22	15	125	4	9	4	3
226	Post-office, motion to resume collection of mails on Sunday, amend. changing wording. (vs.)	.....	(††)	12	89	7	30	61	107	6	7	6	.....
227	Same, main ques. as amended	.....	††	25	74	17	16	136	19	10	3	7	.....
228	Weights and measures bill, amend. (custody of standard weights, etc.). (vs.)	.....	(**)	46	1	20	.....	56	3	4	.....	.....	.....
229	Marriages bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	15	79	14	33	106	20	8	.....	1	2
230	Same, new cl. (act not to extend to Scotland)	No.....	††	75	15	32	14	21	99	.....	8	3	1
231	Punishment of death, leave to bring in bill, to abolish	No.....	*†	1	15	2	4	27	26	8	1	2	.....
232	Medical charities (Ire.) bill, amend. to cl. 1 (appt. of comrs. of health).	No.....	†*	11	4	3	2	4	46	.....	1	.....	3

House of Commons—Divisions—1850—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals, Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
233	Same, amend. cl. 1 (to be physicians of 10 years' standing)	No	*†	14	1	3	.....	9	47	.....	1	1	1
234	Same, amend. cl. 1 (Poor Law Comrs. to be responsible for the Board).	No	†*	15	4	4	2	5	51	.....	1	.....	2
235	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. to inquire into use of troops in Borneo. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	39	1	25	1	101	19	2	6	2	2
236	London school for orphans bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	7	1	10	1	28	4	.....	1	.....	.....
237	Mercantile marine (No. 2) bill, amend. (to repeal registration of seamen).	Aye	††	3	11	8	1	34	12	1	1	.....	.....
238	Same, that cl. 27 (regulation of shipping offices) stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	11	.....	3	.....	49	.....	2	.....	1	.....
239	Attorneys certfs. bill, 2 R., omitted from lists	No	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
240	Eccles. commission bill., new cl. (no dean or canon to hold benefice in another place).	No	*†	43	4	17	8	20	89	3	2	1	1
241	Mercantile marine (No. 2) bill, that cl. 49 (compensation for discharged seamen) be postponed.	No	††	7	3	.....	8	12	36	.....	1	.....	.....
242	Copyholds enfranchisement bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	*†	2	23	4	10	34	6	7	1	2	.....
243	Same, amend. to cl. 1 (manorial rights commutation). (vs.)	.....	*†	1	29	.....	9	46	7	5	2	3	.....
244	Same, cl. 1, another amend. (vs.)	.....	*†	1	37	1	11	36	24	5	2	1	.....
245	Same, cl. 1, another amend. (vs.)	.....	*†	39	2	11	2	15	43	1	6	.....	.....
246	Mercantile marine (No. 2) bill, amend. on forfeiture of wages by deserting.	No	††	9	7	2	6	18	35	2	.....	2	1
247	English and Irish universities, motion to inquire into state of, adj. of debate.	Aye	**	.....	91	4	40	142	7	9	.....	5	.....
248	Attorneys certificates bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	No	*†	51	3	11	14	35	85	5	.....	3	1
249	Same, amend. reducing registration fee. (vs.)	No	††	42	9	10	12	16	102	1	4	1	3
250	Same, that blank be filled with 1s. 6d	Aye	††	7	41	11	9	99	16	4	1	3	1
251	Same, that speaker leave chair	.....	*†	3	48	7	12	80	32	.....	5	2	2
252	Duke of Cambridge, motion to grant £12,000 per annum to, amend. £8,000.	No	(*†)	1	76	1	45	40	85	9	.....	2	.....
253	Same, amend. £10,000	No	(*†)	1	65	1	42	44	70	8	.....	1	.....
254	Supply, reduc. of approp. for West Coast of Africa	No	(††)	5	26	6	12	22	96	8	3	1	1
255	Charitable trusts bill, 3 R., adj. of House	No	†*	12	2	4	8	.....	60	.....	4	.....	.....
256	Supply, reduc. of approp. for New Zealand	No	(*†)	.....	25	1	18	18	46	5	.....	.....	1
257	Same, reduc. of approp. for Hongkong	No	(††)	6	2	1	2	25	48	8	1	1	.....
258	Same, reduc. of approp. for consuls	No	(††)	14	26	2	21	13	112	5	3	.....	1
259	Same, reduc. of approp. for misc. allowances paid from civil list	No	(††)	13	43	6	16	44	87	7	.....	2	1
260	Eccles. commission bill, amend. (power to employ surveyors, etc.).	No	(††)	19	39	5	14	43	87	5	1	1	1

261	Attorneys' certificates bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	No	*†	45	3	10	9	26	99	4	.....	3	1
262	Same, 3 mos., amend. Friday next. (vs.)	Aye	*†	3	42	9	9	100	27	.....	4	1	2
263	Medical charities (Ire.) bill, amend. on dispensary districts	Aye	(*†)	14	1	2	.....	32	4	1	.....	2	.....
264	Same, another amend. to same cl., 2d amend. (vs.)	Aye	††	4	12	.....	1	34	10	2	.....	1	1
265	Same, still another amend. same cl. (vs.)	No	*†	16	.....	5	1	9	35	.....	2	1	1
266	Income tax, motion to abolish duties in Schedule B	No	**	26	1	2	1	3	45	1	4	.....	1
267	Compound householders bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	4	23	9	.....	61	1	6	.....	.....	.....
268	Sunday trading bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	43	.....	16	1	39	17	3	3	.....	.....
269	Copyholds enfranchisement bill (in com.), that chairman leave chair.	.....	*†	32	3	12	.....	16	29	1	4	.....	.....
270	Small tenements rating bill, 2 R. of cl. (tenant to get benefit of payment of rates by owner).	.....	**	1	18	1	8	32	3	3	.....	1	.....
271	Mercantile marine (No. 2) bill, motion to recommit	No	(**)	.....	11	.....	6	3	40	.....	1	.....	3
272	Same, new cl. (indemnity to shipowner for desertion of sailor to navy).	No	(††)	8	9	2	3	15	34	.....	1	.....	1
273	Same, amend. (contract need not be made before Gov. shipping officer) to bill.	No	(*†)	.....	23	.....	6	8	46	.....	1	.....	1
274	Supply, reduc. of approp. for dissenting Prot. ministers in Ireland.	No	(*†)	2	22	.....	13	32	72	5	.....	4	1
275	Same, original approp.	Aye	(*†)	24	1	13	.....	85	18	.....	6	1	2
276	Same, approp. for charitable allowances in Ireland	No	(*†)	1	25	.....	11	16	86	5	1	2	1
277	Charitable trusts bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	2	35	2	16	85	2	3	.....	4	.....
278	Same, amend. (to except voluntary schools from act)	No	**	27	2	9	1	2	70	.....	1	.....	3
279	Small tenements rating bill, to add cl. (see No. 270)	.....	**	1	21	1	5	55	1	1	.....	3	.....
280	Same, adj. of House	No	†*	18	5	4	1	.....	54	.....	1	1	2
281	Baron de Rothschild, oath of, adj. of debate to Monday, amend. till 5 o'clock to-day. (vs.)	.....	†*	21	51	27	8	126	3	10	.....	7	.....
282	Same, adj. of debate till Monday	.....	†*	9	53	20	12	122	2	10	.....	7	.....
283	Supply, approp. for volunteer corps	Aye	(*†)	46	.....	23	.....	78	20	.....	3	.....	2
284	Baron de Rothschild, motion that speaker ask him if willing to take oath required by law.	.....	**	60	2	34	7	10	100	.....	7	.....	2
285	Same, motion that he be sworn on Old Testament	.....	†*	6	41	6	15	88	3	9	.....	4	.....
286	Queen's message, motion to settle Marlborough house on Prince of Wales.	Aye	††	9	13	11	3	47	24	1	5	.....	1
287	Supply, reduc. of approp. for half pay of naval officers	No	(††)	14	33	11	16	38	77	8	.....	1	2
288	Public libraries bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	4	13	8	2	47	.....	4	.....	1	.....
289	Same, new cl. (act not to extend to Ireland)	.....	†*	10	4	3	6	.....	41	.....	4	.....	1
290	Baron de Rothschild, that writ of election issue, amend. that seat is full. (vs.)	.....	*†	112	2	35	5	74	92	.....	12	.....	6
291	Parl. voters (Ire.) bill, agreement with a Lords amend	No	**	82	9	6	31	3	154	.....	11	.....	8
292	Same, disagreement with a Lords amend	Aye	**	5	81	12	23	145	5	9	.....	8	.....
293	Queen's message, 2 R., of motion to settle Marlborough House on Prince of Wales.	Aye	††	12	15	9	3	59	18	1	1	.....	2
294	Municipal corps (Ire.) bill, adj. of House	No	(**)	.....	19	.....	2	3	47	.....	1	1	.....
295	Sunday trading bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	.....	(*†)	1	29	1	10	25	28	6	3	2	1
296	Inspection of coal mines bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	(††)	5	10	1	5	9	32	.....	6	.....	.....
297	Supply, approp. for eccles. comrs. (England)	Aye	(*†)	14	1	7	.....	48	24	.....	4	1	3

House of Commons—Divisions—1850—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Protectionists.		Peelites.		Liberals. Whigs, etc.		Radicals.		Repealers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
298	Same, reduc. of approp. for secret services	No	†††	15	9	2	12	20	59	4	1	3	2
299	Duke of Cambridge annuity bill, motion to fill blank with £12,000, amend. £10,000.	No	(††)	11	30	6	16	52	59	5	.....	2	.....
300	Landlord and tenant (Ire.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	(**)	.....	17	.....	10	4	47	2	.....	.....	1
301	Same, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(**)	14	.....	11	.....	44	4	.....	2	1	.....
302	Crime and outrage act (Ire.), continuance (No. 2), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate.	No	(*†)	.....	27	.....	7	16	55	6	.....	7	.....
303	Supply, relief of depositors in Cuffe Savings Bank	Aye	(††)	19	17	8	8	86	11	1	3	4	.....
304	Baron de Rothschild, motion that he is not entitled to sit, amend. expedient to introduce bill to declare the law. (vs.)	Aye	*†	77	8	30	2	56	74	.....	10	.....	6
305	Same, main ques. put	Aye	*†	78	5	31	1	57	69	.....	11	.....	5
306	Same, motion that House will next session consider relief of Jews.	Aye	**	3	76	8	24	115	6	10	.....	6	.....
307	Stamp duties (No. 2) bill, 2 R. of new cl. (affixing stamps after suit brought).	No	†*	34	9	9	13	7	83	.....	4	.....	2
308	Marlborough House bill, in com., that speaker leave chair	No	(††)	12	32	7	13	32	68	3	.....	2	2
309	Duke of Cambridge annuity bill, amend. to reduce £12,000 to £8,000. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	44	3	12	4	54	40	.....	3	1	2
310	Same, amend. (any salary received to be deducted from annuity)	No	(*†)	3	42	1	11	30	54	3	.....	2	1
311	Crime and outrage act (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, amend. not just to renew coercion. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	20	.....	14	.....	47	20	.....	4	.....	4
312	Same, main ques., adj. of debate	No	(*†)	.....	19	.....	14	16	51	4	.....	4	.....
313	Same, main ques	Aye	(*†)	19	.....	13	.....	52	16	.....	4	.....	4
314	Medical charities (Ire.) bill, amend. to cl. 10 (qualifications of health officers). (vs.)	Aye	††	1	8	.....	1	30	4	2	.....	3	2
315	Same, amend. to cl. 12 (to except infirmaries from act). (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	5	.....	.....	33	2	2	.....	.....	1
316	Same, another amend. (to same effect as No. 314)	No	(††)	5	7	1	2	15	33	1	2	1	2
317	Landlord and tenant (Ire.) (No. 2) bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate.	.....	(*†)	.....	13	.....	5	16	27	3	.....	3	1
318	Spitalfields, etc., street bill, that chairman leave chair	No	††	7	7	4	6	16	30	2	2	3	1
319	Same, that cl. (comrs. may borrow money) stand part of bill	Aye	††	6	6	7	4	42	13	2	3	1	3
320	Crime and outrage act (Ire.), continuance (No. 2) bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	20	.....	10	.....	58	16	.....	6	.....	4
321	Customs bill, 2 R. of new cl. (validating regulations of comrs.)	Aye	(††)	12	2	4	1	33	6	.....	4	.....	1
322	Friendly societies bill, amend. (payments on death). (vs.)	No	††	3	3	4	1	13	25	3	3	2	.....
323	Lough Corrib (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	5	3	2	2	50	3	3	2	3	.....
324	Crime and outrage act (Ire.), continuance (No. 2) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	17	.....	8	.....	57	20	.....	9	.....	5

325	Same, act to last till Dec. 31, 1851 (others wanted it one year)	Aye	(*†)	16	6	53	20	9	5
326	Cephalonia, inquiry into disturbances in	No	(*†)	1	14	8	7	60	4	1	1	1
327	London Bridge bill, that speaker leave chair	No	(††)	6	8	1	3	10	45	2	2	1	1
328	Railways abandonment bill, Lords objections to amends., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	5	4	3	1	23	7		2	1	
329	Crime and outrage act (Ire.), continuance (No. 2) bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	17	8	1	50	11	4	5

Out of 328 division lists printed, the number of cases where 10 per cent or more split off were 176 Protectionists, 222 Peelites, 203 Liberals. Of these last the Government whips were tellers in 145, and were not tellers in 58. Cases where 10 per cent of parties did not split off, 152 Protectionists, 105 Peelites, 125 Liberals.

Government whips were tellers in 224 and were not tellers in 104.

The Government tellers were defeated 12 times (Nos. 11, 36, 60, 73, 98, 132, 139, 143, 173, 174, 248).

Majority of Liberals (including Radicals) went against Government tellers 12 times (Nos. 9, 34, 36, 53, 65, 139, 163, 173, 224, 231, 304, 305).

In one case the Peelites did not vote at all.

House of Commons—Divisions—1860.

[Conservatives, 305; Liberals, 348; vacancies, 5; total, 658.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Adjournments to be Friday till Monday		(††)	18	63	30	103
2	Misc. civil service expenditure, select com. to inquire into	No	(††)	41	33	80	60
3	Divorce court, leave to bring in bill for sittings with closed doors		(††)	61	98	22	170
4	Church rates abolition bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	15	222	248	12
5	Gloucester City, etc., elections, leave to bring in bill for ballot at Parl. elections		*†		128	118	21
6	Maynooth College, motion to consider withdrawal of endowment	No	††	80	44	48	142
7	Flogging (navy), motion for return of cases, amend. to omit names of commanding officers. (vs.)	No	(*†)	2	48	44	76
8	Customs acts, that speaker leave chair, amend. not fit to reduce duties as per French treaty until House has assented to treaty. (vs.)	Aye	**	17	214	276	16
9	Revenue and expenditure, motion against reimposing high income tax	No	†*	213	39	10	300
10	Customs acts, motion to reduce existing duties, amend. on detail of drawback	No	††	51	41	21	141
11	Same, that "corks" stand part of res., amend. (if produce of countries with free export of cork)	No	††	96	25	22	166
12	Adulteration of food and drink bill, that cl. 1 stand part of bill		(††)	35	16	81	9
13	Same, that cl. 3 (appt. of analysts) stand part of bill		††	15	16	43	18
14	Serpentine, that Sir J. Shelley be a member of com. on	Aye	†*	22	26	100	10
15	Customs acts, that silk, etc., stand part of res., amend. "imported from country which permits free importation of silk mfg., of U. K., that chairman report progress.	No	(†*)	22	62	7	171
16	Same, again proposed to insert those words	No	†*	59	31	9	158

House of Commons—Divisions—1860—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
17	Same, cl., amend. ("after Oct. 1, 1861.")	No	†*	44	27	7	151
18	Same, reduc. of existing duties on spirits, amend. 9s. instead of 8s. 6d. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	44	42	147	6
19	(Omitted from div. lists.)						
20	Army, address for abolition of purchase of commissions	No	(*†)	3	110	56	104
21	Treaty with France, address of thanks for, amend. condemning art. 11	No	(†*)	53	56	3	226
22	Paper duty repeal bill, 2 R., amend (repeal inexpedient.) (vs.)	Aye	†*	22	168	223	24
23	Religious worship bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	16	120	115	48
24	Adult. of food and drink bill, that cl. 11 (act not to extend to Scotland) stand part of bill		(††)	39	32	62	55
25	Same, that postponed cl. 2 (analysis of food) stand part of bill		(†*)	32	14	90	2
26	Customs acts, amend. to leave out essential words of act. (vs.)	Aye	††	12	82	126	22
27	Same, res. 13 (malt duty), adj. of debate	No	**	52	5	6	88
28	Ballot, leave to bring in bill		*†	2	196	145	58
29	Endowed schools bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	3	161	117	29
30	Bleaching and dyeing works bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	100	16	127	23
31	Ways and means, amend. income tax, 9d. in the £ (instead of 10d.)	No	††	106	16	26	171
32	Ness and Beauly fisheries bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	29	75	120	18
33	Refreshment houses, etc., bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	††	84	24	38	127
34	Packet and tel. contracts, motion that contract with G. Churchward ought to be fulfilled		**	105	3	12	160
35	Church rates abol. bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. (charge on land in lieu of church rates). (vs.)		†*	21	47	200	2
36	Pawn brokers act amend. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	83	14	95	18
37	Income tax bill, amend. to change £100 to £150	No	(*†)	7	68	17	105
38	Public business, that Gov. orders have precedence on Thursdays; amend. that notices of motions have precedence Fridays.	Aye	††	22	102	128	24
39	Same, question as amended	Aye	††	19	98	123	19
40	Customs bill, amend. to omit "removal" in provision about warehousing and removal. (vs.)	Aye	††	12	26	52	24
41	Conveyance of voters, etc., bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate		*†	77	4	18	77
42	Attorneys and solicitors bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(*†)	93	10	98	19
43	Jews act amend. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	6	74	111	1
44	Sir John Barnard's act, etc., repeal bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	†*	64	19	3	137
45	Same, 2 R., adj. of House	No	†*	58	19	2	134
46	Church rates abol. bill, 3 R., adj. of debate		**	72	6	4	125
47	Same, 3 R., adj. of House		**	71	5	2	119
48	Royal proclamation (piety, virtue, etc.), address on revision of		††	15	63	97	12
49	Duchy of Cornwall (limitation of actions) bill, amend. to cl. 2 (adverse possession against duchy).	No	(††)	6	20	11	49
50	Paper duty repeal bill, amend. to cl. 1 (to repeal duty on license to manuf.)	No	(††)	13	46	26	100
51	Customs bill, cl. 12, amend. (retaining existing duty on boards, etc.)	No	†*	23	5	1	87

52	Foreshores, select com. to inquire into rights of Crown	No	††	47	64	70	70
53	London corp. bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	††	25	17	12	65
54	Law of property bill (Lords), that cl. 1 stand part of bill		(††)	45	32	75	18
55	Church rates abolition bill, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	9	217	226	9
56	Aggravated assaults bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	49	32	60	53
57	Fisheries (Scot.) bill, amend. to cl. 6 (appeals). (vs.)		(*†)	81	2	47	39
58	Fire insurance, leave to bring in bill to change duty on		††	39	26	45	82
59	Refreshment houses, etc., bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	††	53	151	214	42
60	(Omitted from division lists.)						
61	(Omitted from division lists.)						
62	Piers and harbors bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	73	12	26	68
63	Bleaching and dyeing works bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. from select com. (vs.)		(††)	85	65	99	82
64	Ways and means, duties on licenses to keep small refreshment houses	Aye	††	45	78	128	25
65	Same, ditto on large ones, amend. reduction. (vs.)	Aye	††	36	69	122	19
66	Refreshment houses, etc., bill, amend. (wine to be sold only in quart bottles)	No	(††)	6	23	27	67
67	Fisheries (Scot.) bill, amend. to cl. 12 (there being a tie the speaker voted "No")		*†	1	27	36	10
68	Refreshment houses, etc., bill, amend. to cl. 24 (by chan. of exch.), amend. thereto for Sunday closing.	No	††	55	20	27	97
69	Same, amend. to omit exemption of Vintners Soc. (vs.)	Aye	††	19	41	78	49
70	Same, new cl., amend. thereto (mode of granting licenses). (vs.)	Aye	*†	6	78	118	26
71	Motion against public grants to art schools using unclothed female models		(††)	20	57	13	90
72	Turnpike roads and bridges, address in favor of equitable assessment for, in lieu of tolls	No	(*†)	.....	32	12	46
73	Refreshment houses, etc., bill, amend. on granting of licenses	Aye	††	15	82	139	35
74	Bankruptcy bill, cl. 22, amend. (there being a tie the chairman voted "No")	No	††	25	23	42	45
75	Same, that cl. 22 (salaries of Comrs.) stand part of bill	Aye	(††)	46	11	72	26
76	Regium donum, motion that grant to nonconforming ministers in Ire. ought to cease	No	(*†)	1	126	57	91
77	Supply, that speaker leave chair	Aye	†*	11	99	124	9
78	Sir John Barnard's act, repeal bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	†*	33	53	148	5
79	Irremovable poor, that Lord Naas be added to select com. on	No	*†	33	3	23	54
80	Innkeepers liability bill, that chairman leave chair		††	4	17	36	17
81	Herring fisheries (Scot.) bill, that House go into com. on Tuesday	Aye	**	1	83	101	6
82	Thames embankment, that select com. on, consist of 17 members		††	6	4	4	34
83	Representation of the people bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. (inexpedient to act till census returns), adj. of debate.	No	**	221	14	27	255
84	Same, adj. of House	No	**	211	15	11	251
85	Annuity tax abolition (Edinb.) bill, amend. (title to churches to vest in Comrs.)	No	†*	36	8	4	70
86	Same, another amend. (annuity to be £5,000 instead of £4,200). (vs.)	Aye	†*	8	51	81	7
87	Same, cl. 10, amend. (tenant may deduct increased assessment from rent)	No	††	43	5	10	80
88	Mines regulation, etc., bill, cl. 1, amend. to change limit of age from 12 to 13. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	86	13	92	58
89	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	††	53	56	127	35
90	Same, cl. 2, amend. to add "not exceeding 8 hours a day"	No	(††)	22	65	55	81
91	Annuity tax abolition (Edinb.) bill, amend. (salary of ministers to be £250 instead of £200)	No	**	40	2	2	68
92	Supply, barracks, motion to omit £5,000 for gymnasiums, etc	No	(*†)	2	63	16	91
93	Anstruther Harbour bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	No	††	23	22	21	53
94	(Omitted from division lists.)						
95	(Omitted from division lists.)						

House of Commons—Divisions—1860—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
96	Aggravated assaults bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	25	73	32	101
97	Valuation of lands (Scot.), etc., bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	62	8	7	108
98	Caledonian canals bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	23	17	75	30
99	Roman Catholic charities bill, amend to cl. 2, that chairman report progress	.....	(†*)	9	12	5	54
100	Same (after amend. agreed to), that chairman report progress	.....	††	10	8	6	42
101	Same, other amends., that chairman report progress	.....	†*	6	6	3	41
102	Same, that cl. as amended stand part of bill, that chairman leave chair	.....	†*	6	6	3	41
103	Same, that cl. as amended stand part of bill, that chairman report progress	.....	†*	7	5	.....	41
104	Mines regulation, etc., bill, cl. 2, amend. ("10 hours a day")	No.....	(††)	20	31	41	48
105	Same, amend. to leave out requirement of certificate of school attendance. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	29	33	102	36
106	Same, amend. (boy employed must attend school 5 hours a week), 2d amend. (need not be on one day). (vs.)	Aye.....	††	18	42	89	42
107	Same, cl. 4, (boys not to have charge of engines) amend. ("sole" charge)	.....	(††)	42	7	90	24
108	Savings banks, etc., bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	6	51	86	14
109	Same, to postpone, cl. 1	No.....	††	34	4	15	69
110	Bankruptcy bill, res. that salaries, compensations, etc., under act be paid out of consol. fund, amend. to omit "compensations." (vs.)	Aye.....	††	28	62	70	49
111	Anstruther, etc., harbour bill, that cl. 16 stand part of bill	Aye.....	†*	22	54	120	13
112	Mines regulation, etc., bill, cl. 10 (ventilation), amend	.....	(†*)	62	9	124	9
113	Same, another amend. to add except when repairs being made	No.....	(††)	23	40	25	87
114	Municipal corps (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	2	21	59	3
115	Same, new cl. (coroners to continue in office)	.....	**	15	1	2	47
116	Tenure of land (Ire.) bill, cl. 25 (sanction of the Comrs.), amend. (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	1	70	81	9
117	Same, amend. (leases to be for 41 instead of 21 years). (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	57	9	60	36
118	Distress in Ireland, address for relief of	No.....	††	28	14	20	70
119	Locomotive bill, that chairman leave chair	.....	(††)	7	34	32	49
120	Bleaching and dyeing works bill, amend. (excepting bleaching in open air)	.....	(*†)	94	10	96	38
121	Same, amend. permitting employment of women and children between certain hours. (vs.)	.....	(††)	114	18	142	24
122	Same, 2 R. of new cl. (act not to apply to blue dyeing)	.....	(††)	17	46	38	63
123	European forces (India) bill, 2 R., 3 mos., adj. of debate	No.....	†*	62	58	21	204
124	Same, 2 R., 3 mos., adj. of House	No.....	(†*)	40	48	11	181
125	Same, 2 R., 3 mos., adj. of debate	.....	(†*)	34	39	9	151
126	Tenure of land (Ire.) bill, amend. (tenant not to make improvements prejudicial to estate). (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	80	7	60	41
127	Registration of births (Scot.) bill, that speaker report progress	No.....	(††)	3	18	9	57
128	Same, that cl. 17 (pay of registrar) as amended stand part of bill	Aye.....	††	4	13	44	18
129	European forces (India) bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	103	27	179	26
130	Army (gen. officers), select com. to inquire into claims for pay	No.....	*†	91	5	17	89
131	Same, select com. to inquire into system of nominating Cadets for Navy	No.....	(††)	7	17	17	64

132	Highways bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	††	63	68	140	52
133	Burial grounds (Ire.) bill, amend. to cl. 1, that chairman report progress		†*	11	6	5	58
134	Annuity tax abol. (Edinb.) bill, amend. to cl. 7 (application of surplus)	No	(*†)		30	11	36
135	Same, 2 R. of new cl. (choice of new minister to be vested in communicants)	No	†*	19	10	6	77
136	Tax bills, res. that House regards with jealousy, etc., rejection of tax bills by Lords, adj. of debate	No	(*†)		225	36	208
137	Same, amend. to add relating, "amongst other matters," to taxation	No	(*†)	1	214	51	155
138	Tramways (Ire.) bill, cl. 36, amend. to leave out Dublin. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	10		30	
139	Bankruptcy, etc., bill, that cl. 40 (country vacation) stand part of bill	Aye	††	10	12	26	26
140	Same, amend. to cl. 77 (registrar's substitute). (vs.)	Aye	††	20	59	87	58
141	Same, motion to go into com. on Thursday	Aye	†*	10	54	125	12
142	Registration of births, etc. (Scot.) bill, amend. ("comrs. of supply" instead of "sheriff"). (vs.)	Aye	††	6	38	75	32
143	Peace preservation (Ire.), leave to bring in bill		(†*)	2	1	16	
144	Nuisances removal bill, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	†*	2	6	33	3
145	Smithfield markets bill, motion to refer to private bill examiners		(††)	12	51	48	61
146	Roman Cath. charities bill, amend. to cl. 3 (deeds enrolled after act passed). (vs.)		††	6	40	65	9
147	Same, that chairman report progress		††	29	9	8	58
148	Bankruptcy bill, amend. to cl. 84 (abol. of office of accountant). (vs.)	Aye	††	18	27	71	10
149	Supply, that speaker leave chair	Aye	(*†)	85		113	13
150	Annuity tax abol. (Edinb.) bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	84	1	120	16
151	Registration of births (Scot.) bill, 3 R., that order for 3 R. be discharged. (vs.)	Aye	*†	3	48	92	30
152	Fisheries (Scot.) bill, Lords amend., amend. thereto		(*†)	1	42	41	57
153	Professional oaths abol. bill, that speaker report progress		†*	30	4	3	89
154	Peace preservation (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate	No	(*†)	1	17	10	43
155	Same, adj. of House	No	(*†)	1	17	8	44
156	Same, adj. of debate	No	(*†)	1	17	10	42
157	Same, adj. of House	No	(*†)		17	7	42
158	Same, main ques. put	Aye	(*†)	16		37	15
159	Tenure, etc., of land (Ire.) bill, new cl. (person authorized to lease may make binding contract for a lease).	No	(††)	6	29	13	57
160	Same, 2 R. of new cl., giving compensation for improvements made previous to act	No	(*†)	1	50	25	52
161	Poor law board continuance bill, instr. to com. that creed register be kept in workhouse, adj. of debate.	No	(††)	10	33	30	64
162	Bankruptcy, etc., bill, that cl. 132 (Govt. guarantee of funds in consols) stand part of bill	Aye	(††)	25	11	60	9
163	Same, amend (salary of former Comrs.). (vs.)	Aye	(††)	30	11	47	32
164	Refreshment houses (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	†*	23	31	113	7
165	Prisons (Scot.) bill, amend. to cl. 34. (vs.)	Aye	*†	2	41	74	14
166	Same, that cl. 51 stand part of bill	Aye	††	6	32	69	11
167	Education bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		(††)	37	41	14	81
168	National education (Ire.) address to change rules so as to avoid conscientious objections, adj. of debate.	No	†*	55	42	11	135
169	Same, main ques. put	No	(††)	43	56	19	140
170	Paper duties repeal bill, that rejection by Lords is an encroachment on rights of Commons, that ques. be now put.	No	†*	125	15	13	162
171	Volunteers (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of House	Aye	(††)	18	6	43	22
172	Metrop. local management (No. 2) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)		††	13	44	65	24
173	Same, amend. (expenses to be paid by special rate). (vs.)		*†	3	65	83	16

House of Commons—Divisions—1860—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
174	Landlord and tenant (Ire.) bill, that chairman leave chair	No	(*†)	.....	30	8	58
175	Same, that cl. 35 (waste and repairs) stand part of bill	Aye	(*†)	29	.....	60	21
176	Savings bank bill, etc., that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	*†	5	88	73	28
177	Refreshment houses (Ire.) bill, that chairman report progress	No	†*	23	12	5	67
178	Maynooth College bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	††	20	36	115	21
179	Metrop. local management bill, 3 R., 3 mos., adj. of House	.....	††	9	4	12	49
180	Supply, to omit £680 for rent of office of eccles. comn	No	(*†)	3	84	58	94
181	Supply, reduc. of approp. for furniture in public buildings	No	(††)	13	56	31	106
182	Maynooth College bill, that cl. 2 (loans from Comrs. Pub. Works) stand part of bill	Aye	††	21	24	86	19
183	Professional oaths abol. bill, that chairman report progress	.....	†*	19	4	1	55
184	Same, that chairman leave chair	.....	†*	17	3	1	54
185	Poor law board continuance bill, amend. (Board to be continued 3 years, instead of 5.) (vs.)	Aye	(††)	15	65	77	82
186	Navy (promotion, etc.), address for com. to consider	No	*†	45	3	11	86
187	Poor relief (Ire.) bill, new cl. to repeal provision that no person occupying more than one-fourth of an acre to be deemed destitute.	.....	††	17	34	67	19
188	Metrop. local management bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	1	52	22	45
189	Sale of gas bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	.....	††	2	15	26	16
190	Eccles. commission bill, that cl. 16 (Estates Comrs. to manage lands) stand part of bill	Aye	(†*)	40	37	119	4
191	Same, amend. to cl. 20 (church revenues from London to be spent there). (vs.)	Aye	(††)	63	7	75	35
192	Same, 2 R. of new cl. (increasing benefices to £100)	No	(††)	23	27	31	48
193	European forces (India) bill, instr. to com. (one-half vacancies among officers to be filled from sons of Indian officers, etc.; one-half by comp've exams.).	No	(††)	6	15	9	58
194	Clearance freight bill, new cl. on landing goods in certain cases	Aye	(††)	23	4	55	11
195	Hackney carriage (metrop.) bill, that chairman leave chair	.....	(*†)	11	1	25	11
196	Landlord and tenant (Ire.) bill, that cl. 51 (ejectment for year's rent unpaid) stand part of bill	Aye	(*†)	14	.....	43	7
197	Same, new cl. (farm buildings erected by tenant may be removed)	No	(*†)	2	22	23	49
198	Poor relief, etc. (Ire.), bill, new cl. (orphans may be maintained out of workhouse till age of 12), amend. age of 6. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	11	8	60	2
199	European forces (India) bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. (inexpedient to proceed till whole plan submitted). (vs.)	Aye	(††)	32	20	56	29
200	Eccles. comn. bill, new cl. (cler. members of comn. not to vote on increasing income of bishops)	No	(*†)	3	84	25	118
201	Same, new cl. (use of surplus income for cure of souls)	No	(††)	18	41	36	75
202	Poor relief (Ire.) bill, 3 R., that order for 3 R. be discharged. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	21	7	79	1
203	Refreshment houses (Ire.) bill, that cl. 6 (defining refreshment house) stand part of bill	Aye	††	4	10	30	14
204	Same, amend. (approval of justices of peace required for license). (vs.)	Aye	†*	5	10	57	4
205	Same, amend. to cl. 37 (to substitute sup. of excise for county treas.). (vs.)	Aye	(††)	13	7	52	14
206	Volunteer corps (Ire.), leave to bring in bill	No	(††)	5	29	25	58
207	Attorneys, etc., bill, that cl. 22 stand part of bill	.....	(††)	2	6	4	28

208	Metrop. local management bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)									7
209	Same, new cl. on limit of charge upon Chiswick, that chairman leave chair	(††)	21	6				50		67
210		(††)	29	26				17		72
211	Same, that chairman report progress	(††)	15	42				7		63
212		(**)	9	47				17		69
213	Same, 2 R. of the new cl	(**)	3	45				5		38
214	Same, new cl. on payment of expenses within districts	(*†)	1					138		87
215	Same, new cl. on payment of expenses within districts (vs.)	(**)	129	1				34		36
	Same, new cl. on payment of expenses within districts Aye	(**)	3	78				87		
	Same, new cl. on payment of expenses within districts No	(††)	35	36				51		
	Fortifications (approp. for), amend. (main defense should be navy). (vs.) Aye			13						
	Fortifications (approp. for), amend. (main defense should be navy). (vs.) No									
	Same, amend. against works on Portsdown Hill Aye									
	Same, amend. condemning dismissal of Rev. Mr. Fox by Irish poor law comrs. (vs.)	††	23	10				21		57
	Same, amend. condemning dismissal of Rev. Mr. Fox by Irish poor law comrs. (vs.) No	(††)	8	18				24		42
	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. for frescoes in corridors							43		
	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. for frescoes in corridors No	(**)	15					252		25
216	Supply, approp. for Houses of Parl., to omit item for frescoes in corridors									
217	Same, reduc. of approp. for Houses of Parl., 3 mos. (vs.)	**	14	208				83		4
218	Sale of gas bill (Lords), that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	**	3	45				4		50
219	Customs acts, res. to reduce duties on books, etc., amend. not fit at present. (vs.)	**	12	47				58		8
220	Same, adoption of res. 13 (malt duty), amend. to recommit. (vs.)	(**)	15	26				12		65
221	Union of benefices bill (Lords), that chairman leave chair	††	38	31				32		49
222	Same, that cl. 9 (eccles. comrs. to prepare a scheme) stand part of bill	††	16	15				91		28
223	Same, amend. (no church where persons buried to be sold)	(††)	52	22				72		38
224	Same, amend. (no church where persons buried to be sold) No	(**)	73	4				9		30
225	Same, amend. (no church where persons buried to be sold) Aye	(††)	6	1				21		41
226	Supply, reduc. of approp. for fences in Kensington Gardens (vs.)	(††)	10	16				10		73
227	Supply, reduc. of approp. for fences in Kensington Gardens (vs.) No	(**)	2	14				57		24
228	Fortifications bill, amend. (before proceeding House ought to know whole cost). (vs.)	(**)	30	31				59		7
229	Fortifications bill, amend. (before proceeding House ought to know whole cost). (vs.) No	(**)	3	3				49		23
230	Same, amend. to reduce amount for mails to America	††	30	22				5		13
231	Same, amend. to reduce amount for mails to America (vs.)	(††)	5	5				47		27
232	Same, reduc. of approp. for Battersea Park	(**)	24	2				27		27
233	Same, reduc. of approp. for Battersea Park (vs.)	††	17	8				11		39
234	Peace preservation (Ire.), etc., 3 mos., adj. of debate			22				13		24
235	Peace preservation (Ire.), bill, 2 R., 3 mos., adj. of debate			17				14		35
236	Same, reduc. of approp. for royal parks, etc	(**)		21				31		16
237	Same, reduc. of approp. for royal parks, etc (vs.)	(**)	1	9				10		57
238	Party emblems (Ire.) bill (Lords), 2 R., 3 mos.	(††)	10	23				8		54
239	Party emblems (Ire.) bill (Lords), 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	(**)	9	23				52		5
240	Fortifications bill, amend. to reduce amount for Portsmouth	††	5	5				11		20
241	Fortifications bill, amend. to reduce amount for Portsmouth (vs.)	(**)	8	11				30		25
242	Peace preservation (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos.	(**)	6	12				17		18
243	Same, amend. (rates for addl. constabulary may be deducted by tenant from rent)	(††)	2	19				39		14
244	Peace preservation (Ire.) bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	(**)	19	1				25		14
245	Attorneys, etc., bill (Lords), amend. (vs.)	(**)	17	1				7		24
246	Roman Cath. charities bill, that cl. 1 stand part of bill, adj. of debate	(**)		19				13		8
247	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill, adj. of House	††	15	1				17		29
248	Supply, reduc. of approp. for minister to China	††	15	12				30		32
249	Supply, approp. for eccles. comrs. for England	††		4				49		6
250	Party emblems (Ire.) bill (Lords), that speaker leave chair	(††)	6	3				31		5
251	Supply, approp. for National Portrait Gallery	**†		8				31		15
252	Same, approp. for enlarging National Gallery									

House of Commons—Divisions—1860—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
253	Same, reduc. of approp. public buildings in Ireland	No	(†*)	2	6	1	34
254	Same, approp. for So. Kensington Museum	Aye	(††)	14	5	46	16
255	Same, reduc. approp. for public buildings in Ireland. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	11		47	13
256	Party emblems (Ire.) bill (Lords), cl. 1, amend. to add "in Ireland"	Aye	††	12	14	59	7
257	Same, amend. to insert "public" before "buildings"	No	†*	23	5	5	63
258	Same, that cl. 1 as amended stand part of bill	Aye	††	5	23	54	9
259	Endowed charities bill (Lords), new cl. (power to appoint auditor)	No	(*†)		14	6	29
260	Roman Cath. charities bill, that cl. 1 stand part of bill		(*†)	23	1	47	12
261	Court of chancery bill (Lords), new cl. (chief clerk's salary)		††	14	5	24	28
262	Same, new cl. (12th clerk same salary as 11th)		††	10	8	22	28
263	Eccles. comn. bill (Lords), that House agree with a Lords amend	Aye	(*†)	11		24	18
264	Union of benefices bill (Lords), that cl. 14 (erection and sale of churches) as amended stand part of bill.		††	8	13	30	13
265	Divorce court bill (Lords), 2 R., 1 mo. (vs.)	Aye	†*	3	7	40	4

Out of 260 division lists printed, the number of cases where 10 per cent split off were 178 Conservatives, 192 Liberals. Of these, Government whips were tellers in 133, and were not tellers in 59. Cases where 10 per cent did not split off, 82 Conservatives, 68 Liberals.

Government whips were tellers in 174 out of 260 divisions.

Government tellers were defeated seven times (Nos. 2, 110, 130, 140, 176, and 185).

Majority of Liberals voted against Government tellers three times (Nos. 2, 185, and 249). Saved in No. 249 by Conservatives. Liberals evenly divided (Government tellers) three times (Nos. 52, 139, and 234).

House of Commons—Divisions—1871.

[Conservatives, 263; Liberals, 385; vacancies, 10; total, 658.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Marriage with deceased wife's sister bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	11	64	114	20
2	Supply, grant for marriage portion of Princess Louise	Aye	(**)	124	.....	226	1
3	Univ. tests bill, amend. to omit "other than a degree in divinity." (vs.)	Aye	*†	100	3	85	137
4	Same, amend. (removing religious tests for fellowships and headships.) (vs.)	Aye	*†	109	1	73	159
5	Army admins., motion to alter tenure of commander in chief so that sec. of state can avail himself of best talent in army.	No	(*†)	1	107	82	94
6	The Pope, motion to lay before House letter of premier on personal independence of the Pope	No	**	88	2	2	151
7	Ecclesiastical titles act repeal bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	5	46	132	5
8	Local taxation, motion for inquiry into incidents of imp. and local taxation, that ques. be now put.	No	**	170	1	25	240
9	Burials bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	3	147	209	2
10	Westmeath, etc., unlawful combination at, select com. to inquire into, that ques. be now put, adj. of debate.	No	†*	162	31	16	266
11	Same, prev. ques. put	Aye	(**)	146	.....	252	26
12	Same, main ques. put	Aye	*†	8	144	248	31
13	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. that engineers in India ought not to be confined to grads. of a Gov. college. (vs.)	Aye	††	3	24	43	28
14	Eccles. titles act repeal bill, to send to select com., amend. com. to inquire into operation of law. (vs.)	Aye	†*	9	10	64	.....
15	Game laws (Scot.) amend. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	4	99	81	55
16	Marriage with deceased wife's sister bill, that chairman leave chair		††	68	16	16	133
17	Same, amend. to omit words making legal past marriages. (vs.)		††	12	80	121	18
18	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. address for changes in educ. code to prevent increase of grants to denom. schools. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	108	1	123	63
19	Stamp act amend. bill, instr. to com. to amend act on bills at sight	No	**	30	1	9	83
20	Army regulation bill, 2 R., amend. against vote of money to extinguish purchase of commissions, adj. of debate.	No	**	178	2	9	282
21	Same, adj. of House	No	**	141	3	6	254
22	Same, adj. of debate	No	†*	100	23	4	215
23	Same, adj. of House	No	†*	96	13	5	107
24	Same, adj. of debate	No	**	88	7	4	201
25	Same, adj. of House	No	**	78	5	3	184
26	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. select com. on increase of monastic institutions, etc. (vs.)	Aye	†*	21	62	175	17

House of Commons—Divisions—1871—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
27	Same, another amend (no future appointment to paid colonelcy without active command). (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	113	1	91	111
28	Glasgow and S. W. Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	46	16	55	45
29	Harbors of refuge, motion for harbor at Filey	No.....	*†	74	2	15	122
30	Hypothec abolition (Scot.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	*†	1	141	104	45
31	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (while approving abolition of purchase, army can be made efficient without increasing estimates). (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	132	2	162	89
32	Same, reduc. of number of land forces	No.....	(*†)	2	143	72	161
33	Same, to omit item for "agency" in land forces	No.....	*†	2	84	85	76
34	Same, reduc. of approp. for land forces	No.....	(*†)	1	78	50	90
35	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. (to postpone transfer of Deptford dockyard to corp. of London). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	62	138	2
36	Trades unions bill, amend. (On repeal of prior acts unimportant.) (vs.)	No.....	(**)	.....	18	2	80
37	Same, cl. 3, amend. (to omit sect. punishing persistently following a person from place to place). (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	41	.....	111	21
38	Same, amend. to make it criminal for one person to picket alone. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	5	34	99	23
39	Supply, reduc. of approp. for militia pay	No.....	(*†)	1	36	15	56
40	Sir Spencer Robinson, select com. to inquire into his dismissal from the navy	No.....	**	104	6	.....	147
41	Private chapels bill, to change "minister" to "incumbent and church warden." (vs.)	.....	(†*)	12	10	29	3
42	Game laws abol. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	1	107	48	65
43	Game laws (Scot.) amend. bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	(*†)	65	2	40	35
44	Ways and means, excise on matches	Aye.....	(*†)	95	10	106	34
45	Prayer-book bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. against change preventing clergyman from reading the lessons he thinks best. (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	105	1	90	40
46	Ways and means, excise on matches, 2 R., adj. of debate	No.....	(††)	21	27	29	89
47	Same, 2 R	Aye.....	(††)	30	12	83	39
48	Pauper inmates bill, that chairman leave chair	No.....	(†*)	10	19	1	60
49	Ways and Means, that speaker leave chair, amend. against additional taxation. (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	4	190	253	40
50	Land settlement, motion that present law prevents freedom of sale	.....	*†	1	46	48	33
51	Sunday trading bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	24	12	23	68
52	Public prosecutors bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	19	58	110	31
53	(Omitted from lists.)						
54	(Omitted from lists.)						
55	Ways and means, that speaker leave chair, amend. against increasing income tax. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	238	332	12
56	Women's disability bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(††)	53	101	98	119
57	Ways and means reduc. of proposed tax on income from personal property, etc. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	2	226	292	22
58	Dog bill, that chairman report progress	No.....	†*	20	15	5	54

59	Sunday observation act repeal, leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate		*†	15	1	5	26
60	(Omitted from lists.)						
61	Upper Trent purification bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	4	106	111	41
62	Army regulation bill, that speaker leave chair, amend. value of their commissions to be returned to officers. (On abolition of purchase.) (vs.)	Aye	**	7	176	243	11
63	Same, orig. ques., adj. of debate	No	**	172	5	6	238
64	Same, adj. of House	No	**	124	4	3	219
65	Same, adj. of debate	No	**	103	4	2	203
66	Same, adj. of House	No	**	95	3	4	186
67	Same, adj. of debate	No	**	93	2	5	176
68	Established churches, motion in favor of disestablishment	No	(*†)	.....	237	89	137
69	Registration of Parl. voters bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		**	7	130	144	5
70	Charities, etc., exemption (from rates) bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate	Aye	*†	3	83	81	34
71	Army regulation bill, amend. to omit the repeal of acts on sale of offices. (vs.) (Object being to repay to officers regulation price of their commissions.)	Aye	**	3	181	257	14
72	Permissive prohib. liquor bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		††	21	106	103	90
73	Customs and income tax bill, new cl. (inc. tax to be collected half-yearly), 2 R	No	**	34	1	3	75
74	Army regulation bill, amend. (to allow "exchanges" of regiments, etc., between officers). (vs.)	Aye	**	2	136	182	10
75	Same, that cl. 2 stand, that chairman report progress	No	**	128	2	5	179
76	Protection of life, etc., in Ire. bill, 2 R., amend. (Bill not expedient). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	130	2	210	10
77	Same, 2 R	Aye	(**)	106	.....	187	11
78	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (select com. on mode of assessing income tax.) (vs.)	Aye	††	6	18	50	29
79	Army regulation bill, amend. to allow exchanges in certain cases	No	**	157	1	11	210
80	Same, that cl. 2 stand	Aye	**	3	159	205	10
81	Dogs bill, 3 R	Aye	††	21	60	76	14
82	Marriage law (Ire.), amend. bill, 3 R., adj. of debate	No	††	10	10	13	52
83	Same, 3 R., adj. of House	No	(††)	2	11	7	50
84	Univ. test bill (Lords amend. to insert "except the headship thereof"), to disagree thereto	Aye	**	8	146	247	3
85	Same, to agree with a Lords amend. on religious instruction	Aye	*†	136	1	61	164
86	Same, to agree with a Lords amend. on morning and evening prayer	Aye	*†	133	.....	96	99
87	Army regulation bill, amend. (compensation to officers at once instead of on retiring)	No	**	54	3	8	78
88	Same, amend. (verbal)	No	**	34	2	4	56
89	Same, amend. (officers to receive regulation price at once, or full price on retiring)	No	**	139	3	15	167
90	Metrop. water bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate	No	††	37	9	20	78
91	Protection of life, etc., in Ire. bill (Lords), that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	59	.....	103	7
92	Same, amend. (suspension of habeas corpus until 1872 instead of 1873). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	15	1	45	7
93	Same, amend. (to omit the clauses relating to the press)	No	(*†)	1	16	10	39
94	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. in favor of restoring Hamilton Gardens to Hyde Park. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	44	11	55	41
95	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in office of lord privy seal	Aye	(††)	25	12	48	32
96	Same, reduct. of approp. for Queen's remembrancer, etc., in Scotland	No	(††)	19	44	16	44
97	Surrey county offices bill. (Lords), 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		*†	116	2	14	96
98	Army regulation bill, amend. (value of commission to be paid where officer is invalided or dies in service).	No	**	174	3	17	256
99	Same, motion to go into committee again to-morrow, amend. (Thursday), adj. of debate	No	**	168	3	6	242
100	Same, adj. of House	No	**	148	2	6	223

House of Commons—Divisions—1871—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
101	Burials bill, that speaker leave chair, 1 mo. (vs.)	.....	**	4	100	167	.....
102	Same, amend. (to omit right to perform any religious service other than that of Church of England). (vs.)	.....	**	3	136	179	5
103	Same, amend. to omit that clergymen must use burial service of Church of England. (vs.)	.....	*†	133	6	22	136
104	Same, amend. to add (any service not according to a ritual to consist only of prayer, hymns, and scripture).	.....	**	133	1	11	145
105	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	.....	**	2	127	147	.....
106	Army regulation bill, amend. (officer resigning to receive "regulation" instead of "estimated" price of commission).	Aye.....	(*†)	145	5	140	103
107	Same, amend. (widow and children to receive regulation price of commission of officer dying in service.)	No.....	**	112	6	18	180
108	Same, amend. to similar effect	No.....	†*	14	4	2	74
109	Same, amend. (Officers may claim a compensation at once instead of the price of the commission on resigning.)	No.....	**	133	2	6	220
110	Ecclesiastical titles act repeal bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	11	75	165	16
111	Same, that chairman report progress	No.....	†*	64	10	2	158
112	Same, new clause (application of act)	No.....	†*	42	7	4	117
113	Army regulation bill, that chairman report progress	No.....	**	128	11	2	234
114	Same, that chairman report progress	No.....	**	146	4	3	239
115	Same, adj. of House	.....	†*	54	8	2	93
116	Sunday observation act repeal, leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate	.....	*†	55	1	22	60
117	Same, adj. of House	.....	**	55	.....	3	67
118	Endowed schools bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	.....	139	64	83
119	Prayer book (table of lessons) bill (Lords), that chairman leave chair	No.....	(††)	14	97	25	107
120	Same, amend. (where lesson from Apocrypha, minister may substitute other scripture.)	No.....	††	29	43	42	38
121	Same, preamble (to declare that table of lessons have been considered and approved by convocations of Canterbury-York).	No.....	†*	53	11	2	83
122	(Omitted from lists.)						
123	(Omitted from lists.)						
124	Army regulation bill, new clause (militia places for arms not to be provided by justices of peace).	No.....	*†	139	1	35	174
125	Criminal law amend. (violence, threats, etc.) bill, amend. (watching, etc., place where a man lives or works).	Aye.....	*†	4	97	93	50
126	Metrop. District Ry., separate compartments ought to be provided for smokers	No.....	(††)	35	53	39	89
127	Charities, etc., exemption bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	No.....	††	49	25	19	91
128	Harrow School, motion to disallow statute requiring governing body to be churchmen	.....	**	1	70	98	1
129	Sale of liquor on Sunday bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	30	72	117	47

130	London street tramways bill, to consider, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	29	132	147	83
131	Elections bill, instruc. to com. to redistribute seats of Beverly, etc	No.....	**	136	11	9	243
132	Tramways prov. orders confirmation bill, that chairman report progress	No.....	††	59	16	15	110
133	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (carriages to have access to Parl. by Constitution Hill). (vs.)	Aye.....	††	29	17	60	44
134	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. for select com. on ry. communication between Mediterranean, Black Sea, and Persian Gulf.	.....	(*†)	34	.....	52	10
135	Tramways prov. orders conf. bill, amend. to omit all those relating to London. (vs.)	Aye.....	††	11	75	94	41
136	Sale of liquor on Sunday bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	††	10	41	41	28
137	(Omitted from lists.)						
138	(Omitted from lists.)						
139	Elections bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos., adj. of House	No.....	**	213	10	5	330
140	Same, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	6	226	318	4
141	Army regulation bill, amend. to omit cl. 9 (enlistment in militia to be voluntary). (vs.)	Aye.....	(†*)	53	20	159	10
142	Wesleyan Society of Ire. bill, amend. to omit the schedule. (vs.)	.....	(*†)	19	1	18	7
143	Army regulation bill, 3 R., amend, (that as bill will entail large expense, House awaits mature scheme of army reform.) (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	220	286	11
144	East India, motion for select com. on whether treaties with Nawab of Bengal faithfully observed by E. I. Co.	No.....	††	24	43	40	78
145	University tests, that House go into com. to abolish tests in Trinity College, Dublin, adj. of debate.	.....	(*†)	2	36	12	67
146	Land rights and deeds (Scot.) bill, adj. of debate	Aye.....	*†	1	10	25	10
147	Church rates abolition (Scot.) bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	.....	69	121	7
148	Elections bill, that chairman leave chair	No.....	**	63	3	.....	151
149	Same, amend. (nominations for Parl. to be made as heretofore.) (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	52	100	244	13
150	Royal parks and gardens bill, 2 R	Aye.....	*†	2	39	53	10
151	Elections bill, amend. (to omit the subsections abolishing public nominations). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	42	85	193	10
152	Same, amend. (nomination papers must be countersigned by candidate)	No.....	†*	110	14	2	184
153	Adjournment of House, to draw attention to illegality of lawyers sitting as Knights of the Shire.	No.....	(†*)	13	69	.....	167
154	Elections bill, amend. to substitute proposer and seconder for ten subscribing electors, to nomination paper.	No.....	†*	49	27	11	155
155	Same, that cl. 3 be postponed	No.....	**	131	5	3	206
156	Same, amend. (cl. 3, on mode of polling, apply only in boroughs)	No.....	**	141	5	1	235
157	Chain cables and anchors bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	No.....	††	36	53	12	95
158	Elections bill, amend. (polls to be open from 8 a. m. to 8 p. m.)	No.....	(*†)	4	109	56	130
159	Same, amend. (votes to be given as heretofore)	No.....	**	155	5	3	229
160	Same, amend. (polls to be open from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.; 2d amend. 6 a. m.) (vs.)	.....	(†*)	112	33	211	24
161	Same, orig. amend	No.....	(*†)	23	122	43	182
162	Admiralty, motion to discontinue the board	No.....	††	9	30	21	80
163	Elections bill, amend. (vote by ballot optional with voter). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	5	164	248	2
164	Same, amend. (ballots to be by cards instead of papers). (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	16	120	160	46
165	New mint building site bill, that chairman leave chair	No.....	††	75	9	42	86
166	Elections bill, amend. (each ballot to have a mark and counterfoil)	No.....	**	115	4	2	197
167	Supply, approp. for public educ. in Ireland, that chairman report progress	No.....	**	41	.....	3	68
168	Same, orig. approp	Aye.....	**	2	24	61	2
169	Elections bill, amend. (to omit that names of candidates be in alphabetical order on ballot). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	16	70	.....

House of Commons—Divisions—1871—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
170	Same, amend. (numbers to be printed opposite names on ballot)	.....	*†	4	40	85	15
171	Same, amend. (squares opposite names to be printed in colors of candidate)	No.....	**	116	2	6	185
172	Same, amend. (to omit provision for secret compartments in every polling station). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	5	142	215	1
173	Same, amend. (to omit provision for one compartment to every 150 voters). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	8	114	212	1
174	Same, amend. (construction of ballot box to be approved by candidates)	No.....	**	42	1	1	93
175	Same, amend. (box to be according to form in the schedule)	No.....	**	45	3	1	103
176	Same, amend. (to omit provision requiring ballots to be stamped by returning officer). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	82	164	4
177	Same, amend. (to substitute home sec. for returning officer). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	108	182	4
178	Same, amend. (device on stamp never to be used again). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	38	81	200	2
179	Same, amend. (voter whose identity is doubted by presiding officer must sign his name subject to penalty for forgery).	No.....	**	108	4	6	171
180	Same, amend. (ballot box to be inspected five minutes, instead of fifteen, before polling). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	12	67	166	.....
181	Registration of voters (No. 2) bill, that clause 7 (examination of claims by registrar) stand part of bill.	.....	**	4	43	70	4
182	Same, that clause 16 (who may be appointed registrar) stand part of bill	.....	†*	22	48	92	3
183	Elections bill, amend. (name and qualifications of voter to be publicly called)	No.....	†*	17	5	.....	75
184	Same, amend. (returning officer to mark ballot with initials instead of stamping it). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	3	13	72	.....
185	Same, amend. (to omit that voting must be done in secret compartment). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	3	45	115	.....
186	Same, amend. (returning officer to mark ballot for voter if requested by him)	No.....	**	145	1	3	230
187	Same, amend. (to omit ballot to be folded "so as to show the stamp or mark on its back"). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	6	32	95	.....
188	Same, amend. (ballot to be put into box by presiding officer instead of by voter). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	5	45	123	.....
189	Same, amend. (presiding officer to set aside for further inquiry ballots marked under clause 4), 2d amend. (returning instead of presiding officer). (vs.)	.....	(††)	47	25	95	16
190	Same, orig. amend	No.....	†*	72	17	1	160
191	Same, amend. (to leave out pres. officer to count votes in presence of agents of candidates). (vs.)	No.....	**	90	5	1	171
192	Same, amend. (pres. officer to deliver ballot box unopened to returning officer), 2d amend. (to omit unopened). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	6	102	210	2
193	Same, amend. (to omit provision that ballots not stamped not to be counted). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	11	73	184	.....
194	Municipal corporations (Ire.) bill, to go into committee on Friday next, adj. of debate	.....	†*	5	24	48	.....
195	Elections bill, amend. (ballots in all ballot boxes to be counted, recounted, and then mixed together).	Aye.....	**	.....	28	81	.....
196	Same, amend. (any voter may tender his vote openly)	No.....	**	23	2	.....	71
197	Same, that cl. 3 stand part of the bill	Aye.....	**	5	125	209	2
198	Local govt. board bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of House	No.....	†*	44	25	12	115
199	Elections bill, amend. (every polling station to be a separate room or booth). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	2	78	159	.....
200	Same, amend. (to same effect). (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	15	62	142	.....
201	Sunday observance prosecutions bill, 2 R. of clause (prosecution on complaint of 20 householders).	No.....	††	15	7	11	53

202	Same, 2 R. of new clause (any prosecution with consent of justice of the peace or magistrate)	Aye	(*†)	23	2	41	22
203	Same, amend. to clause (to omit justice of the peace). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	24	1	44	16
204	Same, another amend. (clause not to extend to metrop. police district)	No	(*†)	1	24	11	48
205	Same, amend. (to omit that act shall not prevent conviction by justice of the peace on his own view). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	20	2	35	27
206	Weights and measures bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)		††	24	40	53	42
207	Elections bill, amend. (to omit provision that returning officer shall not vote except in case of a tie). (vs.)	Aye	†*	5	32	81	.....
208	Same, amend. (returning officer not to vote at all). (vs.)	Aye	†*	8	18	71	2
209	Same, amend. (illiterate as well as blind voters may get assistance)	No	**	59	1	5	112
210	Same, amend. (account of ballot papers to include those spoiled, unused, etc.)	No	**	79	4	.....	155
211	Same, another similar amend.	No	**	100	2	2	162
212	Same, amend. that clause 9 (suppl. provisions about voting) stand part of bill	Aye	**	9	86	170	.....
213	Same, amend. (no clergyman to be election officer)	No	*†	83	6	15	128
214	Local government board bill, that chairman leave chair	No	(†*)	13	34	7	108
215	Same, that chairman report progress	No	†*	16	14	5	75
216	Same, that chairman report progress	No	††	20	6	12	62
217	Elections bill, amend. (list of voters to be posted in some public place)	No	†*	39	11	.....	107
218	Same, amend. (to enable seamen, etc., to vote between nomination and election days)	No	**	87	2	8	147
219	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (demand for copies of evidence against Constable McKinley, of Limerick). (vs.)	Aye	††	16	2	42	7
220	Same, reduc. of approp. for embassies abroad	No	(*†)	1	24	19	44
221	Local govt. board bill, that chairman report progress	No	(†*)	6	13	1	48
222	Municipal corps bill, that speaker leave chair, 3 mos., adj. of debate		†*	7	4	.....	27
223	Prince Arthur, reduc. of annuity for	No	(*†)	1	140	50	149
224	Same, annuity, originally proposed	Aye	(**)	129	1	147	10
225	Elections bill, amend. (returning officers' expenses to be paid by candidates). (vs.)	Aye	*†	1	188	159	68
226	Epping Forest bill, amend., John Locke to be a commissioner instead of Mr. Watlington. (vs.)	Aye	*†	84	9	53	66
227	Elections bill, amend. (votes not to be stricken out because of action by strangers on behalf of the candidate). (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	47	93	1
228	Same, amend. (to leave out provisions against treating voters). (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	42	33	127	2
229	Same, that clause 22 stand part of the bill	Aye	**	6	90	152	1
230	Same, amend. (election to be set aside only on account of acts of candidate, his agent, or other person authorized by him). (vs.)	Aye	†*	20	77	164	5
231	Same, that clause 26 stand part of the bill	No	†*	71	24	13	157
232	Same, amend. (to omit provision forbidding election committee meetings in public houses). (vs.)		(*†)	7	83	76	81
233	Same, amend. (no room in public house to be hired "or used" for such purpose)	Aye	†*	15	78	148	10
234	Same, amend. (such meetings not to be held even where candidate is present). (vs.)	No	**	81	1	12	127
235	Same, that clause 27 stand part of bill	Aye	**	1	80	113	12
236	Same, amend. (to omit penalty on voter who "offers" to vote fraudulently). (vs.)	Aye	†*	21	36	111	1
237	Same, new clause. (division of counties into polling districts so that no voter more than 4 miles from poll), amend. 3 miles. (vs.)	Aye	**	5	77	154	6
238	Same, amend. (no district with less than 150 (instead of 100) voters). (vs.)	Aye	**	4	88	154	1
239	Same, new clause (schoolhouses may be used for voting without consent of school authorities)		†*	35	43	154	.....
240	Same, new clause (on polling districts in Ireland)	No	*†	55	2	14	107
241	Same, new clause (nonresident voters may vote by mail)	No	**	35	1	.....	94

House of Commons—Divisions—1871—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
242	Same, new clause (to forbid payment to canvassers)	No	††	8	34	59	60
243	Same, new clause (no evidence allowed on who a ballot was cast for)		**	1	50	130	4
244	Customs and inland revenue bill, license not required for a working cart, though used to go to church on Sunday.	No	*†	18		21	43
245	Same, exemption of certain houses from duty	No	(†*)	3	14	6	56
246	Elections bill, that clause 26 stand part of the bill	Aye	**		24	71	6
247	Merchants shipping bill, copy of record to be handed to master	No	*†	39	2	13	52
248	Same, amend. (inspection to extend to Gov. ships). (vs.)	Aye	†*	5	26	52	1
249	Epping forest bill, 3 R., to recommit. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	9	6	36	8
250	Metrop. water bill (No. 2.) (to leave out part of cl. 38). (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	12	2	30	3
251	Army regulation bill (Lords amends), to defer consideration. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	69	140	14
252	Turnpike acts continuance bill, new clause (repeal of certain statutes)	Aye	**		36	56	4
253	Same, new clause (discontinuing local act for Amesbury)	No	*†	25	2	15	37
254	Same (to add in schedule act about a road in Salop)	No	††	16	13	9	40
255	Same, amend. (to change 1873 to 1872 in the schedule). (vs.)	Aye	††	6	16	37	5
256	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (to permit British subjects to wear foreign decoration under Geneva convention). (vs.)	Aye	*†	1	21	46	27
257	Same, amend. put	No	*†	22	2	19	50
258	Same, reduc. of approp. for control establishment	No	(††)	8	19	36	37
259	Same, reduc. of approp. for clothing establishment	No	(††)	4	22	23	51
260	Same, reduc. of approp. for miscellaneous services	No	(*†)	1	14	12	42
261	Same, reduc. of approp. for salaries, etc., in war office	No	(††)	2	15	10	42
262	Same, amend. to omit item for purchase of land for prisons	No	†*	6	1	3	42
263	Vaccination bill, that clause 10 (penalties) stand part of the bill	Aye	†*	1	9	56	3
264	Glebe loan (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 1 mo. (vs.)	Aye	††	3	15	51	19
265	Customs and inland revenue bill, new cl. (license not required for a working cart, though used to go to church on Sunday.)	No	*†	18	0	23	42
266	Sunday observance prosecutions bill, to consider Lords amends., 1 mo. (vs.)	Aye	†*	4	5	44	
267	Landlord and tenant (Ire.) bill (Lords), new clause. (agreement by tenants to pay increased rent).	No	(*†)		9	4	28
268	Pauper inmates bill (Lords), that clause 9 (care of vagrants) stand part of bill	Aye	*†		15	39	10
269	Customs and inland revenue bill, 3 R., to recommit. (vs.)	Aye	*†		15	45	14
270	Phoenix Park meeting, motion for inquiry into dispersing of	No	(††)	2	11	21	64

Out of the 263 divisions in this list the number of cases where 10 per cent split off were 100 Conservatives, 114 Liberals. Of these the Gov. whips were tellers in 85, and were not tellers in 29. The number of cases where 10 per cent did not split off were, 163 Conservatives, 149 Liberals.

The Gov. whips were tellers in 216 out of these 263 divisions. They were defeated 9 times (Nos. 13, 53, 70, 125, 135, 165, 225, 253, and 256, one of these being Div. No. 53, not on these lists.) A majority of the Liberals voted against them 8 times. (Nos. 3, 4, 27, 33, 85, 86, 120, and 226.)

House of Commons—Divisions—1881.

[Conservatives, 242; Liberals, 337; Home Rulers, 60; vacancies, 13; total, 652.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Adjournment of House (to discuss the forbidding of a meeting in Fermanagh).	No	(**)		94		206	38	1
2	Married women's property (Scot.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate		(**)	71		158	1		33
3	Address, amend. against suspending constitutional rights of Irish	No	(**)		169	8	266	49	
4	Same, another amend. against ejectment in Ireland, adj. of debate	No	(**)		72		150	40	1
5	Same, orig. amend	No	(**)		50		151	37	
6	Same, amend. urging assimilation of borough franchise in Ireland to that of England.	No	(**)		87		186	36	1
7	Same, amend. (guaranty to Irish of const. right of public meeting.)	No	(**)		30	1	142	33	1
8	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (annexation of Transvaal not justified) (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	37		91	13	1	20
9	Business of House, that Irish coercion bills have precedence, amend. to proceed to orders of day, that Biggar be suspended.	Aye	(**)	38		122			30
10	Same, orig. amend., adj. of debate	No	(**)		84		184	35	1
11	Same, adj. of House	No	(**)		86		181	36	3
12	Same, adj. of debate	No	(**)		54	2	104	24	1
13	Same, adj. of House	No	(**)		33		92	23	
14	Same, original ques. put	Aye	(**)	79		171	3	1	32
15	Protection of person and prop. (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, amend. (land legislation to have precedence), adj. of debate.	No	(**)		40		107	27	
16	Same, adj. of House	No	(**)		81	1	143	20	1
17	Same, adj. of debate	No	(**)		41		122	23	
18	Same, adj. of House	No	(**)		71		125	23	1
19	Same, Speaker refused to allow further debate on dilatory motions and put ques. on amend. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	25		139	2		17
20	Adj. of House	No	(**)		88	4	189	40	1
21	That Mr. Dillon be suspended	Aye	(**)	146		246	3	3	30
22	That Mr. Parnell be suspended	Aye	(**)	150		253		3	7
23	That Mr. Finigan be suspended	Aye	(**)	150		252		3	4
24	That 28 others be suspended	Aye	(**)	148		259	2	3	4
25	That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended	Aye	(**)	98		210		3	3
26	Business of the House, closure rule proposed, adj. of House	No	(**)	8	138	9	229	12	4
27	Same, amend. (maj. must be not less than 300), 2d amend. (maj. in a House of 300). (vs.)	No	(**)	139	2	2	225	11	5
28	Protection of persons and property (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate	No	(**)		159	2	262	44	
29	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	130		229	10		46

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
30	Same, cl. 1, amend. requiring affidavit of two witnesses	No	(*†)	.....	39	21	110	39	.....
31	Judicial officer, address against abolition of chief justice of common pleas and chief baron of exch.	No	**	100	3	5	158	5	17
32	Protection of persons and property (Ire.) bill, cl. 1, amend. to change "suspected" to "believed." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	100	2	169	17	.....	39
33	Same, amend. (act not to be retroactive). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	46	.....	147	15	.....	46
34	Same, amend. (act to apply to offences after Feb. 1, 1881). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	60	.....	158	14	.....	49
35	Same, amend. to omit "high treason." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	67	.....	158	5	.....	44
36	Same, amend. to omit "wherever." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	86	.....	148	9	.....	36
37	Same, amend. (act to apply only to crimes under existing statutes)	No	(**)	.....	72	7	149	38	.....
38	Same, amend. (enumerating crimes). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	13	.....	100	7	.....	33
39	Same, amend. to add after "violence," "against the person"	No	(**)	.....	22	7	106	35	.....
40	Same, amend. to omit "exciting to violence, etc.," that chairman report progress.	No	(**)	.....	51	.....	163	30	.....
41	Same, amend. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	68	.....	169	8	.....	40
42	Same, amend. to add "provided that such person is in Ireland of his own free will."	No	(*†)	.....	45	23	125	34	.....
43	Sea fisheries bill, 2 R	Aye	(**)	15	.....	71	.....	11	5
44	Protection of persons and property (Ire.) bill, amend. (suspected person to have chance of explanation before Lord Lieut. or Chief Sec.).	No	(**)	.....	92	15	182	41	.....
45	Same, amend. (change "without bail" to "with bail"). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	26	.....	115	6	.....	38
46	Same, amend. (except in treason and felony, warrant to specify crime)	No	(*†)	1	74	49	146	46	.....
47	Same, amend. (persons arrested to have copy of warrant)	No	(*†)	4	74	29	148	46	.....
48	Same, amend. to omit that warrant to be conclusive evidence, that chairman report progress.	No	(**)	.....	50	3	162	35	.....
49	Same, orig. amend. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	27	13	100	6	.....	24
50	Same, amend. (each prisoner to have proper room)	No	(**)	.....	107	13	203	38	.....
51	Same, amend. (prisoner to see visitors)	No	(**)	.....	102	5	192	37	.....
52	Same, amend. (rules for prisoners to be made by Lord Lieut. and laid before Parl.).	Aye	(**)	87	.....	194	.....	3	22
53	Same, another amend. (list to show date of arrest, residence, etc.)	No	(**)	.....	85	2	176	39	.....
54	Same, amend. (list of complaints by prisoners to be laid before Parl.)	No	(**)	.....	70	1	172	33	.....
55	Same, amend. (power to proclaim a district to vest only in Lord Lieut.) (vs.).	Aye	(**)	56	.....	147	1	.....	34
56	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	121	.....	181	5	.....	39
57	Same, cl. 2, amend. (Lord Lieut. to report grounds of arrest)	No	(*†)	1	23	12	93	37	.....
58	Same, amend. to omit power of Lord Lieut. to prescribe forms of warrants. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	17	.....	97	1	.....	38
59	Same, amend. (act to apply only to adult men)	No	(**)	.....	70	10	160	39	.....
60	Same, amend. (no person to be arrested at night)	No	(**)	.....	45	.....	127	36	.....
61	Same, that cl. 2 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	42	.....	130	.....	.....	36

62	Same, that at 12 this day the remaining clauses of the bill be put forthwith	Aye	(**)	137	12	276	11	2	40
63	Same, amend. (act to expire Mar. 31 instead of Sep. 30, 1882). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	57	1	154	28		39
64	Same, amend. (to expire 1881, instead of 1882). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	38		124	9		39
65	Same, that cl. 3 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	50		149	8		39
66	Same, new cl. (certificate of dismissal on liberation)	No	(**)		71	6	187	40	
67	Same, new cl. (threats by Govt. officials)	No	(**)		138	5	254	38	
68	Same, that chairman report bill to House	Aye	(**)	131		246	5		42
69	Same, that chairman leave the chair	Aye	(**)	107		216		1	32
70	Same, to consider the bill, amend. "Monday next." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	87		200	2		31
71	Same, new cl. (warrant to issue only on affidavit)	No	(**)		120	9	197	34	
72	Same, amend. (act to apply to acts committed after Sep. 30, 1880, 2d amend. Jan. 31, 1881). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	42		122	10		32
73	Same, amend. to leave out "treason felony." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	21		105	2		31
74	Same, amend. to leave out "treasonable practices." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	37		128			29
75	Same, amend. (act not to apply to publications punishable at common law)	No	(**)		75	4	175	41	
76	Same, amend. to add "provided such person is in Ireland of his own free will"	No	(**)		77	8	167	39	
77	Same, amend. (warrant to state crime), 2d amend. "with particulars of time and place," adj. of debate.	No	(**)		48	2	117	32	
78	Same, 2 amend. put	No	(**)		48	2	116	31	
79	Same, amend. on permitting prisoners to associate together	No	(**)		39	4	115	26	
80	Same, amend. in favor of lenient prison treatment		(**)		82	7	187	37	
81	Same, amend. (prison rules to be laid before Parl. within 7, instead of 14, days). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	90		186	2		34
82	Same, amend. (list laid before Parl. to contain place and time of arrest)	No	(**)		92	3	189	36	
83	Same, amend. (list to show date of arrest, period of detention, etc.)	No	(**)		107	2	195	34	
84	Same, that all pending amends. be put at 7 o'clock this day	Aye	(**)	123	11	248	6		36
85	Same, amend. case of prisoners to be reconsidered every three months, 2d amend. thereto.	No	(**)		127	5	209	36	
86	Same, another 2d amend. thereto. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	104		178	3		36
87	Same, another 2d amend. (decision to be laid before Parl.)	No	(**)		81	3	149	35	
88	Same, amend. cl. 1 (public meetings free unless previously forbidden)	No	(**)		70	3	135	34	
89	Same, another Irish amend. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	64		137	2		33
90	Same, amend. to omit "by and with advice of the privy council in Ireland." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	60		139	2		32
91	Same, amend. to omit power to change form of warrants. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	60		142	2		35
92	Same, amend. (act to apply only to adult men)	No	(**)		58	2	132	32	
93	Same, amend. to change Sep. 30 to Jan. 1. (See No. 72.) (vs.)	Aye	(**)	57		138	4		34
94	Same, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	118		203	9		42
95	Same, 3 R	Aye	(**)	107		196	6		40
96	Same, that bill do pass, that ques. be now put	Aye	(**)	93		189	1		31
97	Same, that bill do pass	Aye	(**)	96		185	2		34
98	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. condemning refusal of Irish magistrates to accept bail. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	14		71		1	18
99	Public business (urgency), motion that peace preservation (Ire.) bill is urgent.	Aye	(**)	165		230	10	1	27
100	Peace preservation (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate	No	(**)		79		125	23	
101	Same, that ques. be now put	Aye	(**)	77		123			23
102	Same, original ques	Aye	(**)	74		122	1		26

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
103	Same, 1 R	Aye	(**)	65		123	1		26
104	India office (sale of superfluous land) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	(**)		18		60	11	
105	Same, adj. of House	No	(**)		18		57	8	
106	Peace preservation (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos., that Mr. Healey be suspended. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	81		151		1	16
107	Same, adj. of debate	Aye	(**)	81	6	189		7	22
108	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	23		120	2		35
109	Same, 2 R	Aye	(**)	24		121	3	1	31
110	Same, cl. 1, amend. (prohibition to carry arms not to apply to justices of the peace, etc.). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	105		188	2		26
111	Same, amend. (not to apply within a man's own land)	No	(**)		61	3	156	28	
112	Same, amend. (licenses for arms to be granted by court)	No	(**)		14		108	27	
113	Same, amend. (arrests to be made only with warrant). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	13		103	2		32
114	Same, amend. (arrest without warrant only for carrying arms at night)	No	(**)		32	3	129	33	
115	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	47		125	2		28
116	Bills of sale bill, 2 R., adj. of debate		†*	16	12	3	70		11
117	Peace preservation (Ire.) bill, cl. 2, amend. to omit that proclamation shall set forth conditions for carrying arms. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	110		187	3		29
118	Same, that cl. 2 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	91		179	1		27
119	Same, cl. 3, amend. to omit "ammunition." (vs.)	Aye	(**)	13		93			26
120	Same, another amend., that O'Donnell be suspended	Aye	(**)	17		110	2		27
121	Same, com. reported this to House and motion in House that O'Donnell be suspended.	Aye	(**)	23	1	122	4		29
122	Same, that cl. 3 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	39		142	2		31
123	Same, that cl. 4 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	48		150	2		30
124	Same, cl. 5, amend. to reduce penalty from £20 to £5. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	78		169	6		32
125	Same, amend. (prisoners to be 1st class misdemeanants). (vs.)	No	(*†)		70	19	124	28	
126	Same, amend. (appeal to be allowed)	No	(*†)		33	14	90	22	
127	Same, that remaining clauses of bill be put this day at 3 oclock	Aye	(**)	47		206	2		17
128	Same, cl. 5, amend. (two divisional justices instead of one). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	46		157	2		22
129	Same, amend. (right of trial by jury)	No	(**)		85	6	188	30	
130	Same, that cl. 5 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	88		183	3		34
131	Same, cl. 6, amend. to omit sword, cutlass, pike, etc	Aye	(**)	94		184	2		30
132	Same, amend. (act not to apply to useless weapons)	No	(**)		98	4	162	32	
133	Same, amend. to omit nitroglycerine, etc. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	95		166	3		29
134	Same, that cl. 6 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	95		159	3		36
135	Same, that cl. 7 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	88		164	2		32
136	Same, amend. (act to expire Sep. 30, 1882, instead of June 1, 1886). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	90	3	132	21		36

137	Same, that cl. 8 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	93	2	151	6		35
138	Same, new cl. (register of licenses to be kept)	No	(**)		97	7	159	31	
139	Same, that chairman report the bill	Aye	(**)	99		168	4		30
140	Same, that chairman leave chair	Aye	(**)	101		176			26
141	Same, that new clauses and amends. be put at 10 o'clock this day	Aye	(**)	112	1	235	2		28
142	Same, new cl. (register of licenses to be kept)	No	(††)	2	14	4	76	31	
143	Same, new cl. (prisoners to be 1st class misdemeanants)	No	(**)		65	7	136	32	
144	Same, amend. (two divisional justices instead of one). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	88		177	2		32
145	Same, amend. (right of trial by jury)	No	(**)		87	3	180	35	
146	Same, amend. to define "proclaimed" district	No	(**)		92	4	176	34	
147	Same, amend. to omit sword, cutlass, etc. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	98		177	2		35
148	Same, amend. (act not to apply to useless weapons)	No	(**)		99	2	174	34	
149	Same, amend. to omit nitroglycerine, etc. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	102		169			32
150	Same, amend. (act to expire Sep. 30, 1882, instead of June 1st, 1886). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	89	1	156	4		33
151	Same, amend. (act to expire June 1st, 1884)	No	(††)	9	69	12	139	36	
152	Same, 3 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	80		175	4		33
153	Same, 3 R	Aye	(**)	77		173	4		26
154	Same, that bill do pass	Aye	(**)	73		163	3		25
155	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (desirable to protect ancient monuments). (vs.)	Aye	††	4	33	54	40		9
156	Business of the House (urgency), that approps. are urgent	Aye	**	3	200	286	1	10	11
157	Sea fisheries bill, amend. to add "fishing banks"	No	††	23	8	16	71	2	4
158	Same, amend. to include herring spawning beds	No	††	24	6	23	56		3
159	Railways, instr. to ry. com. to inquire into regulations of board of trade	No	††	4	2	6	22		2
160	Supply, reduc. of approp. for criminal prosecutions in Ireland	No	(**)	2	36	1	117	21	1
161	Same, approp. for Irish constabulary	Aye	(**)	53		132	3	4	17
162	Maintenance of children bill, 2 R, that debate be adjourned		(**)	66		4	132	1	10
163	Supply, approp. for additional army stores	Aye	(**)	21		85		3	8
164	Same, approp. for transport services in Transvaal war	Aye	(**)	11		71	1	2	11
165	Same, reduc. of approp. for Royal parks	No	(*†)		41	27	103	7	6
166	Great Nor. (Scot.) Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(†*)	74	22	144	12	9	2
167	Foot-and-mouth disease, motion to prevent importation of	No	**	136	4	8	193	3	9
168	Sligo borough reenfranchisement bill, 2 R	No	(**)	5	68	7	112	20	
169	Afganistan, motion against withdrawal of troops from	No	**	211		3	304	2	32
170	Maintenance of roads, motion to amend highway act, amend. especially in relation to main roads. (vs.)		**	134		10	152	1	7
171	Coinage, motion for decimal system, amend. to appoint select com. upon	No	(*†)	2	33	24	72	4	3
172	Guilford, Kingston and London Ry. bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		(††)	87	25	165	22	23	2
173	Army discipline (ann.) bill, new cl. (prohib. of intox. liquors)	No	(*†)	2	53	27	93	5	10
174	Rivers conservancy bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	**	30		3	74	4	2
175	Same, adj. of House	No	**	27			69	4	2
176	Agricultural holdings bill, 2 R., adj. of debate		(†*)	15	3	36		4	
177	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (desirable to restrain sale of spurious butter). (vs.)	Aye	*†		34	76	10	1	17
178	Army discip. (ann.) bill, that cl. 3 (prices of billiting) stand part of bill	Aye	†*	16	38	140	2	7	8
179	Same, amend., to omit power of sec. of state to make rules. (vs.)	Aye	**		59	125	1	8	3

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
180	Same, amend. (on punishment by personal restraint), adj. of debate	No	**	19	1	.....	97	3	2
181	Rivers conservancy bill, 2 R., 6 mos., adj. of debate	No	**	42	2	4	112	5	4
182	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	†*	9	32	105	8	6	2
183	Church patronage bill, 2 R., amend. (inexpedient to give legal sanction to sale of benefices), adj. of debate.	.....	(*†)	.....	32	24	29	1	1
184	Same, adj. of House	.....	*†	.....	32	24	24	1	1
185	Agricultural tenants compensation bill, that speaker leave chair, that bill be sent to select com., adj. of debate.	Aye	**	.....	23	37	2	2	.....
186	Married women's prop. (Scot.) bill, to consider	.....	†*	9	18	55	2	5	.....
187	Parl. oath of Mr. Bradlaugh, that he be not permitted to take the oath, amend. that House will not interfere with his going through the formalities of the oath. (vs.)	.....	**	184	.....	14	171	9	4
188	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. condemning war and annexation caused by representatives of this country without authority from central Gov. (vs.)	Aye	*†	22	.....	51	55	.....	10
189	Orders of the day, to postpone (except land law bill) to Parl. oaths bill, adj. of House.	No	(†*)	44	93	.....	200	1	25
190	Land law (Ire.) bill, 2 R., amend. condemning policy of bill, adj. of debate	Aye	(**)	84	5	175	3	4	29
191	Alkali works bill, cl. 3, amend. (on per cent of gas to be condensed), that chairman report progress.	No	(**)	1	33	.....	97	13	3
192	Coroners' (Ire.) bill, that com. have power to send for persons, papers, etc.	No	(†*)	3	18	2	57	11	1
193	Sale of liquors (Wales) bill, 2 R.	.....	(†*)	16	13	137	1	10	4
194	Vote of thanks to commander in Afghanistan, amend. disapproving of Afghan war. (vs.)	Aye	(**)	128	.....	163	2	13	20
195	Parl. oaths bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate till Tuesday at 2, amend. to omit "2." (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	100	124	1	4	21
196	Same, adj. of debate	No	**	97	.....	.....	120	18	8
197	Same, adj. of House	No	**	83	.....	.....	114	17	8
198	Monument to Beaconsfield, address for, that chairman leave chair	No	(*†)	.....	202	39	165	15	13
199	Parl. oaths bill, adj. of debate	No	**	160	.....	2	195	20	7
200	New standing order (local authority to have locus standi against gas and water bills), amend. "against any matter contained in such bill."	.....	(††)	26	111	28	171	5	29
201	Clerical disabilities bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	*†	4	61	82	39	15	10
202	Newspapers libel bill, cl. 1, amend. (public meeting to mean where reporters admitted).	.....	(††)	1	7	5	28	7	5
203	Local courts of bankruptcy (Ire.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	No	(†*)	2	7	2	45	7	5
204	Adjournment of House (to discuss proclaiming of Queens County)	No	(**)	1	122	1	190	22	5

205	Land law (Ire.) bill, 2 R., amend. condemning policy of bill. (vs.)	Aye	**	14	175	313	1	25	.....
206	Adjournment of House (to discuss arrest of Father Sheehy)	No	(**)	1	33	3	97	30	.....
207	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. to restrain liquor selling in Ireland on Saturday. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	10	8	25	18	14	7
208	Customs revenue bill, cl. 15, amend. to exempt from brewing licenses farmers paying £20 rent. (vs.)	Aye	†*	12	28	122	2	9	5
209	Land tax comrs. bill, that speaker leave chair, adj. of debate	No	(**)	.....	11	.....	68	13	1
210	Same, orig. ques. put	Aye	(**)	11	.....	67	.....	1	3
211	Same, to postpone preamble, that chairman report progress	No	(**)	.....	10	.....	67	11	2
212	Same, that chairman leave chair	No	(**)	.....	10	.....	67	11	.....
213	Committees, not to sit 'till 2, Ascension Day	Aye	*†	16	.....	31	40	11	2
214	Alkali works bill, cl. 15 (facilities for inspection), amend. that chairman report progress.	No	†*	13	11	.....	93	8	4
215	Same, that chairman leave chair	No	†*	13	10	.....	91	9	3
216	Land law (Ire.) bill to postpone cl. 1 till after clauses 31–43	No	(**)	149	.....	12	215	2	31
217	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. that select com. be appointed to inquire into representation of whole electoral body. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	26	3	72	21	4	16
218	Supply, approp. for provisions, etc., for army, that chairman report progress	No	(†*)	2	17	.....	52	7	6
219	Same, that chairman leave chair	No	(**)	1	13	.....	50	6	4
220	Same, that chairman report progress	No	(**)	1	10	.....	43	8	4
221	Great Nor. (Scot.) Ry. bill, that bill be considered, amend. to postpone pending inquiry into railway rates. (vs.)	.....	(††)	59	55	113	56	3	22
222	Supply, civil-service estimates, that chairman report progress	No	(**)	.....	46	.....	138	20	1
223	Adjournment, that House on rising adj. till Thursday	.....	*†	149	2	68	112	29	7
224	Land law (Ire.) bill, cl. 1, amend. limiting right of sale to tenancies not exceeding annual value of £30, 2d amend., £50.	No	**	138	1	2	202	.....	40
225	Same, cl. 1, amend. to omit that tenant may sell "for the best price that can be got." (vs.)	Aye	**	3	55	104	.....	34	.....
226	Same, amend. to add "except where landlord has purchased tenant right, or tenant has received equivalent."	No	**	122	2	4	160	.....	37
227	Mr. O'Kelly, that he be suspended	Aye	**	80	.....	104	.....	4	16
228	Land law (Ire.) bill, amend. if landlord refuse consent to subdivision of tenancy court may give consent.	No	(**)	.....	86	12	119	28	1
229	Irish executive, motion condemning Gov. for use of its powers under coercion act.	No	(**)	.....	25	1	103	23	2
230	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (No commercial treaty with France satisfactory unless it reduces duties). (vs.)	Aye	*†	.....	42	49	31	2	4
231	Same, reduc. of approp. for Natural History Museum	No	(††)	2	13	10	50	5	3
232	Same, reduc. of approp. for public works in Ireland, etc	No	(**)	.....	39	7	91	9	.....
233	Same, another reduc. same approp	No	(**)	.....	49	.....	98	7	2
234	Same, reduc. of approp. for museum in Dublin	No	††	18	18	12	70	.....	10
235	Same, approp. for River Shannon, that chairman report progress	No	(†*)	8	22	.....	75	1	8
236	Customs, that Mr. Fowler be a member of the com	.....	†*	5	8	32	.....	2	.....
237	Supply, reduc. of salaries in dept of foreign affairs	No	(*†)	3	54	13	106	7	5
238	Rivers conservancy bill, that com. have power to send for persons, papers, etc.	No	**	53	4	8	105	2	8

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
239	Land law (Ire.) bill, cl. 1, amend. (landlord not bound to accept tenant purchasing at higher price than fixed by court). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	129	164	.....	28	1
240	Same, amend. to omit power of court to fix value of tenancy. (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	32	.....	88	4	3	18
241	Same, amend. (landlord to purchase at auction instead of at price fixed by court). (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	24	.....	76	9	2	20
242	Same, amend. (insert "true" before "value")	Aye.....	(**)	62	1	124	13	2	24
243	Same, amend. (to change "value" to "fair market price"). (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	88	2	147	13	6	23
244	Same, amend. (price not to exceed improvements by tenant, etc.)	No.....	**	145	1	.....	206	.....	37
245	Alkali works bill, new cl. (act to apply only in part to Ireland)	No.....	(**)	2	47	5	91	11	2
246	Same, amend. to add "tar works."	No.....	**	30	1	6	66	4	2
247	Land law (Ire.) bill, cl. 1, amend. (to amalgamate holdings)	No.....	**	105	.....	2	179	.....	32
248	Same, amend. (where holding at less than fair rent court to raise rent)	No.....	**	98	.....	2	179	.....	36
249	Liquor traffic, motion favoring local option	.....	**	10	128	178	17	8	9
250	Suspension of eviction (Ire.), leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate	.....	(†*)	27	35	.....	99	.....	14
251	Sale of liquors (Wales) bill, that speaker leave chair, 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	12	24	107	4	4	3
252	Same, amend. (to except Cardiff)	.....	†*	20	18	5	97	4	3
253	Land law (Ire.) bill, amend. (act not to apply to tenancies improved by landlord).	No.....	*†	166	.....	37	180	.....	46
254	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye.....	**	4	45	167	.....	33	4
255	Same, that chairman report progress	No.....	†*	52	18	.....	150	5	31
256	Same, cl. 2, amend. (legatees' shares to be sold only under £15)	No.....	(**)	1	208	1	113	21	8
257	Same, cl. 3, amend. act to apply to "any" instead of "present" tenancy. (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	121	1	177	28	3	30
258	Same, amend. on compensation (verbal)	Aye.....	(**)	62	.....	125	12	7	30
259	Same, cl. 4 (tenant not to commit persistent waste), amend. to omit "persistent." (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	77	151	6	30	.....
260	Sale of liquors (Wales) bill, amend. to allow sale Sunday afternoon, adj. of debate.	.....	††	16	5	14	70	2	6
261	Land law (Ire.) bill, amend. (consent of landlord to be in writing). (vs.)	No.....	**	80	1	1	182	.....	34
262	Capital punishment abolition bill, 2 R	No.....	(*†)	1	94	62	75	16	6
263	Land law (Ire.) bill, amend. to increase power of court when landlord refuses consent to sale.	No.....	(*†)	.....	66	20	107	33	2
264	Same, amend. (landlord to have right to enter for certain purposes, and tenant shall not persistently obstruct), 2d amend. to omit "persistently." (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	125	190	7	42	1
265	Same, amend. (tenant not to sell liquor), that chairman report progress	No.....	(**)	.....	114	.....	170	18	8
266	Same, amend. put	Aye.....	(**)	85	.....	133	13	1	26
267	Adjournment of House (to discuss affray in County Clare)	No.....	(**)	.....	108	3	194	26	3

268	Land law (Ire.) bill, amend. to omit cl. on resumption of holding by landlord. (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	29	.....	104	6	6	27
269	Same, amend. (after "holding" to add "or part thereof").....	Aye.....	(**)	20	.....	94	5	7	27
270	Same, amend. (resumption of 25th part of holding not to be deemed a disturbance).	No.....	**	121	1	.....	194	2	27
271	Same, amend. to add that court may on application by landlord increase rent..	No.....	**	102	.....	1	173	.....	37
272	Same, cl. 5, amend. to omit repeal of limit of compensation. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	110	191	.....	43	.....
273	Same, amend. to make limit of compensation £300 for rents of £300–£500.....	Aye.....	(**)	77	5	127	9	3	37
274	Same, amend. (where rent over £300 limit of compensation two years' rent; where over £500 limit one year's rent).	Aye.....	(**)	90	.....	138	6	3	25
275	Same, amend. (compensation never to exceed £550).....	No.....	**	106	.....	.....	155	.....	38
276	Same, that cl. 5 stand part of bill	Aye.....	**	1	137	198	5	11	.....
277	Same, cl. 7 amend. (fair rent to be fixed "having regard to the interest of the landlord and tenant, respectively").	Aye.....	**	3	136	207	.....	42	.....
278	Same, amend. (fair rent not to be less than true value).....	No.....	**	138	4	5	222	.....	41
279	Same, amend. (tenant to notify landlord of claim for reduction of rent).....	No.....	**	134	1	.....	194	1	37
280	Same, amend. (to omit tenant to get credit for past excessive rent). (vs.)	No.....	(**)	.....	112	5	191	22	2
281	Same, amend. to prevent fair rent from being fixed higher than existing rent. (vs.)	No.....	(**)	.....	146	9	216	26	9
282	Same, amend. to omit that landlord not authorized to resume holding during term for which fair rent fixed. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	134	185	12	41	.....
283	Same, amend. (in favor of laborers' cottages), 2d amend. (verbal). (vs.).....	Aye....	(†*)	99	25	193	1	11	27
284	Same, orig. amend.....	No.....	(†*)	41	76	1	183	24	14
285	Same, amend. (in favor of laborers' gardens), that chairman report progress....	No.....	**	76	.....	1	138	.....	26
286	Same, amend. to add "for the prescribed period".....	No.....	**	110	.....	.....	136	.....	39
287	Same, amend. to add that application not to be withdrawn without leave of court.	No.....	**	51	.....	2	94	.....	33
288	Same, amend. (court may disallow application where rent not increased since purchase in landed estates court).	No.....	**	22	.....	.....	86	.....	30
289	Same, amend. (after "two stat. terms a tenant shall be deemed a future tenant").	No.....	**	57	.....	2	127	.....	34
290	Same, amend. (rent to be fixed each stat. term solely according to prices of farm produce). (vs.)	.....	**	1	144	217	3	32	1
291	Same, that cl. 7 stand part of bill.....	Aye.....	**	10	157	244	.....	35	.....
292	Same, amend. (to prevent ejectment for breach of condition on payment of damages).	Aye.....	**	1	149	212	.....	38	.....
293	Same, amend. (tenant may contract himself out of act if rent not less than £50, instead of £150). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	96	160	3	42	.....
294	Same, amend. (land commission may advance to purchasing tenant the whole, instead of three-fourths of purchase price). (vs.)	Aye.....	(†*)	77	29	169	18	1	36
295	Same, amend. (in case of residential tenant, may advance four-fifths).....	No.....	(†*)	13	89	16	158	37	1
296	Same, amend. (in certain cases land comn. may advance three-fourths, instead of one-half). (vs.)	Aye.....	(†*)	68	25	146	10	6	29
297	Same, cl. 22, amend. (to lengthen period of repayment of advances by land comn.) (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	38	10	112	20	2	40
298	Same, amend. (repayment to be at 4 per cent instead of 5 per cent annuity). (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	57	1	134	6	5	30

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
299	Adjournment of House (to discuss arrests in Cork)	No	(**)		113		190	27	2
300	Land law (Ire.) bill, cl. 25, amend. (land comn. instead of treasury, to authorize advances for waste land.) (vs.)	Aye	(**)	13		72	2	4	24
301	Same, amend. (in improving waste land plans of archæological remains to be made).	No	**	98	3	16	176	29	10
302	Same, cl. 26 (advances to assist emigration), amend. to add "on obtaining security for repayment."	No	(**)		6		47	11	3
303	Same, amend. (agreements for such advances to be made with poor law guardians instead of colonial authorities, etc.). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	64	3	185	1	17	15
304	Same, amend. (agreement may be made with a public company)	Aye	(**)	43	2	117	2	14	15
305	Same, amend. (comn. need not satisfy itself of the "security" of the company). (vs.)	Aye	(**)	6		72	1	8	16
306	Same, amend. (emigration to be to a temperate climate and families well provided for).	No	(**)	2	82		172	22	9
307	Same, amend. (voters not to be removed at election time)	No	(**)		65		146	15	9
308	Same, amend. (comn. to provide for satisfactory shipment, etc., of emigrants)	No	(**)		45	1	108	18	6
309	Same, that cl. 26 stand part of bill	Aye	(**)	23		96	1	7	24
310	Same, cl. 42, amend. (comn. to make rules for process of ejectment only in case of "judicial" rent).	Aye	**		104	175		39	
311	Same, cl. 45, amend. to omit that holding preempted by landlord and relet to be treated as "present" holding. (vs.)	Aye	**		92	145	7	40	
312	Same, cl. 46, amend. (act to apply to holdings not pastoral in towns of under 30,000 people).	No	(**)	2	95	2	162	31	4
313	Same, that chairman report progress	Aye	†*	11	50	144		7	8
314	Same, cl. 47, amend. (at expiration of existing leases lessees to be tenants of present tenancies from year to year).	Aye	**	4	140	194	1	46	
315	Same, amend. (court may declare void unfair lease procured by threat of eviction).	Aye	**	1	109	159	1	42	
316	Same, new cl. (letting of laborers' cottages not to be within act), amend. (situation to be selected by landlord).	No	**	51		2	130		36
317	Same, new cl. (land comn. may make advances to help payment of arrears of rent).	Aye	**	2	97	175		36	
318	Same, amend. (tenant, instead of landlord, to repay such advances). (vs.)	Aye	**		73	142		35	
319	Statute law revision bill (Lords), 2 R., adj. of debate	No	**		12		59	6	
320	Removal terms (Scot.) bill, that chairman report progress		**	11		3	39	3	1
321	Same, that chairman leave chair		**	11			39	3	1
322	Same, that chairman report progress		**	10		1	38	3	1

323	Same, to postpone preamble	.....	**	10	.....	1	39	3	1
324	Land law (Ire.) bill, new cl. (payments to be made to landlords out of purchase money of tenancy in certain cases).	No.....	**	80	1	.....	167	.....	42
325	Same, new cl. (provision as to absentee landlords)	No.....	(**)	2	90	5	158	34	1
326	Same, new cl. (yearly return respecting judicial rent)	No.....	**	70	.....	.....	152	29	9
327	Same, new cl. (security to laborers of equitable rent and permanence of tenure).	No.....	(**)	1	11	1	65	17	4
328	Same, new cl. (purchase of holdings by land comn. in certain cases)	No.....	**	75	2	3	138	10	13
329	Same, new cl. (purchase of land for laborers)	No.....	(**)	3	34	9	116	27	1
330	Metrop. board of works bill, amend. to limit sum board may expend. (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	17	3	24	16	2	1
331	Same, new cl. (expenses of inquiry as to markets)	Aye.....	(†*)	12	8	37	.....	4	.....
332	Transvaal rising, condemnation of Govt., amend. approving peace made by Govt. (vs.)	No.....	**	203	.....	1	277	1	37
333	Land law (Ire.) bill, new cl. (appearance before land comn. by counsel), amend. to omit that solicitor not to be retained as advocate by another solicitor. (vs.)	Aye.....	(*†)	49	3	101	17	11	21
334	Same, another amend. to the same effect	No.....	(*†)	1	55	17	116	18	9
335	Same, amend. (flax scutching mill not unsuitable to a holding)	Aye.....	**	2	98	139	1	41	1
336	Same, amend. (judicial rent provisions to apply only to tenancies of less than £100).	No.....	*†	183	.....	23	195	.....	46
337	Same, amend. (court to consider whether absence of landlord disentitles him to increase of rent).	No.....	(**)	1	28	3	86	28	1
338	Same, amend. to omit cl. 27 (costs of suit). (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	64	1	165	7	9	29
339	Same, amend. (refusal of costs on recovery of rent to be only in suits for £20 or less).	Aye.....	(**)	81	.....	161	5	5	34
340	Same, amend. to extend power to set aside leases to those for fixed periods. (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	37	.....	122	4	3	24
341	Same, amend. (court to have power to stay sale of tenancy pending application to fix judicial rent).	.....	**	1	73	165	2	43	1
342	Supply, approp. for office of lord privy seal	Aye.....	(*†)	47	1	90	30	7	13
343	Land law (Ire.) bill, 3 R	Aye.....	†**	6	14	179	.....	35	.....
344	Supply, approp. for local govt. board, that chairman report progress	No.....	†**	6	4	.....	67	12	2
345	Petroleum bill (Lords), that cl. 2 regulations for peddling stand part of bill	Aye.....	**	.....	4	30	.....	.....	1
346	Orders of the day, that orders have precedence of notices and Govt. orders priority Tuesdays and Wednesdays, that Mr. Parnell be suspended.	Aye.....	(**)	30	.....	101	.....	.....	15
347	Same, orig. ques. put	Aye.....	(†*)	18	2	90	1	3	12
348	Supply, approp. for foreign and secret services	Aye.....	(†*)	14	2	66	5	3	12
349	Petroleum bill (Lords), that chairman report progress	No.....	†**	5	5	.....	57	.....	8
350	Wild birds protection bill (Lords), that cl. 2 (protection of larks) stand part of bill.	.....	*†	.....	8	27	17	4	2
351	Privilege, that vote of House excluded Bradlaugh only from House and not other parts of building, amend. to approve action of officers of House. (vs.)	No.....	**	.....	80	5	95	2	16
352	Adjournment of House (to discuss disturbances at New Ross)	No.....	(**)	.....	65	.....	123	13	3
353	Supply, approp. for volunteers	Aye.....	(**)	31	.....	99	2	1	15
354	Same, reduc. of approp. for army stores	No.....	(*†)	.....	18	9	61	6	3
355	Same, reduc. of approp. for misc. effective services	No.....	(**)	.....	7	5	47	6	.....
356	Same, reduc. of approp. for high court of justice	No.....	(*†)	.....	15	24	59	8	2

House of Commons—Divisions—1881—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberals.		Home Rulers.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
357	Same, another reduc. of same approp	No	(*†)	.....	21	15	67	8	2
358	Same, reduc. of approp. for Scotch courts	No	††	7	2	10	50	5	2
359	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. condemning refusal to investigate conduct of an Irish R. M. (vs.)	Aye	(†*)	8	1	68	6	1	12
360	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. (grants in aid of museums should not be confined to London, Edinb., and Dublin). (vs.)	Aye	(††)	14	4	68	33	3	11
361	Land law (Ire.) bill, Lords amend. (as amended) giving landlord power to object to sale of holding where he has made improvements.	Aye	(*†)	123	.....	133	59	2	41
362	Same, another Lords amend. on same subject	Aye	**	1	147	226	.....	44	.....
363	Same, Lords amend. on purchase of holding	Aye	(*†)	158	.....	183	52	7	35
364	Same, amend. (to Lords amend.) to leave out that tenant shall not use as dwelling house building not previously so used. (vs.)	No	**	93	.....	2	175	.....	44
365	Same, this Lords amend. as amended	Aye	(*†)	106	.....	150	33	9	35
366	Same, another Lords amend. on cutting turf	No	**	146	1	.....	216	.....	46
367	Same, another Lords amend. on amount of compensation. (vs.)	Aye	**	2	172	246	4	45	.....
368	Same, cl. 7, amend. on right of landlord to apply to court to fix fair rent	No	**	167	.....	1	232	.....	47
369	Same, Lords amend. on same subject. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	155	224	.....	45	.....
370	Same, another Lords amend. on the same subject. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	98	115	.....	32	.....
371	Same, Lords amend. on rent upon tenants' improvements. (vs.)	Aye	**	2	147	210	.....	46	.....
372	Same, amend. to add improvements "for which tenant would be entitled to compensation."	No	**	140	3	.....	224	.....	48
373	Same, amend. court to take into consideration benefit to tenant from improvements.	No	**	149	.....	.....	229	.....	48
374	Same, Lords amend. on grounds of reduc. of rent. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	133	223	1	45	.....
375	Same, Lords amend. omitting provision on reletting a holding preempted by landlord. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	122	194	2	48	.....
376	Same, Lords amend. omitting application of act on termination of existing leases. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	124	207	1	46	.....
377	Same, cl. 19, amend. that landlord may resume holding for the purpose of a residence.	Aye	(*†)	99	.....	176	22	10	35
378	Same, Lords amend. to omit provision avoiding existing unfair leases. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	112	186	1	39	.....
379	Same, Lords amend. omitting provision that actions pending be stayed. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	113	197	.....	49	.....
380	Same, amend. to add if satisfied that such judicial rent will be fixed within three months, 2nd amend. "five" months. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	78	1	142	31	3	34
381	Same, orig. amend	Aye	(**)	58	1	150	6	2	28
382	Same, amend. to add or within a further reasonable period, adj. of debate	No	(**)	.....	31	.....	134	26	3
383	Same, amend. put	No	(**)	.....	26	11	114	27	3

384	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. in favor of withholding royal consent from commercial treaty with France. (vs.)	.....	**	.....	81	139	.....	14	1
385	Peddlers bill (Lords), that speaker leave chair	Aye.....	†*	2	10	72	.....	8	.....
386	Land law (Ire.) bill, Lords amend. on applications for fair rent, as amended	Aye.....	(*†)	98	.....	133	36	7	30
387	Same, cl. 7, Lords amend. as amended by Lords. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	89	159	.....	39	.....
388	Same, another Lords' amend. to cl. 7. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	105	189	.....	42	.....
389	Same, amend. to add "otherwise" before "compensated" in words so restored	Aye.....	(*†)	112	.....	146	51	4	42
390	Same, another amend. to words so restored	No.....	(*†)	.....	120	51	138	40	4
391	Same, cl. 7, new subsect., amend	No.....	(*†)	.....	110	38	146	40	1
392	Same, cl. 19, Lords amend. (Same as No. 376.) (vs.)	Aye.....	**	1	100	179	.....	28	.....
393	Same, to insist on disagreement with Lords amend. (No. 379.)	Aye.....	(*†)	86	.....	110	38	.....	32
394	Supply, that chairman report progress	No.....	†*	5	1	.....	41	10	1
395	Same, that speaker leave the chair, amend. condemning admr. of coercion act. (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	13	.....	71	.....	1	32
396	Same, approp. for salaries of household Lord Lieut. of Ireland, that chairman report progress.	No.....	(**)	.....	8	.....	63	22	.....
397	Same, that chairman leave chair	No.....	(**)	.....	7	.....	56	17	1
398	Same, reduc. of said approp	No.....	(**)	.....	7	.....	49	13	1
399	Same, orig. approp	Aye. ...	(**)	7	.....	55	.....	2	12
400	Same, to omit item for Crown solicitor in Ireland	No.....	(**)	.....	10	.....	68	17	2
401	Same, reduc. of approp. for magistrates in Ireland	No.....	(**)	.....	6	.....	57	16	2
402	Same, grant in aid of revenue of Cyprus	Aye.....	(*†)	4	.....	47	6	1	14
403	Wigan election, motion for comrs. to inquire into corrupt practices at	Aye.....	*†	.....	20	35	13	2	11
404	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. condemning rearrest of Michael Davitt. (vs.)	Aye.....	(**)	3	.....	59	.....	.....	21
405	Same, approp. for constabulary in Ireland	Aye.....	(**)	2	.....	52	.....	1	16
406	Same, approp. for Queen's colleges in Ireland	Aye.....	(**)	3	.....	50	.....	1	13
407	Univs. of Oxford and Cambridge bill (Lords), that speaker leave chair, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	11	51	.....	1	5
408	Same, new cl. (2 addl. members on univ. com. of privy council)	Aye.....	**	.....	17	58	.....	6	2
409	Petroleum bill (Lords), to consider, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	3	11	52	.....	7	1
410	Supreme court of judicature bill (Lords), new cl. (sittings and vacation of high court).	No.....	*†	11	1	13	33	4	2
411	Whiteboy acts repeal bill, 2 R	No.....	(††)	1	8	13	36	11	.....

Out of 411 divisions the number of cases where 10 per cent or more split off, were 57 Conservatives, 67 Liberals. Of these, Government whips were tellers in 57 and were not tellers in 10. Cases where 10 per cent did not split off, 354 Conservatives, 344 Liberals.

Government whips were tellers in 379, and were not tellers in 32 out of the 411 divisions. Government tellers were defeated thrice (Nos. 155, 230, and 403). Majority of Liberals voted against Government tellers twice (Nos. 188, 213).

House of Commons—Divisions—1894.

[Conservatives, 268; Lib. Unionists, 49; Liberals, 272; Nationalists, 72; Parnellites, 9; total, 670.]

No. of division.	Question	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Queen's speech, amend. on depressed condition of trade and agric.	No	**	75	.....	9	.....	1	127	.....	65	1	.....
2	Same, amend. against power of House of Lords to reject bills	No	*†	.....	79	.....	11	78	55	64	.....	5	.....
3	Same, amend. (reconsideration of cases of convictions under treason felony act).	No	(*†)	.....	130	.....	24	28	132	63	.....	5	.....
4	Same, amend. condemning admr. of law in Ireland, that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	12	114	.....	24	173	2	40	1	.....	4
5	Same, amend. put	No	(**)	1	104	.....	21	5	179	2	47	4	.....
6	Supply, suppl. approp. for embassies abroad	Aye	(**)	44	1	10	.....	100	6	41	1	3	1
7	Same, to omit Bechuanaland grant in aid	No	(*†)	.....	39	.....	8	7	86	29	10	2	2
8	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. (accidents caused by carrying pistols calls for legislation). (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	46	.....	7	105	1	12	.....	1	.....
9	Same, reduc. of approp. for science and art buildings, So. Kensington.	No	**	21	2	4	.....	.....	66	.....	14	.....	.....
10	Same, reduc. of approp. for rent of legation, etc., in China	No	†*	14	8	2	2	.....	68	.....	14	.....	.....
11	Business of the House, motion for select com. on procedure	No	(††)	8	31	7	3	25	71	1	31	.....	.....
12	Home rule for Scotland, motion in favor of	.....	**	.....	141	.....	28	143	1	37	.....	.....	.....
13	Old age pensions bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	Aye	**	.....	113	.....	23	165	.....	40	.....	.....	.....
14	East London water bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	185	.....	31	.....	11	180	1	47	.....	.....
15	Sittings of the House, that proceedings on appt. of com. on Scotch bills be not interrupted.	Aye	**	.....	139	.....	34	147	.....	56	.....	.....	.....
16	Standing com. (Scot.), amend. opposing its creation, adj. of debate.	No	**	190	.....	42	.....	.....	196	.....	54	.....	.....
17	Same, adj. of House	No	**	190	.....	41	.....	.....	193	.....	53	.....	.....
18	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. (State should acquire royalty rents and way leaves). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	50	.....	8	.....	54	42	38	1	.....	.....
19	Business of the House, that "for remainder of the session" Gov. business have priority on Tuesday, etc., amend. "until Whitsuntide." (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	202	.....	42	212	.....	56	.....	.....	.....
20	Same, amend. to strike out that Gov. business have priority. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	183	.....	36	197	.....	53	.....	.....	.....
21	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	.....	184	.....	36	197	.....	52	.....	.....	2
22	Land tenure (Ire.) bill, 2 R., amend. land legislation in Ireland inexpedient pending inquiry. (vs.)	.....	**	1	152	4	13	180	.....	62	.....	7	.....
23	Fruit indentification bill, 2 R	No	**	103	3	5	3	1	143	.....	60	1	1
24	Adjournment to discuss relief of agric. depression	No	**	144	.....	21	1	.....	154	.....	52	1	1
25	Army (ann.) bill, that cl. 3 (prices for billeting) stand part of bill.	Aye	†*	9	17	5	1	100	1	37	.....	.....	1

26	Standing com. (Scot.), amend. (as in No. 16). (vs.)	Aye	**			189		30	193		58		1			
27	Crim. law (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos., that ques. be now put		**			165		31	189		59		7			
28	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**			163		29	188		59		7			
29	Educ. code 1894, address to withhold consent from certain parts	No	**	26		1				81		40				
30	Standing com. (Scot.), amend. to confine it to bills relating to law and trade, that ques. be now put.	Aye	**			174		34	181		52		3			
		No	**	174			33			189		54		2		
31	Same, amend. put	Aye	**			178		32	188		52		1			
32	Same, amend. (31, instead of 15, addl. members). (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	133			19		112	56	32	11	2			
33	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. Duke of Edinb. having become Duke of Saxe-Coburg, his annuity ought to cease. (vs.)	Aye	††	28		147	12	15	183	29	55	1	3		1	
34	Mines (8 hours) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		**	151			26			163		47			2	
35	Standing com. (Scot.), amend. (no bill to go to com. which does not refer to whole of Scot.).	No	**			177		30	179		51		2			
		Aye	*†	34			1	2	24	42	10	1	2			
36	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	125			18	3	11	140		40	3			
37	Committees not to sit on Ascension Day till 2 p. m	No	*†	163		2	24		49	119	6	36			1	
38	Foreign goods bill, 2 R		**			137		40	238		53	1	1			
39	Cambridge corp. bill, that cl. 6 (jurisdiction of Univ. over prostitutes) stand part of bill.	Aye	(*†)	14				1	27	25	11	8				
40	Period of qualification and elections bill, 2 R., amend. that House declines to proceed. (vs.)		(††)	84	40	8	12	118	35	1	32			1		
41	Supply, that speaker leave chair, amend. when title or honor bestowed statement of services to be made. (vs.)		*†	107	1	15	1	15	80	8	27			3		
42	Rating of machinery bill, 2 R		**		245			40	243	1	65			8		
43	Cambridge corp. bill, 3 R															
44	Finance bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	35		4	2	1	73		32					
45	Scotch educ. code, address to withhold assent from certain parts	No	**	49		6			96		18			1		
46	Supply, reduc. of approp. for customs, post-office, etc	No	**	30		5	1	2	83		15			1		
47	Same, another reduc. of same approp	No	(*†)		50	2	4	18	62	6	13	1		1		
48	Prevention of cruelty to children bill, cl. 6, amend. to insert "knowingly."		(*†)	75		6	2	102	10	14	8	1		1		
49	Same, that cl. 13 (indictments) stand part of bill		(†*)	49	65	6	17	13	168	1	37			3		
50	Truro Junction Ry. bill, to consider, 6 mos		**	104		13			118		43	4				
51	Finance bill, instr. to com. to divide the bill	No	**		151		25	169		50		2				
52	Same, cl. 1, that chairman report progress, that ques. be now put	Aye	**	165	1	30			185		51			2		
53	Same, that chairman report progress	No	**	183		39			204		52			2		
54	Same, that cl. 1 (death duties) be postponed	No	**	152		33			169		46	1		2		
55	Same, death duties, amend. to make tax a succession instead of an estate duty, that chairman report progress.	No	**	149	1	31			165		45	1		1		
56	Same, amend. put	Aye	(**)	38	1	7		75	6	25	5	2				
57	Railway rates bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**		93		23	174		46		1				
58	Supply, approp. for civil services, that ques. be now put	No	†*	37	8	2	5		124		28			1		
59	Same, that speaker leave chair, amend. election charges should be paid out of public funds. (vs.)		†*	47	107	21	4	158	1	41		2				
60	Thames conservancy bill, instr. to com. for dredging river		**	120		19			136		48					
61	Adjournment, to discuss danger to workmen in manufacture of explosives at Waltham Abbey.	No														

House of Commons—Divisions—1894—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
62	Finance bill, cl. 1, amend. to omit "principal value." (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	157	.....	31	170	.....	46	.....	.....	1
63	Same, amend. to grade duty on size of legacy instead of size of estate. (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	165	1	33	178	1	50	.....	2	.....
64	Prevention of cruelty to children bill, amend. to add new subsect	.....	†*	52	75	17	4	146	1	52	.....	7	.....
65	Same, amend. (powers of inspector to extend wherever training of a child authorized).	.....	(††)	50	100	5	24	34	120	39	16	5	.....
66	Same, amend. (no license required from parent or guardian)	.....	(*†)	158	2	24	3	114	52	9	45	.....	5
67	Same, amend. (children not to be employed at entertainments where liquor sold). (vs.)	.....	(*†)	2	139	2	28	30	138	31	21	5	1
68	Business of the House, that Govt. have priority on Wednesday, etc., amend. (not until Govt. programme is known). (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	196	.....	36	199	1	59	.....	.....	.....
69	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	.....	180	.....	30	176	.....	58	.....	.....	7
70	Supply, approp. for Uganda	Aye	(*†)	83	1	19	1	100	32	16	18	.....	.....
71	Finance bill, cl. 1, amend. (act not to include settlement prior thereto).	No	**	123	.....	23	.....	1	148	.....	41	.....	.....
72	Same, amend. (duties to be levied at same rates as existing probate duties). (vs.)	Aye	†*	7	100	14	5	144	.....	44	.....	.....	.....
73	Same, cl. 2, verbal amend. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	89	.....	13	114	.....	35	.....	.....	.....
74	Sitting of the House, adj. till Thursday	No	†*	140	10	16	11	4	180	.....	44	.....	.....
75	Finance bill, cl. 2, amend. (act to apply to power of appt. by will only when exercised).	No	**	124	1	23	2	.....	143	.....	46	.....	.....
76	Same, amend. (act not to apply to leases for lives)	No	**	96	1	20	.....	.....	113	.....	39	.....	.....
77	Same, amend. to leave out paragraph (c), cl. 2 (describing certain classes of property). (vs.)	Aye	**	1	101	.....	18	116	.....	33	.....	.....	.....
78	Same amend. to exempt certain persons	No	**	119	.....	26	.....	.....	159	.....	33	.....	.....
79	Same, amend to exempt property passing between husband and wife, 2d amend. provided shall not exceed one-third whole estate.	No	**	170	.....	31	.....	.....	191	.....	50	.....	.....
80	Same, amend. to add "of which deceased was competent to dispose." (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	108	.....	21	132	.....	37	.....	.....	.....
81	Same, cl. 3, amend. to separate personal and real estate. (vs.)	Aye	**	1	144	5	22	169	.....	43	.....	.....	.....
82	Same amend. (property passing under settlement made by another not to be added to estate of deceased).	No	**	78	.....	15	.....	1	99	.....	31	.....	.....
83	Same, that cl. 3 stand part of bill	Aye	**	.....	48	.....	10	72	.....	29	.....	.....	.....
84	Same, cl. 4, omit paragraph (a). (Duty to be graded on whole estate.) (vs.)	Aye	**	.....	63	.....	13	89	.....	25	.....	.....	.....

85	Same, amend. (devise by tenant in tail). (vs.)	Aye	**		59		12	82		23			
86	Adjournment, to discuss report on agric. depression in Essex	No	**	141		22	2		160		43		
87	Finance bill, cl. 4, amend. to postpone death duty till end of life interest of husband or wife.	No	**	62		14			94		34		
88	Same, amend. (stamp duty on settlement may be deducted), 2d amend. (it may be deducted from the further estate duty).	Aye	**		105		18	123		38			
89	Same, cl. 5, amend. (to carry out same object as a Govt. amend. about duties of executors). (vs.)	Aye	**		99		18	119		29			
90	Same, amend. (duty may be paid by executor if persons accountable request it), 2d amend. to add "and the beneficiaries."	No	**	150		27		1	192		43		
91	Same, amend. (executor appointed only for English assets of deceased not liable for duty on property situate elsewhere).	No	**	86		18			117		37		
92	Same, amend. (similar to No. 82). (vs.)	Aye	**		68		11	97	1	33			
93	Same, amend. to omit interest at 3 per cent on payment by installments. (vs.)	Aye	**		96	1	15	115		38			
94	Great Western Ry. bill (Lords), instr. to com. to strike out certain ry. works.		*†	4	87	1	18	72	50	37			1
95	Finance bill, cl. 5, amend. (int. not to begin for 4 years)	No	**	167		24	1	1	172		45		
96	Same, amend. (unpaid installments to be remitted if fresh duty payable).	No	**	132		25		1	158		42		
97	Same, amend. (in such case fresh duty postponed)	No	**	54		10			79		37		
98	Same, amend. (if executor unable to pay duty he may surrender part of estate therefor).	No	**	106		19			135		40		
99	Same, that cl. 5 stand part of bill	Aye	**		100	1	15	121		33			
100	Same, cl. 6, amend. (allowance for sum payable under policy of insurance).	No	**	68		9		1	78		35		
101	Same, amend. new sect. (reversions not to be taken into account in calculating value of estate).	No	**	55		9		1	78	1	30		
102	Same, amend. (separate valuation of each part of estate), 2d amend. (each separate class of property).	No	**	166		23			176		41		
103	Same, cl. 7, amend. to add "exec. shall be accountable for estate duty on all property wheresoever situated," etc.	Aye	**		95		13	120		38			
104	Same, amend to add no tax on death of one merely an agent	No	**	116		14			130		36		
105	Same, amend. to add that no one shall be liable except for property of "actually received * * * by him."	No	**	111		15			122		32		
106	Same, amend. (to similar effect). (vs.)	Aye	**		100	1	14	113		33			
107	Same, cl. 7, amend. (to similar effect). (vs.)	Aye	**		98		19	127	2	37			
108	Same, amend. to omit subsect. (5) (penalty clause). (vs.)	Aye	**		144		24	159	1	45			
109	Same, amend. (double duty as a penalty)	Aye	**		136	3	20	145		45			
110	Same, amend. (excess to be paid back if so decided by a court)	No	**	76		10			77		37		
111	Same, cl. 9, amend. (by whom exec. to be repaid)	Aye	**		97		13	96		36			
112	Same amend. (repayment by installments)	No	**	102		16	1	1	106		37		
113	Supply, reduc. of approp. for salary of chief sec. for Ireland	No	**	145		27			160		50		1
114	Same, orig. approp. that ques. be now put	Aye	**		138		22	158		51		1	
115	Finance bill, cl. 10 (comrs. must fix rate of duty in 2 years). (vs.)	Aye	**		141		25	164		48			
116	Same, amend. (giving appeal to high court)	No	**	146		23			161		48		

House of Commons—Divisions—1894—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
117	Same, amend. new subsect. (certificates to be issued fixing rates of duty on reversions).	No	**	106		17			129		38		
118	Same, amend. (penalty for fraud to fall on defrauder, not on the property). (vs.)	Aye	**		56		7	86		39			
119	Same, cl. 14, amend. to change scale of duties. (vs.)	Aye	**		99		15	120		31			
120	Same, amend. (rate on certain estates to be "30s." instead of "£2.") (vs.)	Aye	**		83		20	130	1	39			
121	Same, amend. (to add where second death within 4 years, duty to be at half rate).	No	**	134		26			154		45		
122	Same, that cl. 14 stand part of bill	Aye	**		125	1	19	148		43			
123	Same, that cl. 15 (valuation of interests) stand part of bill	Aye	**		81		12	96		33			
124	Same, cl. 16 amend. (one-half proceeds of estate duty, instead of 1½ per cent on net value, to go to local government.) (vs.)	Aye	**	1	77		12	95		30			
125	Same, cl. 17 amend. (exemptions not to be only in cases where probate duty already paid). (vs.)	Aye	**		142		30	184		42			
126	Same, amend. (estate duty not to exceed 3 per cent in certain cases)	No	**	136		27			181		42		
127	Same, amend. (no duty where income of settled property passes from husband or wife to the other.) (vs.)	Aye	**		92		20	136		35			
128	Same, cl. 18 amend. to omit a description as confusing. (vs.)	Aye	**		100		19	127		35			1
129	Same, amend. to omit a definition of property said to be confusing. (vs.)	Aye	**		81		14	106		28			
130	Same, amend. limiting kinds of title to which act shall apply. (vs.)	Aye	**		157		36	194		47			
131	Same, cl. 23 amend. (duty on beer "3d." instead of "6d"). (vs.)	Aye	**		223	1	37	231	2	57			9
132	Same, cl. 25 amend. to add "brewed from barley, etc."	No	**	163	6	28	1	2	193		53	2	
133	Same, that cl. 27 (tax on spirits) stand part of bill, that chairman report progress.	No	**	159		17		1	184		54	9	
134	Same, that ques. be now put	Aye	**		157		16	185	1	53			9
135	Same, that cl. 27 stand part of bill	Aye	**	1	158	1	16	182	1	53			7
136	Same, cl. 29 amend. (income tax to be "7d." instead of "8d"). (vs.)	Aye	†*	8	16	1		80		34			
137	Same, amend. to omit Scotland and Ireland. (vs.)	Aye	(††)	52	11	7	1	84		13	19		
138	Same, amend. (no income tax on woods in hand of owner)	No	**	74		10			91		32		
139	Same, cl. 37 amend. to leave out subsect. 2 (transfer of a sum from Naval Defence Fund). (vs.)	Aye	**		48		6	73		27			
140	Same, new cl. (appeal from comrs. on death duties), amend. prepayment of duty not required for appeal.	No	**	62		9			88		27		
141	Same, new cl. on commutation of duty, amend. (shall discharge reversion from any further claim).	No	**	67		13		1	97		27		

142	Same, new cl. (exemptions from duty), amend. (grades of duty to increase by £52 instead of £25). (vs.)	Aye	**		70		12	97	1	27			
143	Cardiff corp. bill, new cl. (protection of commoners)		(*†)	1	63		9	26	74	12	17		
144	Finance bill, new cl. (comrs. may amend assessment)	No	**	106		18		1	139		38		
145	Same, new cl. (works of art)	No	**	54		6			86		34		
146	Same, new cl. (value of Irish estates)	No	**	53		6			85		33		
147	Same, that cl. 27 (tax on spirits) stand part of bill	Aye	**		152	1	22	155	2	42			9
148	Supply, reduc. of approp. for pay of militia	No	**	33	4	2		1	79		18		
149	Same, reduc. of approp. for pay of yeomanry	No	(*†)		35		3	13	60	6	14		1
150	London streets bill, instr. to com. (removal of surface water)		(*†)	2	37		2	6	47	7	9		
151	Supply, reduc. of approp. for int. on imp. defense loan	No	**	25	1	1			68		24		
152	Finance bill, new cl. (no estate duty on interest in expectancy)	No	**	111		19			155		34		
153	Same, new cl. (duty on interests in expectancy in certain cases)	No	**	168		25			188		43		
154	Same, new cl. (land to be taken in lieu of payment)	No	**	128		19			149		36		
155	Same, new cl. (exemption of estates of soldiers killed, etc., up to £5,000).	No	**	72		11			106		34		
156	Same, new cl. (if second death within eight years only half duty)	No	**	110		17			132		33		
157	Same, new cl. (no duty on property passing between husband and wife).	No	**	123		26			145		34		
158	Same, new cl. (friendly societies, exemption)	No	**	112		20			132		31		
159	Same, new cl. (power of court to vary settlements)	No	**	170		25			193		40		
160	Same, new cl. (payment in advance)	No	**	159		25			178		42		
161	Same, new cl. (works of art, registration)	No	**	78		9			88		35		
162	Same, new cl. (works of art, exemption)	No	**	82		13			109		34		
163	Same, new cl. (insurance for estate duty)	No	**	109		19	1		126		35		
164	Same, amend. (a matter of wording)	No	**	102	1	19			129		27		
165	Same, amend. (to exempt voluntary settlements). (vs.)	Aye	**		105		14	153		34			
166	Same, amend. (act not to apply to dispositions of property for value).	No	**	123		18			165		37		
167	Same, amend. to exempt reversions sold for value by the deceased as trustee, as well as personally.	No	**	126	1	22			170		40		
168	Same, amend. (a question mainly of wording). (vs.)	Aye	**		147	1	27	176		40			
169	Same, amend. for relief of husband and wife	No	**	137		24			173		39		
170	Same, amend. (no duty on estate reverting to settler)	No	**	150		26		1	184		39		
171	Same, similar amend. (property settled on wife)	No	**	153	1	26			183		43		
172	Same, amend. (executor to be liable only on property "passing to him as such"). (vs.)	Aye	**		80		9	102		36			
173	Same, amend. (int. on duty at 3 per cent from date of death)	Aye	**		60		8	91		34			
174	Same, amend. (allowance for expenses of valuation)	No	**	95		14			130		32		
175	Same, amend. (deduction of sums due under settlement)	No	**	112		19			128		32		
176	Same, amend. to omit sub. sect. 2 of cl. 7 (foreign debts not to be deducted from Eng. assets). (vs.)	Aye	**		88		15	114		24			
177	Same, amend. (in case of delay in paying duty int. to run at 3 per cent instead of 4 per cent). (vs.)	Aye	**		99		15	129		34			
178	Same, amend. (duty to be a charge on the property, but "subject to all incumbrances").	No	**	40		5			82		26		

House of Commons—Divisions—1894—Continued.

No. of division.	Question	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
179	Same, amend. (executor may raise amount of duty by sale of pers. prop.)	No	**	59		7			97		29		
180	Same, amend. (liability to duty not to affect bona fide purchaser)	No	**	81	1	9			114		30		
181	Same, amend. (a question mainly of wording). (vs.)	Aye	**		81		9	99		28			1
182	Same, amend. (no duty on certain manuscripts, etc.)	No	**	152	2	22			190		44		
183	Same, amend. (prop. passing to charity to form estate by itself)	No	**	138		20			174		43		
184	Same, amend. to change of scale of duties. (vs.)	Aye	**		67		13	108	1	34			
185	Same, amend. to exempt certain future marriage settlements as well as past ones.	Aye	**		101		19	146		36			
186	Same, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs)	Aye	**		217		38	227		56			8
187	Adjournment to discuss the business for remainder of session	No	**	171		34			198		51		7
188	Evicted tenants (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 3 mos	Aye	**		194	1	33	193		57		8	
189	Same, cl. 1, amend. to limit the act to cases of eviction. (vs.)	Aye	**		133		26	152		55		6	
190	Same, amend. (act not to apply to tenancies valued at more than £30 a year).	No	**	112		20	2	1	135		54		7
191	Same, amend. (act to apply only in favor of the last tenant), that ques. be now pnt.	Aye	**		74		20	101		54		7	
192	Same, amend. put	No	**	87		20			122		54		7
193	Same, amend. to limit act to tenancies "terminated" for non-payment of rent.	No	**	114		27			137		54		7
194	Same, amend. (act not to apply to tenants evicted for breach of statutory conditions), that ques. be now put.	Aye	**		101		17	118		51		6	
195	Same, amend. put	No	**	112		18		1	120		51		6
196	Same, amend. (act not to apply to cases of voluntary surrender)	No	**	124		19			130		53		7
197	Same, amend. (act not to apply when landlord has purchased tenant's interest.)	No	**	124		19			136		55		7
198	Same, amend. (act not to apply to tenancy terminated by order of court).	No	**	99		14			107		57		7
199	Same, amend. (act to apply to tenancies terminated after October 31, 1882, instead of May 1, 1879. (vs.)	Aye	**		65		7	78		53		6	
200	Same, amend. (only tenancies terminated before May 23, 1887)	No	**	89		14			99		53		6
201	Same, amend. (tenant claiming must be resident in Ireland)	No	**	94		15			106		53		6
202	Supply, reduc. of approp. for salary of first lord of treas	No	**	65		7		1	109		46		1
203	Tramways orders confirmation bill, amend. (no higher rates on Sunday, etc.).		(*†)		58		8	31	65	34	7	5	1
204	Business of the House, motion to guillotine the clauses of the evicted tenants bill at certain dates, amend. condemning this. (vs.)	Aye	**		156		18	161		49		7	

205	Evicted tenants (Ire.) bill, amend. (tenant may be reinstated although a new tenant in occupation). (vs.)	Aye.....	(††)	5	1	2	.....	121	5	.....	43	.....	8
206	Same, amend. (the new tenancy must have been created at least two years instead of before April 19, 1894).	No.....	(†*)	1	5	.....	2	3	134	4	40	6	.....
207	Same, amend. (grant to tenants may exceed £50). (vs.).....	Aye.....	(*†)	5	.....	1	.....	98	7	.....	42	.....	5
208	Equalization of rates (London) bill, cl. 1, amend. to add "for sanitary purposes."	No.....	**	59	.....	7	.....	.....	96	.....	35	.....	4
209	Same, amend. (rate not to exceed 6d., instead of being fixed at 6d.) (vs.)	Aye.....	†*	7	31	.....	3	72	1	28	.....	1	.....
210	Evicted tenants (Ire.) bill, amend. (arbitrators may award money to tenant if they refuse to reinstate him).	No.....	(*†)	.....	5	.....	1	3	91	42	.....	8	.....
211	Same, amend. (old tenant may be awarded "further sums, payable by landlord and new tenant").	No.....	(*†)	.....	5	.....	1	4	88	42	.....	6	.....
212	Equalization of rates (London) bill, cl. 1, amend. (rates to be equalized in regard to specified considerations instead of in proportion to population). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	39	1	4	80	.....	36	.....	2	.....
213	Evicted tenants (Ire.) bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.).....	Aye.....	**	.....	147	1	19	143	.....	46	.....	9	1
214	Local govt. (Scot.) bill, amend. (transferring to Scotch local gov. board the powers of sheriffs for removal of poor).	No.....	(*†)	2	66	1	10	8	100	29	1	2	.....
215	Same, amend. (no change to be made in number of parish councilors without consulting parish council, etc.).	No.....	**	54	.....	12	.....	.....	112	.....	28	.....	.....
216	Same, amend. (on division of parishes).....	No.....	**	50	.....	12	.....	.....	111	.....	30	.....	.....
217	Same, amend. (husband and wife not to vote on the same "qualification" instead of "property"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	52	.....	9	97	9	27	1	.....	.....
218	Same, amend. (any resident eligible to parish council although not a voter).	No.....	(*†)	3	29	.....	6	25	51	9	14	.....	.....
219	Same, amend. (reps. of parish council on district com. to be chosen for 3 years instead of 1 year).	Aye.....	**	.....	29	.....	7	85	1	21	.....	.....	.....
220	Same, amend. (in mixed parishes landward committee to appoint the rep. from their own number).	No.....	**	33	.....	7	.....	.....	90	.....	22	.....	.....
221	Same, amend. (to limit powers of parish councils to "purposes connected with parish business"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	35	.....	8	94	1	20	.....	.....	.....
222	Same, amend. to omit par. (c) of subsect. 1, cl. 24 (acquiring land for workmen's dwellings). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	37	.....	9	88	.....	19	.....	1	.....
223	Same, amend. to omit part of par. (c), subsect. 7, cl. 25 (no appeal from loc. gov. board). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	42	.....	9	94	.....	24	.....	.....	.....
224	Same, amend. (act not to apply to appt. of trustees of charities for 40 years).	No.....	**	34	.....	9	.....	.....	90	.....	26	.....	1
225	Same, amend. (coms. of parish council to report to it).....	No.....	**	33	1	5	.....	1	86	.....	25	.....	1
226	Same, amend. (auditor for parish accounts to be appt. by loc. gov. board). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	.....	31	.....	4	72	3	25	.....	1	.....
227	Same, amend. (district rate to be "6d." instead of "9d."). (vs.)..	Aye.....	**	1	28	1	2	84	.....	21	.....	1	.....
228	Same, amend. (medical officers not to be dismissed without appeal to loc. gov. board).	No.....	††	20	8	2	.....	10	72	3	17	1	.....
229	Railway traffic bill, cl. 1, amend. (appeal only against "increase of" rates since 1892).	Aye.....	(*†)	20	1	.....	1	47	17	5	11	.....	2

House of Commons—Divisions—1894—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
230	Sittings of the House, that proceedings on mines (8-hour) bill be not interrupted at 12 o'clock.	Aye	**✓	2	38	.....	7	75	7	13	.....	1	.....
231	Mines (8 hours) bill, cl. 2, amend. (act to apply in districts where maj. of workmen so resolve), that the ques. be now put.	.....	*†	5	67	1	7	94	21	18	2	2	1
232	Same, amend. put	.....	††	65	7	7	1	35	82	4	16	1	1
233	Business of the House, that for rest of session Gov. business be not interrupted under standing orders.	Aye	(††)	22	7	4	1	87	10	17	3	.....	2
234	Statute law rev. bill (Lords), that cl. 3 (reviving repealed provision of a Scotch act) stand part of bill.	Aye	(**)	9	.....	1	.....	40	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
235	Supply, reduc. of approp. for salaries of officers of House of Lords.	No	*†	.....	24	.....	3	38	40	18	.....	2	.....
236	Same, orig. approp	Aye	*†	23	.....	2	.....	41	38	.....	17	.....	2
237	Ways and means, grant from consol. fund, that chairman report progress.	No	(*†)	.....	10	.....	.....	17	44	13	.....	1	.....
238	Same, that chairman leave chair	No	(*†)	.....	11	.....	.....	14	45	15	.....	1	.....
239	Same, reduc. of the grant	No	(*†)	.....	11	.....	.....	18	42	14	.....	1	.....
240	Same, that chairman report progress	No	(*†)	.....	11	.....	.....	16	43	15	.....	1	.....
241	Same, that chairman leave chair	No	(*†)	.....	10	.....	.....	18	43	13	.....	1	.....
242	Same, reduc. of the grant	No	(*†)	.....	10	.....	.....	16	43	15	.....	1	.....
243	Supply, motion to agree to approp. for universities, etc	Aye	*†	.....	22	.....	.....	74	1	5	12	.....	.....
244	Supply, that House agree to first res. (approp. for harbors, etc.) adj. of debate.	No	(††)	4	29	.....	2	17	52	18	.....	.....	.....
245	Same, that House agree to 6th res. (salaries, etc., in House of Lords)	Aye	*†	32	.....	2	.....	42	27	.....	18	.....	.....
246	Local govt. (Scot.) bill, that House agree with Lords amend. (striking out power of parish councils to provide land for workmen's dwellings).	Aye	(*†)	17	.....	.....	.....	45	21	.....	10	.....	.....

Out of 246 divisions printed above, the number of cases where 10 per cent or more split off were: 21 Unionists, 47 Liberals with Nationalists, 38 Liberals without Nationalists. Of these, Government whips were tellers in 31 cases Liberals with Nationalists, 23 cases Liberals without Nationalists. Government whips were not tellers in 16 cases Liberals with Nationalists, 15 cases Liberals without Nationalists. Cases where 10 per cent did not split off: 225 Unionists, 199 Liberals with Nationalists, 208 Liberals without Nationalists.

Government whips were tellers in 222 out of 246 divisions. Government tellers defeated in one division (No. 2).

Majority of Liberals (with Nationalists) went against Government tellers in 5 divisions (Nos. 2, 37, 235, 236, and 245). Majority of Liberals (without Nationalists) went against Government tellers in 2 divisions (Nos. 2 and 37).

House of Commons—Divisions—1899.

[Conservatives, 337; Unionists, 66; Liberals, 185; Nationalists, 71; Parnellites, 11; total, 670.]

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1	Motion that peers should not take part in elections to Parl., amend. to omit essential words.	No	(*†)	24	198	1	38	39	96	26	21	.....	5
2	Address, amend. on lawlessness among clergy	No	**	3	177	.....	30	86	5	.....	6	.....	3
3	Same, amend. on taxation of land in towns	No	**	2	133	.....	23	89	1	29	.....	3	.....
4	Same, amend. (regret that nothing said about Wales)	No	**	.....	161	.....	33	105	.....	39	.....	.....	.....
5	Same, amend. (bill passed by one House not to lapse at end of session), amend. against power of Lords to reject bills.	.....	*†	.....	186	.....	38	90	23	17	5	.....	5
6	Same, orig. amend	No	**	.....	186	.....	37	68	.....	33	.....	4	.....
7	Privilege. Motion for select com. on peers presiding over political meetings.	No	*†	6	166	.....	31	75	31	34	2	4	.....
8	Business of the House, sit. at 2 p. m. Ash Wednesday	Aye	**	170	.....	36	2	2	106	5	31	.....	3
9	Address, amend. on Scotch Crofters	No	**	.....	161	.....	36	99	.....	40	.....	3	.....
10	Same, amend. on ministers of Crown being directors of companies	No	**	4	204	.....	39	95	3	40	1	4	.....
11	Same, amend. (home rule for Ireland)	No	(**)	.....	186	.....	40	4	74	33	.....	6	.....
12	Same, amend. on distress in Ireland	No	**	.....	172	.....	30	84	1	33	.....	5	.....
13	Same, amend. (discontent among postal employees)	No	**	1	131	1	27	67	1	20	.....	2	.....
14	Same, amend. on extension of workmen's compensation act to seamen.	No	**	1	167	.....	38	103	1	21	.....	.....	.....
15	Same, amend. on bishops in the House of Lords	No	**	1	167	3	33	111	.....	11	.....	2	.....
16	Supply, 20 days to be allotted therefor, amend. 23 days	Aye	*†	172	1	39	.....	35	70	.....	20	.....	1
17	Same, reduc. of approp. for transports in Egypt	No	*†	.....	123	.....	31	42	13	16	.....	.....	.....
18	Same, another reduc. of same item	No	**	.....	97	.....	22	37	.....	13	.....	1	.....
19	Same, to omit item for warlike stores	No	**	.....	124	.....	24	52	2	13	.....	1	.....
20	Same reduc. of item for works and buildings	No	**	.....	117	.....	26	54	.....	10	.....	1	.....
21	Adjournment to discuss refusal of managers of St. James school to admit children.	No	**	1	166	.....	31	82	2	15	2	1	.....
22	Supply reduc. of approp. for Uganda	No	**	2	154	1	30	52	1	12	.....	.....	.....
23	Same, reduc. of approp. for British East Africa	No	**	2	126	2	19	43	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
24	County court's jurisdiction, res. for extension of	No	†*	10	81	3	16	48	1	7	.....	1	.....
25	Education bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	(†*)	126	50	40	5	127	4	20	.....	4	.....
26	Gen. Power Distr. Co. (priv.) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	†*	48	124	10	19	74	5	15	2	2	.....
27	Same, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	105	63	23	10	4	75	.....	16	.....	.....
28	Supply, reduc. of number of land forces	No	**	2	153	.....	32	41	3	11	.....	.....	.....
29	Same, another reduc. of same	No	†*	11	85	2	23	28	2	10	.....	1	.....
30	Same, that main ques. be now put	Aye	**	111	.....	21	.....	.....	30	.....	4	.....	1

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
31	Houses of Parl. permanent staff, that Mr. Lowther be a member of joint com. on.	Aye	*†	160	2	29		23	44		15		2
32	Same, that Mr. Wharton be another member	Aye	*†	164	1	35		20	50	1	16		2
33	Same, that com. have power to send for persons, papers, etc	Aye	*†	167		35		28	44		17		2
34	Primary education, res. that system inflicts a grievance	No	**	1	166		31	79		1	6		1
35	Service franchise bill, 2 R., amend. condemning the bill		**	152		29	1	5	69	1	18	1	
36	Sale of food and drugs bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.) that ques. be now put	Aye	**	135	2	25		1	47	1	6	2	
37	Same, ques. put	Aye	(*†)	142	1	26		31	16	11	1	2	
38	Supply, to omit approp. for Gold Coast	No	(*†)		150	1	34	30	42	16		2	
39	Business of the House, Gov. to have precedence to-morrow	Aye	**	187	3	34	4	1	96		14		1
40	Supply, reduc. of men for navy	No	(*†)		112		18	14	17	5			
41	S. E. and Lon. Chat. and D. Ry. Cos. (priv.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		*†	195	4	42	2	44	57	7	15		4
42	Supply, reduc. of approp. for recruiting	No	**	1	129	1	27	46	5	7		1	
43	Petroleum bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)		†*	33	189	10	38	103	8	13	7		2
44	Business of the House, suspension of 12 o'clock rule for supply	Aye	**	183	1	38	3		101		17		2
45	Supply, reduc. of men for navy	No	**		120		29	44	4	4		1	
46	Business of House, susp. of 12 o'clock rule for supply	Aye	**	129	1	30			78		14		3
47	Supply, reduc. of approp. for army	No	**		136		33	67	2	11		1	
48	Same, another reduc. of same	No	**		99		23	39	1	2			
49	Same, another reduc. of same	No	**		95		23	38		2			
50	Same, that chairman report progress	No	**		84		21	30	1	2			
51	Same, reduc. of approp. for half pay	No	**		79		20	25		2			
52	Same, that chairman report progress	No	**		77		20	20		2			
53	Business of the House, susp. of 12 o'clock rule for supply	Aye	**	151	2	29			72		14		1
54	Same, that Gov. have precedence to-morrow	Aye	**	165	2	31	2		80		12		
55	Supply, reduc. of approp. for foreign office, that ques. be now put	Aye	**	109		27			30		2		1
56	Same, ques. put	Aye	**	109		27			29		2		1
57	Ways and means, grant from consol. fund for 1898 and 1899	Aye	**	108		27		1	24		2		1
58	Same, grant from consol. fund for 1900	Aye	**	107		27		1	24		2		1
59	Supply, reduc. of approp. for army. (vs.)	Aye	**	105		27			25	1	2		1
60	Same, orig. approp	Aye	**	104		27			25		2		1
61	Same, reduc. of approp. for half pay. (vs.)	Aye	**	107		26			25		2		1
62	Same, orig. approp	Aye	**	106		26			25		2		1
63	Same, reduc. of approp. for Chelsea Hospital, etc. (vs.)	Aye	**	107		26			24		2		1
64	Same, reduc. of approp. for superannuation, etc. (vs.)	Aye	**	109		25			23		2		1
65	Same, orig. approp	Aye	**	104		25			24		3		

66	London water bill, 2 R., amend. (not until royal comn. reports.) (vs.)	.....	**	5	175	2	29	106	1	17	1	.....	.....
67	Supply, reduc. of approp. for civil service. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	110	.....	28	.....	1	26	.....	5	.....	.....
68	Same, orig. approp	Aye.....	**	107	2	27	.....	.....	26	.....	4	.....	.....
69	Queen Mary's School, address for withholding consent to scheme	.....	(†*)	24	27	.....	8	1	13	.....	4	.....	.....
70	London govt. bill, 2 R., amend. declaring unity of London. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	202	.....	38	.....	2	104	.....	14	1	.....
71	Supply, reduc. of approp. for royal palaces	No.....	*†	.....	116	.....	21	39	5	7	.....	.....	.....
72	Same, reduc. of approp. for royal parks	No.....	**	.....	100	.....	12	26	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
73	Crisis in the church, res. on lawlessness of clergy	.....	(**)	129	11	23	1	48	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
74	Evicted tenants (Ire.) bill, 2 R	No.....	**	1	144	.....	23	53	.....	15	.....	.....	.....
75	Supply, reduc. of approp. for Wei-Hai-Wei	No.....	*†	.....	132	.....	23	54	12	11	.....	.....	.....
76	Same, reduc. of approp. for wages at Deptford	No.....	**	2	100	.....	21	35	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
77	Same, reduc. of approp. for martial law	No.....	**	.....	85	.....	17	24	.....	6	.....	.....	.....
78	Army (ann.) bill, cl. 4, amend. (to omit officer may send soldier to lunatic asylum).	Aye.....	**	99	.....	17	.....	.....	32	.....	3	.....	.....
79	Same, amend. ("gen. officer commanding" instead of "any officer deputed"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	95	.....	17	.....	.....	31	.....	3	.....	.....
80	Same, that cl. 4 stand part of bill	Aye.....	**	94	.....	16	.....	.....	28	.....	3	.....	.....
81	Small houses bill, 2 R., amend. (public money should not be advanced unless freehold vests in public body). (vs.)	Aye.....	*†	193	.....	39	.....	16	61	.....	8	.....	.....
82	Same, that bill be sent to com. on law	Aye.....	*†	174	1	39	.....	11	71	.....	7	.....	.....
83	Elem. educ. code, address for withholding consent	.....	**	121	4	22	2	1	61	3	.....	.....	.....
84	Business of House, that metrop. water bill have precedence	Aye.....	**	142	.....	26	.....	2	88	.....	14	.....	.....
85	National expenditure, motion that it is excessive	No.....	**	.....	108	.....	25	56	.....	13	.....	.....	.....
86	Crim. law (Ire.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	No.....	**	.....	184	.....	36	116	.....	24	.....	1	.....
87	Business of House, suspension of 12 o'clock rule for ways and means.	Aye.....	**	174	3	31	.....	.....	106	.....	15	.....	1
88	Supply, reduc. of approp. for barracks	No.....	**	.....	122	.....	26	67	1	12	1	1	.....
89	Same, reduc of approp. for warlike stores	No.....	*†	.....	101	.....	24	45	5	8	.....	.....	.....
90	Same, reduc. of approp. for medical services	No.....	**	2	80	6	22	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
91	Business of House, priority of London govt. and finance bills, amend. except on May 17.	.....	(††)	36	148	4	28	12	94	7	3	1	1
92	Same, "except on Wednesdays"	No.....	**	2	184	4	33	110	1	11	.....	1	.....
93	Same, main ques. put	Aye.....	*†	195	.....	33	.....	32	78	.....	10	.....	.....
94	Aged deserving poor, motion for select com. on old age pensions	Aye.....	*†	201	.....	39	.....	22	78	.....	15	.....	.....
95	London govt. bill, amend. (act to apply to city of London)	Aye.....	**	173	.....	34	1	1	95	.....	7	.....	.....
96	Supply, reduc. of approp. for engineers. (vs.)	Aye	**	84	.....	19	.....	.....	19	.....	3	.....	.....
97	London govt. bill, amend. (divisions to be called "districts" instead of "metrop. boroughs"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	202	.....	38	.....	.....	119	.....	11	.....	.....
98	Same, amend. (boundaries of metrop. boroughs to be settled by act itself). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	149	1	31	.....	.....	100	.....	10	.....	.....
99	Same, amend. (pop. of boroughs must not exceed 300,000 instead of between 100,000 and 400,000). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	148	2	34	1	.....	91	.....	7	.....	.....
100	Same, amend. (50,000 instead of 100,000). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	153	2	36	.....	.....	87	.....	6	.....	.....
101	Same, amend. (to omit if pop. less than 100,000, ratable value must exceed £500,000). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	159	.....	41	1	.....	78	.....	4	.....	.....

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
102	Eccles. assess. (Scot.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos.		**	147	.....	28	1	.....	113	2	8	.....	.....
103	London govt. bill, amend. (borough councils not to have aldermen). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	198	3	44	.....	.....	125	2	12	1	.....
104	Same, amend. (no woman to be eligible)	.....	†*	76	51	18	10	3	60	3	6	.....	.....
105	Same, amend. (sex not to disqualify for office); 2d amend. (except for mayor).	Aye.....	*†	138	8	29	.....	9	62	3	6	.....	1
106	Same, amend. (women to be eligible for aldermen)	.....	†*	31	119	7	26	79	6	6	3	.....	.....
107	Supply, reduc. of approp. for salary of vice-pres. of the council	No.....	**	.....	129	.....	23	70	1	1	2	.....	.....
108	Supply, that orig. ques. be now put	Aye.....	**	129	1	23	.....	.....	60	1	2	.....	.....
109	Aged deserving poor, that Mr. Chaplin be a member of the com.	Aye.....	*†	193	2	35	.....	25	68	.....	12	1	.....
110	Same, that Mr. Cripps be a member, adj. of debate	No.....	**	11	184	4	33	107	.....	11	.....	3	1
111	Same, that Lord E. Fitzmaurice be a member	Aye.....	*†	201	.....	42	.....	33	65	.....	12	4	.....
112	Finance bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	230	.....	50	.....	.....	140	.....	11	.....	3
113	Liquor traffic (Scot.) bill, 2 R., 6 mos. (vs.)	.....	**	6	180	5	25	127	3	5	8	.....	1
114–119	(Omitted from division lists.)												
120	London govt. bill, amend. (power of local govt. board to order all councilors to retire the same year); 2d amend. (if majority of council so request).	Aye.....	**	173	1	35	.....	1	106	.....	10	.....	.....
121	Same, amend. (aldermen need not reside in borough)	.....	††	107	78	13	25	14	105	.....	17	.....	.....
122	Same, amend. (polls to be open from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m.)	No.....	**	3	137	.....	23	62	.....	11	1	.....	.....
123	Same, amend. (elections to be on Saturdays). (vs.)	No.....	**	1	142	.....	27	64	.....	12	1	.....	.....
124	Same, amend. (elections in "May" instead of "November"). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	156	.....	32	.....	1	72	.....	12	.....	.....
125	Same, amend. to omit subsect. 4 on dairies and slaughterhouses. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	201	.....	36	.....	.....	121	.....	10	.....	.....
126	Same, amend. to omit power of borough council to promote bills in Parl. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	131	.....	14	.....	.....	59	2	9	.....	.....
127	Same, amend. to limit promoting to bills for improvements in their own districts.	No.....	**	.....	130	1	17	55	.....	11	1	.....	.....
128	Same, amend. (promoting not to extend to water, gas, tramways, etc.)	No.....	**	.....	137	.....	19	59	.....	11	1	.....	.....
129	Same, amend. to omit subsect. 2, that council can delegate power to its coms. (vs.)	Aye.....	**	157	.....	25	.....	.....	70	.....	8	.....	.....
130	Same, amend. (to same effect). (vs.)	Aye.....	**	146	.....	23	.....	1	66	.....	5	.....	.....
131	Business of House, that coms. do not sit Ascension Day till 2 p. m.	Aye.....	**	157	2	20	4	1	61	5	1	.....	.....
132	Church discipline bill, 2 R., amend. (House not prepared to accept measure, but will if efforts of bishops fail). (vs.)	No.....	†*	31	237	4	47	121	13	.....	10	.....	3
133	Gas Light Co. (priv.) bill, 3 R., adj. of debate	.....	*†	10	129	6	26	88	12	16	.....	1	.....

134	Same, 3 R		*†	139	14	30	3	16	82		14		1
135	Finance bill, amend to reduce postage. (vs.)	Aye	**	200		42		4	109		16		1
136	Same, amend. to add "foreign"	No	(†*)	24	106	2	23	1	60	9	3	1	
137	Same, amend. to increase limit of weight mailable	Aye	**	158	1	33	1	6	83		7		
138	Same, cl. 13, amend. (against making the reduction of sinking fund "permanent"). (vs.)	Aye	**	141		28	2		75		7		
139	Same, that cl. 13 stand part of bill	Aye	**	128	2	26	2		67		5		1
140	East London water (priv.) bill, new cl. (provision for future purchase of undertaking).		*†	1	138		33	62	11	9		1	3
141	Tithe rent charge (Ire.), leave to bring in bill	Aye	**	167		37			101		12	1	
142	Finance bill, new cl. (no presumption of fraud in transfers less than 12 mos. before death).	No	(**)		101		20		37	1	6		
143	Supply, reduc. of approp. for board of trade. (vs.)	Aye	*†	109	1	20		3	26		5		1
144	London govt. bill, amend. (two borough councils, etc., may appoint joint committees).	No	**		133		29	82		12			
145	Same, amend. to abolish certain exemptions from rates. (vs.)	Aye	**	167	1	38		2	100		13		
146	Same, amend. (borough instead of parish to be unit for rating). (vs.)	Aye	**	182	7	41	1		110		11		
147	Same, amend. (to include cost of collection)	No	**	4	169	1	34	88		10			
148	Same, amend. (rates to be levied at equal rate per pound over whole borough). (vs.)	Aye	**	128	6	21			60		7		
149	Same, amend. cl. 13 (only one assessment com. for each borough). (vs.)	Aye	**	139	12	26	2		80		6		
150	Same, that cl. 13 stand	Aye	**	145		25	1		72		4		
151	Same, amend. (expenses of preliminary inquiry not to be paid out of county fund). (vs.)	Aye	**	160		30		2	85		14		1
152	Same, cl. 23, amend. to omit certain words concerning overseers. (vs.)	Aye	**	142	1	30			80		13		
153	Same, amend. (officer given new duties may resign and receive compensation).	Aye	**	110		28			54	1	7		
154	Same, new cl. (local govt. board may alter wards)	Aye	**	136		30			61		3		
155	Same, new cl. (borough to supply water for fountains)	No	**	8	120	2	26	47	5	3			
156	Adjournment to discuss suppression of public meeting in Mayo	No	**	1	177		35	91	1	13		1	
157	Business of House, susp. of 12 o'clock rule on London govt. bill	Aye	**	181	1	31		6	84		13		
158	London govt. bill, amend. to divide Wandsworth into two boroughs. (vs.)	Aye	**	101	1	17	1		51		5		
159	Same, amend. to change certain parishes in schedule. (vs.)	Aye	**	100		19		1	45		4		
160	Educ. of children bill, cl. 1, amend. to postpone operation of bill until 1905.		(†*)	7	43	1	14	2	98		8		
161	Same, amend. (compul. educ. till 11½ years instead of 12). (vs.)		(†*)	55	15	15	1	97	2	9			
162	Same, amend. to exempt children employed in agric		(†*)	92	20	21	3	119	3	11		2	
163	Same, amend. to exempt on account of poverty		(†*)	53	74	6	21	4	121		11		2
164	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill, that ques. be now put		(†*)	107	23	24	1	123	2	7			
165	Adjournment to discuss riotous public meeting in Belfast	No	**	2	98		22	60	5	9		2	
166	Supply, reduc. of salary of postmaster gen	No	**	5	135	4	22	84	1	13		1	
167	Same, reduc. of salaries in customs dept	No	**	5	70	2	20	42		7		1	

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
168	Same, reduc. of salary of pres. local govt. board	No	*†	.....	137	.....	30	53	18	6	5	.....	.....
169	Privilege, motion condemning interference of peers in elections	No	*†	8	158	.....	33	60	39	18	1	.....	.....
170	Supply, grant to Lord Kitchener	Aye	(*†)	264	.....	50	.....	78	31	1	20	.....	.....
171	London govt. bill, amend. (women may be elected)	.....	††	63	119	17	25	101	13	15	4	.....	.....
172	Same, amend. (that councilors be divisible by 3). (vs.)	Aye	*†	182	1	36	.....	27	66	.....	22	.....	.....
173	Same, amend. (aldermen need not reside in borough)	.....	(††)	53	73	6	15	8	41	.....	10	.....	.....
174	Same, amend. to omit subsec. 6, cl. 6 (power to promote bills in Parl). (vs.)	.....	**	120	.....	20	.....	1	46	.....	11	.....	.....
175	Service franchise bill, amend. that servant may vote who resides in house with master. (vs.)	.....	**	32	.....	8	.....	.....	46	.....	11	.....	1
176	Intox. liquors (Sunday) bill, 2 R., adj. of debate	.....	†*	73	12	15	5	1	62	4	6	2	.....
177	Wine and beer house bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	18	150	12	21	102	4	6	5	.....	3
178	Soudan expedition, motion for thanks to Lord Kitchener	Aye	(**)	196	.....	40	.....	85	7	.....	12	.....	1
179	Same, thanks to other officers	Aye	(**)	219	.....	34	.....	92	5	.....	12	.....	1
180	Same, gallantry of the men	Aye	(**)	223	.....	35	.....	97	3	.....	12	.....	1
181	London govt. bill, amend. to divide borough of Tower Hamlets. (vs.)	Aye	**	115	4	17	.....	.....	38	1	12	.....	1
182	Finance bill, amend. (duty to be paid by local authority only once).	No	**	.....	140	.....	26	62	1	7	.....	.....	.....
183	Private-bill procedure (Scot.) bill, amend. to make procedure under bill optional. (vs.)	Aye	*†	142	6	30	.....	24	58	.....	16	.....	.....
184	Same, amend. (act to apply only to opposed bills). (vs.)	Aye	*†	116	.....	20	.....	10	45	.....	11	.....	.....
185	Same, amend. (notices to be as required by standing orders). (vs.)	Aye	*†	106	.....	17	1	7	44	.....	10	.....	.....
186	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	*†	128	1	26	.....	21	49	.....	12	.....	.....
187	Godalming corp. water (priv.) bill, postponement to Thursday	.....	(††)	68	18	18	1	47	13	34	2	1	.....
188	Dublin corp. (priv.) bill, to consider, 3 mos. (vs.)	.....	†*	83	114	26	14	127	1	46	.....	9	.....
189	Service-franchise bill, new cl., all orders under registration act to apply.	.....	**	1	146	.....	32	107	2	29	.....	2	2
190	Same, amend. that servant to vote must not live in house with master, adj. of debate.	.....	**	2	152	.....	30	106	4	31	.....	.....	1
191	Same, that ques. be now put	.....	**	152	1	28	.....	4	109	.....	30	.....	2
192	Same, amend. put	.....	**	142	5	24	3	2	112	.....	31	.....	2
193	Indian tariff act, address for disallowance of	No	**	5	243	1	46	121	2	25	1	.....	1
194	Supply, reduc. of approp. for public educ. (Scot.)	No	**	.....	96	.....	16	33	1	13	.....	.....	.....
195	Business of House, that govt. have precedence Tuesdays and Wednesdays.	Aye	**	200	1	45	.....	3	90	1	27	.....	1

196	Private-bill procedure (Scot.) bill, amend. to omit provision forbidding Parl. to consider private bills in usual way. (vs.)	Aye	*†	143	1	30		32	48	1	23		
197	Same, amend. (panels for committees to be formed by counties). (vs.)	Aye	*†	101		23		9	51	2	17		
198	Same, amend. (panel to continue 2 years instead of 5). (vs.)	Aye	**	119	1	27	2	3	48		18		
199	Same, amend. (committees to be appointed by com. of selection). (vs.)	Aye	**	126	2	30	3		57	1	20		
200	Local govt. prov. order (priv.) bill, that bill be sent to police and san. com.		**	2	157		28	92	1	13	13		1
201	Private-bill procedure (Scot.) bill, amend. to give up Parl. inquiry in London after local Parl inquiry. (vs.)	Aye	**	178	6	28	5		102		26		1
202	Military works, approp. for	Aye	*†	168		38		35	44		20		2
203	Tithe rent charge, leave to bring in bill, adj. of debate	No	**	3	206	4	37	116		37		2	
204	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	208	3	39	2		124		38		2
205	Supply, reduc. of approp. for crim. prosecutions in Ireland	No	**		119		27	50		43		2	
206	Board of education bill, that bill be sent to com. on law	Aye	**	149		28		1	63	2	17	1	
207	Small houses bill, amend. (limit of advances $\frac{9}{10}$ instead of $\frac{4}{5}$ of value).	Aye	*†	184	6	34		41	48		13		
208	Same, amend. to substitute dist. councils for county councils. (vs)	Aye	**	203	3	33		4	106		17		
209	Business of House, to susp. 12 o'clock rule on tithe rent charge bill.	Aye	*†	195	1	38		29	70		15	1	
210	Tithe rent charge bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	273	3	40	1	1	148		23		
211	Royal Niger Co., approp. for purchase of rights of company, that chairman report progress.	No	**		156		31	90	4	12		1	
212	Same, that ques. be now put	Aye	**	180		36			100		15		1
213	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	181		37		2	84		16		1
214	Small houses bill, amend. to give power to rural district councils to apply the act.	No	**		155		31	81	2	14		1	
215	Same, amend. (act to apply to districts containing 5,000 instead of 7 000 people). (vs.)	Aye	**	138	2	29		1	78		10		
216	Same, amend. (act not to apply to Scotland)	No	**	1	111		17	40	2	7			
217	Same, amend. (act to apply to urban districts of 3,000 people in Ire.)	No	**	8	122		26	63		13			
218	Private-bill procedure (Scot.) bill, (bills from comrs. not to be referred to a select com.).	No	**	7	130	5	27	82	2	19		1	
219	Board of educ., approp. for salaries	Aye	**	105		21		2	37		13		
220	Improvement of land bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	114		25			33		11		
221	Same, that this bill be sent to com. on law	Aye	**	117		26			34		10		
222	Sea fisheries (Scot.) bill, 2 R		†*	17	145	9	25	70		26		2	
223	London govt. bill, Lords amend. (women not eligible), amend. (except as councilors).	No	†*	25	198	9	38	122	8	19		2	2
224	Same, Lords amend	Aye	†*	197	28	36	9	8	117		19	2	1
225	Military works bill, amend. against proceeding until full details given, that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	130		29			57		7		
226	Same, amend. put. (vs.)	Aye	**	130		29			57		7		
227	Same, main ques. put	Aye	**	126		29		1	47		6		
228	Supply, reduc. of approp. for prisons	No	*†		159		34	55	18	18	1	2	

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye,	No.
229	Same, reduc. of salary of home secretary	No	**	.....	92	.....	23	28	.....	7	.....	.....	.....
230	Tithe rent charge bill, amend. (act to apply only to rent charges of under £200 a year).	No	**	.....	215	4	36	128	.....	21	.....	.....	.....
231	Same, amend. to add "derived from agric. land"	No	**	.....	160	.....	21	80	.....	18	.....	.....	.....
232	Same, amend. (act not to apply where commutation included equivalent of rates).	No	**	.....	222	.....	41	132	1	18	.....	.....	.....
233	Same, amend. to insert "not severed from a benefice" instead of "attached to," that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	210	.....	39	1	.....	120	.....	14	.....	.....
234	Same, amend. put. (vs.)	Aye	**	203	1	38	1	.....	119	.....	13	.....	.....
235	Same, amend. (act to apply only to future incumbrances), that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	218	.....	40	.....	.....	139	.....	21	.....	.....
236	Same, amend. put	No	**	.....	224	1	38	144	.....	20	.....	.....	.....
237	Same, amend. (act to apply only where expenses have been incurred), that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	178	.....	30	.....	.....	106	.....	15	.....	.....
238	Same, amend. put	No	**	1	191	2	26	82	1	13	.....	.....	.....
239	Same, that main words of clause be now put	Aye	**	193	.....	29	.....	.....	120	.....	15	.....	.....
240	Same, those words put	Aye	**	203	.....	31	1	.....	128	.....	16	.....	.....
241	Same, amend. (reduc. of rate by sliding scale instead of one-half). (vs.)	Aye	**	193	1	34	1	.....	112	.....	11	.....	.....
242	Same, that ques. on words of cl. to line 8 be now put	Aye	**	190	.....	34	.....	.....	93	.....	11	.....	.....
243	Same, ques. put	Aye	**	189	.....	35	.....	.....	90	.....	10	.....	.....
244	Same, amend. that loss from exemptions shall be made up from local instead of national resources. (vs.)	Aye	**	224	3	33	1	.....	134	.....	18	.....	1
245	Same, amend. (sums to be paid from treas. only when excess on local taxation acct.), that question be now put.	Aye	**	233	.....	37	.....	.....	131	.....	17	.....	.....
246	Same, amend. put	No	**	.....	231	.....	38	128	.....	18	.....	1	.....
247	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill, that ques. be now put	Aye	**	228	.....	37	1	.....	131	.....	18	.....	1
248	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	**	222	.....	36	2	.....	130	.....	18	.....	1
249	Business of House, to susp. 12 o'clock rule on tithe rent charge bill.	Aye	**	207	1	40	3	.....	126	.....	18	.....	.....
250	Same, amend. to make clear that act applies only to English local taxation account, that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	205	.....	44	.....	.....	148	.....	24	.....	1
251	Same, amend. put	No	**	.....	206	1	44	144	.....	26	.....	2	.....
252	Same, amend. (act to apply only to curacies, etc.). (vs.)	Aye	**	187	.....	41	1	.....	130	.....	21	.....	.....
253	Same, amend. (act to apply only to incumbents at date of act), that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	154	.....	32	.....	1	88	.....	19	.....	.....
254	Same, amend. put. (vs.)	Aye	**	155	.....	29	2	.....	89	.....	20	.....	.....
255	Same, that cl. 2 stand part of bill, that ques. be now put	Aye	**	154	.....	30	.....	.....	77	.....	20	.....	.....

256	Same, that cl. 2. stand part of bill	Aye	**	155		27	2		79		20	
257	Same, amend. to add the word "relief" in the title to the bill	No	**		147	1	28	81		20		
258	Same, that cl. 3 stand part of bill	Aye	**	152		31	2		97		19	
259	Same, amend. to postpone operation of act. (vs.)	Aye	**	201		43	1		127		20	
260	Same, amend. (exemption not to apply to poor rates)	No	**		223	1	44	127		21		
261	Same, amend. to omit date when act comes into effect. (vs.)	Aye	**	227		46			132		20	
262	Same, that cl. 4 stand part of bill	Aye	**	227		43	3		131		21	
263	Same, new cl. (act not to apply to Wales)	No	**		195	1	37	100		19		
264	Same, that chairman report progress	No	**		180	1	36	90		16		
265	Same, new cl. (comrs. to send notices of paym't of money to local councils), that ques. be now put.	Aye	**	166		36			81		16	
266	Same, new cl. put	No	**		166		36	81		16		
267	Same, new cl. (exempt. not to apply to sequestrated benefices)	No	**		168		33	81		16		
268	Same, that chairman report progress	Aye	**	160		29			76		18	
269	Supply, reduc. of salary sec. of state for Scotland	No	**		100		33	58	1	13		
270	Same, reduc. of approp. for fishery board (Scot.)	No	*†		55		19	13	6	5		
271	Same, another reduc. of same approp	No	**		53		18	20		6		
272	Business of House, to susp. all standing orders interrupting Govt. business.	Aye	*†	209	1	40			37	73	19	
273	Sale of food and drugs bill, new cl. (act to apply to wholesale dealers).	No	**		132	1	30	71	2	3	11	
274	Same, new cl. to create standing com. of loc. gov. board on food standards).	No	**		153	1	35	74	6	9		
275	Same, new cl. (inspectors to have power to enter shops, factories, etc., and take samples).	No	*†		137	1	25	45	15	4		
276	Same, new cl. forbidding sale of margarine colored like butter	No	(††)	22	155	5	40	21	102	20		
277	Same, new cl. forbidding sale of milk, etc. with coloring matter	No	(††)	21	136	1	38	19	63	16	1	
278	Same, amend. to omit "margarine cheese." (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	98		25		23	18	11	2	
279	Same, amend. to omit the word "impoverished" butter. (vs.)	Aye	*†	99		30		22	23	11	1	
280	Same, amend. to vest power in local govt. board instead of board of agriculture.	No	*†		147		37	72	10	4	3	
281	Same, cl. 2 amend. to similar effect. (vs.)	Aye	**	149		30		4	64	1	4	
282	Same, amend. to omit cl. 4. (Sec. of Agric. to fix standard for milk.) (vs.)	Aye	**	113		24		4	41		3	
283	Same, amend. to omit cl. 7. (Manuf. of margarine.) (vs.)	Aye	*†	141		35		28	59	11	3	
284	Same, amend. to omit cl. 8. (Forbidding mixtures of margarine and butter.) (vs.)	Aye	**	126	6	25	5	7	72	8		
285	Tithe rent charge bill, 3 R. 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	159		23	5		95		17	
286	Sale of food and drugs bill, amend. (margarine may contain 30 per cent of butter, instead of 10 per cent).	Aye	**	99	5	20		4	41	8	2	
287	Same, amend. to omit penalties for violation of act. (vs.)	Aye	*†	142	2	27	1	14	63	5	5	
288	Same, amend. to make an invoice, like a warranty, a defense in prosecutions. (vs.)		††	12	91	4	15	25	8	1	5	
289	Same, amend. (prosecution for giving false invoice or warranty), adj. of debate.	No	*†		93		17	23	3	5		
290	Same, amend., label on tin to constitute warranty	No	**	2	88		16	24	2	4	1	

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
291	Supply, reduc. of approp. for war office, that chairman report progress.	Aye	(*‡)	49		16		4	2		4		
292	Agric. and tech. instruction (Ire.) bill, amend. chief sec. not to be head of dept. (vs.)	Aye	**	102		27		1	79	2	11		3
293	Same, amend. (head of this dept. must seek reelection on appointment). (vs.)	Aye	**	129		31			71	1	17		3
294	Telegraphs (telephone) bill, to consider, 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	120	2	27	1	24	23		15		
295	Same, amend. to omit cl. 1. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	133	2	33	3	37	19	5	8		
296	Employment of women washing bottles, motion for repeal of this exception in the law.	No	**		68		15	22		3			
297	Telegraphs (telephone) bill, amend. made to avoid curtailing powers now possessed by cos.	Aye	(*†)	97		24		30	17		10		
298	Same, amend. (no license to extend beyond 1911)	No	**	1	116		27	54	3	7			
299	Same, amend. (licenses to be extended only on terms agreed upon with local authority). (vs.)	Aye	**	109		24		2	38		7		
300	Same, amend. on granting rival licenses; 2d amend. to make words more clear. (vs.)	Aye	*†	101		23		14	21		6		
301	Same, amend. where borough obtains license Nat. Tel. Co. license to be extended also. (vs.)	Aye	**	85	1	20		2	31		6		
302	Same, another amend (rates of charge) to same effect. (vs.)	Aye	**	83		19		1	27		6		
303	Same, Govt. amend., adj. of debate	No	*†		82		20	22	6	5			
304	Same, amend. (cl. not to apply to original licenses	Aye	**	78		19		2	21		4		
305	Royal Niger Co. bill, amend (reduc. of amt. to be paid from treas). (vs.)	Aye	*†	116		21		6	46		11		
306	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	*†	135		28		8	59		17		1
307	Same, new cl. (lands and mines transferred to Crown)	No	**		137		23	77		12			
308	Improvement of land bill, 3 R., adj. of debate	No	**		106		19	40		8			
309	Royal Niger Co. bill, 3 R	Aye	*†	134		34		13	67		14		
310	Naval works bill, amend. (approp. for 2 instead of 3 years). (vs.)	Aye	**	130		36		2	80		15		
311	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	*†	118		28		13	35		13		
312	Military works bill, amend. (£100,000 to be spent on barracks near Edinburgh.)	No	**		106		18	37		10			
313	Same, amend. to omit approp. for defense works. (vs.)	Aye	**	114	1	29			41		6		
314	Same, amend. to provide recreation rooms in barracks, etc	No	**	4	85	3	18	34		3			
315	Improvement of land bill, amend. to confine loans to agric. land. (vs.)	Aye	**	82		18			18		3		
316	Same, new cl. (no loans unless proper laborers' cottages)	No	**	2	78		18	16		3			

317	Colonial loans bill, 2 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	**	92		21		4	51	1	14		1
318	Same, 2 R	Aye	**	98		20		4	56	1	12		1
319	High court, address for additional chancery judge	Aye	(*†)	100		21		36	14	2	14		
320	Telegraphs (telephone) bill, 3 R., 3 mos. (vs.)	Aye	*†	94		21	1	15	22	2	6		
321	Supply, reduc. of approp. for temporary commissions, etc	No	**		91		22	45	1	4			
322	Dublin corp. (priv.) bill, that House disagree with Lords amend. in regard to area.		(†*)	49	46	16	6	65		27		3	
323	Board of educ. bill (Lords), amend. to omit power of dealing with endowments.	No	(†*)	19	75	1	19		42	2	6		
324	Same, amend. to omit that board may inspect through any "other organization." (vs.)	Aye	*†	114		24		9	42	5	1	1	
325	Same, amend. to add thereto "concerned with secondary, etc., educ."	No	**		114		24	50	1	2	3		1
326	Manchester canonries bill, that chairman report progress	No	*†		70		15	11	11	2	1		
327	Same, amend. to substitute cure of souls in the city for service of cathedral. (vs.)	Aye	*†	65		16		5	16	1	2		
328	Same, amend. to omit provision against reducing income of canon. (vs.)	Aye	*†	63		13		6	14	1	2		
329	Colonial loans bill, amend. (rate of interest to be fixed by treas. without col. sec.) (vs.)	Aye	*†	94		17		13	20		7		
330	Same, that cl. 1 stand part of bill	Aye	*†	91		16		16	23		7		
331	Same, amend. to substitute Parl. for treas. and col. sec. (vs.)	Aye	**	95		17		4	41		6		
332	Same, amend. to omit loan to Gold Coast. (vs.)	Aye	*†	113		18		9	38		5		
333	Same, amend. to omit Niger coast harbor loan. (vs.)	Aye	*†	110		20		18	38		6		
334	Same, amend. to omit loan to Jamaica. (vs.)	Aye	*†	112		21		25	27		11		
335	Same, amend. to omit loans for Lagos, etc. (vs.)	Aye	(*†)	102		21		28	27		11		
336	Expiring laws continuance bill, amend. to omit peace preserv. (Ire.) act. (vs.)	Aye	*†	92		19		7	33		8		1
337	Supply, approp. for British Museum	Aye	*†	101		22		13	38		13		
338	Same, reduc. of approp. for public educ. in Scot	No	**		115		26	51	1	15			
339	Same, approp. for Queen's colleges in Ireland	Aye	(*†)	116		24		30	9		17		
340	Same, reduc. of approp. for embassies, etc., abroad	No	**	1	144		30	63		16			
341	Same, approp. for Uganda	Aye	*†	160		33		12	53	1	16		
342	Same, approp. for Cypress	Aye	**	162		32		1	61		18		
343	Same, approp. for subsidies to telegraph cos	Aye	**	163		33		1	66		18		
344	Same, approp. for survey of United Kingdom	Aye	**	167		34		6	58		18		
345	Same, approp. for public buildings, etc., in Ireland	Aye	**	165		32			65		16		
346	Same, approp. for salaries of House of Lords officers	Aye	**	167		31		1	64		17		
347	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in home dept	Aye	*†	166		31		7	57		17		
348	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in foreign office	Aye	**	164		32		1	59		16		
349	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in board of agric	Aye	**	165		30		1	59		16		
350	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in loc. govt. board	Aye	**	162		31		3	58		14		
351	Same, approp. for secret services	Aye	**	166		32		3	59		12		
352	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., of chief sec. for Ireland	Aye	**	161		32			62		12		
353	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., of courts in Ireland	Aye	**	155		33			57		12		
354	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., of Irish land comn	Aye	**	153		33			55		11		

House of Commons—Divisions—1899—Continued.

No. of division.	Question.	Government tellers.	Party divisions.	Conservatives.		Liberal Unionists.		Liberals.		Nationalists.		Parnellites.	
				Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
355	Same, approp. for Royal Irish constabulary	Aye	**	147		31			53		11		
356	Same, approp. for misc. expenses	Aye	**	151		28		1	48		12		
357	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in war office	Aye	**	146		31		3	44		13		
358	Same, reduc. of approp. for sala., etc., in science and art dept. (vs.)	Aye	**	80		15		3	25	1	11		
359	Same, reduc. of approp. for Uganda. (vs.)	Aye	**	85		17			33		14		
360	Same, approp. for salaries, etc., in House of Lords	Aye	**	85		17		1	30		11		
361	Same, reduc. of approp. for salaries, etc., in colonial office. (vs.)	Aye	**	97		21			25		4		
362	Agric. and tech. instr. (Ire.) bill, that House agree in Lords amend. omitting subheads (d) and (s).	Aye	**	60	1	9			38		7		1
363	East India revenue accts., amend. (authority of Parl. over Indian affairs is not effectively exercised.) (vs.)	Aye	*†	68		15		12	28		8		

Out of the 357 divisions printed above, the number of cases where 10 per cent or more split off were: 32 Unionists, 85 Liberals; of the former, Government whips were tellers in 9 and were not tellers in 23. Cases where 10 per cent did not split off: 325 Unionists, 272 Liberals.

The Government whips were tellers in 316 out of the 357 divisions.

They were never defeated, and the largest per cent of Unionists that ever voted against the Government tellers was $17\frac{6}{10}$ (No. 323).

[Republicans, 36; Democrats, 9; Conditional Unionists, 5; total, 50. (In second session all members classed as Republicans and Democrats.) President, Abraham Lincoln, R.]

FIRST SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
6	That the oaths be administered to Willey and Van Winkle, Senators from W. Va	*†	32	.....	1	4	3	1
32	Res. of H. of R. that when House adjourns on Friday, Dec. 18, 1863, it be to meet on Jan. 6, 1864.	*†	1	29	3	2	.....	4
36	Res. that adj. be until Jan. 5, 1864, to postpone further consideration	††	29	4	1	5	1	2
39	Oath, new rule requiring Senators to take the oath set forth in act of July 2, 1862, motion to refer to Com. on Judiciary.	†*	7	25	7	.....	1	1
44	Deficiency approp., amend. no bounties to soldiers except those now provided by law	*†	33	2	1	5	1	2
45	Bill for enrolling national forces, amend. exempting all clergymen	††	7	26	1	5	1	2
46	Res. of H. of R. that adj. be to Jan. 5	(†*)	18	15	6	.....	3	.....
58	Bill to prevent Army and Navy from interfering in elections, motion to refer to Com. on Judiciary.	†*	7	21	5	.....	4	.....
73	Another bill for enrolling national forces, amend. persons drafted who furnish substitutes or sum required to be discharged.	(†*)	15	19	.....	3	.....	3
79	Same, amend. reported by Com. on Mil. Aff. to abolish discharge of persons drafted upon payment of $300.	††	11	22	1	3	.....	3
79	Same, amend. to raise commutation for a drafted person from $300 to $500, 2d amend. $400	††	26	5	3	1	2	.....
79	Same, motion to strike out the provision for commutation	††	17	13	4	1	2	.....
80	Same, amend. commutation moneys to form a fund to be distributed among other drafted men.	††	7	23	2	2	1	1
80	Same, amend. to prescribe services to which ministers and others opposed to bearing arms shall be assigned; 2d amend. to strike out words "ministers of the gospel."	††	23	8	3	2	2	.....
81	Same, this amend. as amended	††	25	9	2	2	1	1
81	Same, amend. classification of forces by ages, etc	†*	5	29	5	.....	2	.....
85	Same, amend. no person drafted shall again be liable until present enrollment exhausted.	††	16	16	5	1	3	.....
86	Same, amend. assessing on drafted persons incapable of service a sum graduated upon income.	††	14	17	2	4	.....	3
86	Same, amend. to strike out section regulating fees of attorneys and physicians	††	5	23	5	1	3	.....
87	Same, amend. repealing so much of act of Mar. 3, 1863, as allowed money commutation for draft.	††	14	17	1	4	.....	3
87	Same, amend. assessing graduated sums on drafted men not serving	(†*)	16	19	.....	6	.....	3
88	Same, amend. raising commutation from $300 to $500; 2d amend. $400	††	20	14	4	2	3	.....
88	Same, orig. amend	††	21	12	1	5	.....	2

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
89	Same, amend. to add section to punish surgeons for false returns	*†	31	1	1	5	1	1
90	Same, amend. by Clark, commutation paid in any Cong. dist. to be applied to get substitutes to be credited to the dist.; 2d amend. to insert before "substitutes" the word "white."	†*	7	27	6	.....	1	1
91	Same, another 2d amend. colored troops enlisted be credited to the quota of the State	(†*)	20	11	5	.....	2	.....
92	Same, amend. President to call for 100,000 volunteers to serve 100 days, motion to adjourn	††	13	21	3	2	.....	3
92	Same, vote on this amend	(†*)	9	26	.....	4	2	1
92	Same, amend. on commutation of men of various properties; 2d amend. by Wilson, R., to raise minimum payment from $150 to $200.	††	17	14	1	5	.....	2
93	Same, orig. amend	††	2	31	4	2	.....	1
93	Same, motion to adjourn	††	16	16	4	2	.....	1
97	Same, amend. exempting ministers of gospel	††	4	28	1	3	.....	2
98	Same, passage	††	27	4	1	5	2	1
106	Oath, new rule requiring Senators to take oath of act of July 2, 1862, amend. Com. on Judiciary to inquire if that act applies to members of Congress.	†*	4	26	5	.....	3	.....
130	Same, passage	†*	28	4	.....	4	.....	3
131	Internal-revenue duties bill, amend. act to apply to certain spirits on hand	(†*)	21	8	5	.....	4	.....
131	Same, amend. to apply to all spirits on hand for sale	(†*)	14	20	.....	6	.....	3
134	Const. amend. to prohibit slavery, motion to postpone indefinitely	*†	1	29	5	1	2	1
143	Civil rights, res. against exclusion of negroes from equal rights in R. Rs. in D. of C	**	30	2	.....	7	.....	1
143	Members of Congress not to act as counsel where U. S. interested, amend. striking out the essential clause.	††	4	25	6	2	.....	1
144	Same, amend. including "court-martial" among the causes where U. S. interested	††	24	7	1	6	1	1
146	Interstate commerce bill, motion to refer to Com. on Judiciary	††	12	19	1	5	.....	3
147	Bill reviving grade of Lieut. General, amend. President merely authorized to appoint a Lieut. Gen.	††	20	10	3	4	1	1
152	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers in Army, amend. persons enlisted under act of July 18, 1861, receive pay allowed by that act.	†*	15	13	.....	6	1	2
152	Same, motion to adj	†*	11	14	6	.....	3	.....
155	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. making salary of Asst. Sec. of Int. equal to that of Asst. Sec. of Navy; 2d amend. salary of all asst. secs. $3,000.	††	16	14	2	3	2	1
155	Same, amend. as amended	††	18	13	5	1	2	1
156	Same, amend. making the salaries $3,500	†*	14	17	4	.....	1	.....
156	Same, reconsideration of last vote	†*	17	16	.....	6	.....	.....
156	Same, amend. increasing salaries of heads of bureaus	(†*)	5	28	.....	6	.....	1

157	Same, motion to adj	††	11	22	4	2	1
157	Same, to agree to amend. made in com. of whole (salaries of asst. secs.)	†*	12	17	5	2	
164	Bill for relief of Albert Brown, motion to refer to Court of Claims	††	12	18	5	2	1	1
170	Bill for enrolling national forces, to print conf. report	**	1	25	7	3	
176	Same, to agree to conf. report	††	24	8	1	6	1	2
180	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers, amend. substituting a res. for discharge of all colored troops.	*†		28	5	1	2	1
181	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	(*†)	1	25	1	6	1	2
184	Bill for appointment of warden of jail in D. of C	†*	23	6		4		3
185	Bill reviving grade of Lieut. Gen., amend. striking out that Lieut. Gen. shall command armies, and that Congress recommends appointment of Grant.	††	23	8	3	3	2	1
185	Same, amend. that Lieut. Gen. shall be in command of armies during pleasure of Prest	††	9	20	1	5		3
185	Same, passage	*†	29	1	1	4	1	1
189	Bill to regulate pay of clerks to paymasters in Navy, passage	††	5	21	4	3	2	1
190	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers, amend. men enlisted under act of July, 1861, to receive pay promised by that act.	†*	19	10		6		2
203	Bill for issuing bonds, amend. striking out power of Sec. of Treas. to issue 5-20 bonds to subscribers in excess of $500,000,000.	††	6	24	4	1	1	2
203	Same, amend. interest on bonds 5 per cent (instead of 6 per cent)	*†		28	5	1	1	2
208	Internal revenue bill, instruc. to conferees to agree to tax not over 20 cts. a gallon on spirits on hand.	(†*)	15	16		6		3
214	Same, that Senate recede from its amendments leaving tax on imported spirits on hand but not on domestic ones.	††	20	8	2	3	3	
219	Grant of land to R. R. co. in Minn., motion to recommit to Com. on Public Lands	(†*)	7	20		7	1	2
219	Same, to postpone to Thursday next	††	19	7	5	2	3	
226	Res. for report of commission to investigate speculations of officers in cotton, etc	**	2	25	6		3	
230	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers, amend. U. S. to pay loyal owners for slaves taken into Army.	*†		30	4	1	2	
231	Same, amend. to define being mustered into Army	*†	1	28	4	1	2	
231	Same, passage	*†	29		1	5	1	1
231	Grant of land to R. R. co. in Minn., amend. granting land to Wisconsin to aid in building R. R.	††	13	14	3	3	1	2
235	Bill to anticipate payment of interest on public debt, amend. Sec. of Treas. may use, to pay for war material, etc., gold, not needed for interest, at its value as compared with Treas. notes.	*†		29	4	2	1	1
235	Same, passage	**	29	1		6	1	1
242	Approp. for Military Academy, amend. cadets to be selected according to merits	†*	15	14		6		2
246	Bill to purchase a steam fire engine, passage	††	22	6	4	3	2	
249	Dip. and con. approp. bill, amend. authorizing minister to Belgium	†*	20	12		5	1	1
252	Same, amend. in regard to clerks, etc., in consular service	†*	20	10		5		1
256	Res. for a com. to investigate conduct of T. W. Higginson, etc., in attempting to rescue Anthony Burns, to lay on table.	**	29	1		6		3
257	Bill to incorporate Metrop. R. R. Co. in D. of C., amend. to forbid excluding any person from cars on account of color.	†*	19	9		5		3
260	Bill to repeal all acts for rendition of fugitive slaves, that the bill be made special order.	(†*)	18	12		6	1	2

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
267	Bill to promote enlistments in Army, to refer bill to Com. on Judiciary	†*	8	21	4	.....	2	1
288	Bill to provide govt. for Territory of Montana, consideration	*†	26	1	1	5	2	1
290	Same, amend. allowing negroes to vote	†*	22	9	.....	5	.....	3
290	Same, passage	*†	28	2	1	4	.....	2
294	Const. amendment to prohibit slavery, motion to proceed to exec. business	†*	24	9	.....	5	.....	2
300	Res. for copies of orders issued by War Dept. to take possession of any churches, to lay on table.	†*	27	4	.....	4	.....	3
300	Const. amendment to prohibit slavery, motion to take up naval approp. bill	†*	11	21	4	.....	3	.....
301	Same, amend. no negro shall be citizen of U. S. or eligible to any civil or military office	**	.....	31	4	.....	1	1
301	Same, amend. no slave to be emancipated unless the owner paid his value	*†	.....	31	1	1	1	2
303	Same, amend. to add art. fixing term of Pres. and V. Pres. at 6 years, etc	††	6	30	5	1	1	1
303	Same, amend. to add art. that President may remove certain exec. officers	*†	1	35	4	2	1	1
304	Same, amend. to add art. that every law shall relate to one subject only, etc	*†	1	34	4	2	1	1
307	Same, motion to proceed to exec. business	††	21	11	5	1	2	.....
313	Same, passage	*†	36	.....	1	5	1	1
319	Naval approp. bill, amend. on amount of appropriation for certain navy-yards	(†*)	20	10	4	.....	1	1
320	Same, amend. on reestablishment of Naval Academy at Annapolis	††	14	15	4	2	2	.....
320	Same, amend. repealing all bounties on vessels in cod fisheries	†*	10	19	7	.....	1	1
324	Res. to print 3,000 copies of report of Com. on Foreign Relations on French spoliations	††	18	16	4	2	1	1
325	Naval approp. bill, to agree to amendment made in Com. of Whole on reestablishment of Naval Academy; 2d amend. Sec. of Navy to inquire into best place for it.	††	10	20	2	5	.....	3
325	Same, orig. amend	††	22	8	5	2	3	.....
326	Bill to compensate sailors on gunboat Baron de Kalb, passage	(†*)	25	6	3	.....	2	.....
331	Bill confirming title of Joseph Ford to lands in Minn., passage	(**)	30	2	4	.....	2	.....
332	Bill prohibiting speculation in gold, etc., amend. to strike out prohibition to deal in gold except at usual place of business.	†*	7	25	6	.....	2	.....
333	Same, motion to adj	†*	15	19	6	.....	2	.....
336	Same, amend. striking out words forbiding speculation in foreign exchange	†*	5	24	5	.....	3	.....
336	Same, amend. to strike out cl. on kinds of transactions in gold coin allowed	††	8	23	5	1	2	.....
337	Same, passage	†*	23	8	.....	6	.....	3
343	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, amend. increasing approp. for Comr. of Agric., motion to adj.	††	3	21	2	4	1	2
343	Same, another motion to adj	(**)	1	27	.....	7	.....	3
344	Same, 2d amend. striking out experimental garden	(†*)	13	14	.....	7	1	2
344	Same, orig. amend	††	16	13	5	1	2	.....
344	Same, another amend. on approp. for Comr. of Agric	††	13	17	2	5	1	2

347	Bill to raise rank of Provost-Marshal-Gen., passage	††	25	4	4	2	2	1
348	Bill to repeal all acts for rendition of fugitive slaves, consideration	†*	26	3	.....	5	.....	2
348	Same, amend. excepting act of 1793 on fugitives from justice and persons escaping from service.	†*	14	17	7	.....	3	.....
349	Same, amend. on arrest of inhabitants of U. S	**	1	27	6	.....	2	.....
349	Same, motion to adj	††	6	26	5	1	2	1
350	Same, to lay on table	*†	1	29	6	1	2	1
358	Bill for assay offices at Carson City, etc., amend. Dallas to be branch mint instead of assay office.	††	16	14	6	1	1	1
361	Bill for a bureau of military justice, amend. salary of certain officials $4,000 instead of $4,500.	††	14	18	5	1	3	.....
363	Army approp. bill, amend. colored and white recruits to have same pay	*†	29	.....	1	4	1	1
363	Same, amend. all colored soldiers shall be discharged at close of rebellion	**	2	27	5	.....	3	.....
364	Same, amend. bounties to all soldiers	†*	6	24	4	.....	3	.....
364	Same, amend. on claims of loyalists for property taken by U. S	**	.....	31	3	.....	2	.....
365	Same, amend. raising pay of U. S. soldiers	*†	1	29	3	1	2	.....
365	Same, passage	(*†)	31	.....	3	1	2	.....
365	Adjournment to Monday next	(†*)	17	14	3	.....	2	.....
372	National currency bill, amend. relieving from liability shareholders of banks of $5,000,000 capital.	†*	21	7	.....	6	.....	2
379	Tariff bill, amend. reducing the horizontal increase of duties from 50 per cent to 33⅓ per cent.	†*	12	17	5	.....	2	.....
380	Same, amend. excepting from the increase goods now in bond	†*	10	18	6	.....	3	.....
380	Same, amend. striking out proviso excepting paper for books, etc	†*	20	8	.....	6	1	2
380	Same, motion to adj	††	11	18	3	2	.....	3
380	Same, to agree to amend. of Com. of Whole, reducing increase from 50 per cent to 33⅓ per cent.	††	10	19	5	1	2	1
381	Same, to agree to amend. of Com. of Whole excepting imported goods now in bond	††	11	18	5	1	3	.....
381	Same, to agree to amend. of Com. of Whole striking out the proviso excepting paper for books, etc.	(†*)	11	18	.....	6	2	.....
381	Same, amend. persons who have contracted to sell goods now in bond may add duty to price.	(†*)	4	25	.....	6	.....	2
382	Same, passage	*†	28	1	1	5	1	2
387	Bill for new assay offices, to agree to amend. of Com. of Whole making Dallas a branch mint.	††	17	13	4	1	2	1
388	National currency bill, amend. on taxation of nat. bank shares	(†*)	11	19	.....	6	.....	3
388	Same, similar amend	††	10	21	1	4	.....	2
389	Bill for relief of settlers upon certain lands in Cal., passage	(*†)	27	2	4	1	2	1
394	Res. for payment of volunteers, amend. troops may be required to serve six months	††	9	20	1	3	1	2
394	Same, amend. approp. not to be used for troops mustered in after May 15, 1864, for less than six months.	††	12	17	2	2	3	.....
398	Same, passage	†*	23	7	.....	4	.....	3
399	Bill for a bureau of mil. justice, conf. report, motion to adj	††	6	21	2	1	2	1
399	Same, another motion to adj	††	13	13	2	1	2	1
401	Res. fixing quorum of Senate at majority of Senators duly chosen	††	24	6	1	3	1	2
402	Bill for a bureau of military justice, to agree to conf. report	††	16	14	1	3	.....	3
402	Res. to put in Cong. Globe a list of absentees on calls for ayes and noes	†*	20	8	.....	2	.....	3

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
405	National currency bill, motion to take up bill for relief of Wisconsin	(†*)	23	5	3	.....	3	.....
407	Same, amend. on liability of shareholders	†*	19	7	.....	4	1	1
410	Adjournment to Monday next	†*	10	20	3	.....	2	.....
411	Bill to amend charter of city of Washington, motion to take up bill on Navajo Indian Reservation.	††	10	19	1	2	3	.....
411	National currency bill, amend. taxes to be on deposits and circulation	(†*)	11	17	.....	4	.....	3
411	Same, to agree to sect. on taxation	(†*)	22	8	4	.....	3	.....
412	Same, amend. on reserve required	(†*)	13	16	.....	3	1	2
412	Same, amend. on the cities where banks must keep reserve	†*	14	12	.....	1	1	1
417	Bill on Navajo Indian Reservation, passage	††	16	10	4	1	3	.....
417	National currency bill, amend. restricting total amount of notes	††	6	22	4	1	2	.....
418	Same, amend. limiting it to amount then outstanding	(†*)	3	26	.....	4	.....	2
419	Same, amend. bank notes not to be used to redeem nat. currency	(†*)	16	12	5	.....	2	.....
422	Same, amend. reserve to be in coin, etc	†*	9	20	4	.....	2	.....
422	Same, amend. Treas. notes to be decreased	†*	9	17	3	.....	2	.....
423	Same, amend. bank notes limited to 90 per cent of bonds	†*	4	17	5	.....	2	.....
424	Same, amend. on liability of shareholders	†*	25	3	.....	5	1	2
424	Same, amend. on amount of bank notes	†*	5	24	5	.....	2	.....
424	Same, amend. to strike out permission to organize banks with $50,000 capital in places with only 6,000 population.	†*	12	21	5	.....	2	1
425	Same, amend. banks not to be depositories of public moneys	†*	5	27	5	.....	1	1
425	Same, amend. to forbid $1, $2, and $3 notes	†*	3	25	5	.....	.....	1
426	Same, amend. to strike out all after enacting cl. and substituting a cl. repealing the act of Feb. 25, 1863.	**	1	30	5	.....	.....	1
426	Same, passage	**	29	3	.....	5	1	1
431	Bill for relief of Daniel Fitzgerald, 3 R	††	16	12	1	1	2	1
434	Adjournment to Monday next	†*	11	16	5	.....	3	.....
438	Res. to enable Generals Schenck and Blair to resign temporarily and sit in H. of R., consideration.	††	18	9	3	1	1	.....
438	Same, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	(†*)	15	13	6	.....	2	.....
440	Grant of pension to widow of General Whipple, to lay on table	††	8	17	3	2	.....	2
443	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers, amend. on Bureau of Military Justice	††	21	6	2	3	.....	2
447	Same, amend. on rank and pay of officers of Bureau	††	20	8	2	4	2	.....
447	Same, similar amend	††	18	8	2	4	2	.....
448	Same, reconsideration of amend. on pay of certain army officers	††	18	7	3	2	1	1

449	Same, amend. thereto (pay to be in gold)	*†	1	22	4	1	1	.....
449	Same, amend. excepting colored soldiers from act	**	.....	25	4	.....	1	1
450	Bill on printing of public documents, to strike out an amend. stopping printing of lists of Govt. contracts.	††	4	24	1	2	.....	2
456	Bill to provide govt. for Montana, to agree to conf. report	(†*)	18	13	5	.....	3	.....
457	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. to strike out limit of shares to be held by one person	††	12	13	4	2	1	.....
462	Bill for ocean mail between U. S. and Brazil, amend. on contract for mails to Venezuela.	††	8	24	3	3	1	2
462	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. on location of R. R	†*	11	17	3	.....	1	.....
463	Same, amend. on land damages	††	21	13	3	2	2	1
463	Adjournment to Monday next	†*	12	21	5	.....	3	.....
467	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. on location	††	22	3	3	1	2	1
467	Same, similar amend	††	15	11	3	1	1	1
468	Same, amend. on power of R. R. co. to terminate contracts	†*	12	11	.....	5	1	1
469	Same, passage	*†	20	1	1	4	2	.....
469	Bill for ocean mail between U. S. and Brazil, passage	††	17	11	1	3	3	.....
472	Internal-revenue bill, amend. on pay of certain assessors of customs	†*	19	7	.....	2	1	.....
475	Bill to pay damages for depredations by Indians, consideration	*†	28	1	2	4	1	2
481	Internal-revenue bill, amend. on duties on vessels repaired	(†*)	12	17	.....	4	1	1
481	Same, amend. taxes on receipts of bridge cos	†*	8	20	3	.....	2	.....
484	Bill on charter of city of Washington, motion to consider res. on arrest of William Yocum.	†*	7	19	6	.....	3	.....
485	Same, amend. no exclusion from the register on account of color, 2d amend. to add who have borne arms for U. S.	†*	25	5	.....	6	1	1
485	Internal-revenue bill, amend. on rates of income tax	††	20	11	1	3	1	1
485	Same, amend. on stamp duties	†*	7	18	4	.....	2	.....
486	Res. on monarchy in Mexico, to discharge Com. on For. Rel. from consideration of	**	.....	22	4	.....	1	1
488	Bill to amend charter of city of Washington, amend. giving franchise to all taxpayers able to read and write.	(†*)	8	18	.....	5	.....	4
488	Same, amend. against exclusion of colored persons from register	†*	18	9	.....	7	.....	4
490	Internal-rev. bill, amend. on domestic spirits	†*	14	15	7	.....	4	.....
493	Same, amend. duties on bullion	†*	18	12	.....	6	.....	3
498	Same, amend. taxes on bank deposits, etc	(†*)	11	16	.....	5	.....	4
499	Same, amend. repealing all bounties on fishing vessels	†*	4	23	6	.....	1	1
504	Same, amend. salaries of assessors	††	23	4	3	3	3	1
505	Same, amend. no direct tax to be collected under past acts until Congress enact another law.	(†*)	15	14	4	.....	2	2
509	Same, amend. tax on tobacco	††	9	21	3	1	4	.....
509	Same, amend. tax on leather	††	8	14	3	2	3	1
512	Same, amend. increasing taxes on certain kinds of tobacco	†*	19	6	.....	4	.....	4
513	Same, similar amend	(†*)	25	3	4	.....	3	.....
513	Same, amend. taxes on spirits	(†*)	11	14	.....	4	.....	3
513	Same, motion to adj	†*	4	20	4	.....	1	2
514	Same, amend. taxes on spirits	†*	3	21	4	.....	3	.....
517	Bill for relief of Wisconsin, amend. conditions under which money to be paid	(†*)	10	16	.....	5	2	2
518	Same, amend. striking out a payment of certain moneys to a canal co	†*	14	11	.....	4	2	2
518	Internal-revenue bill, amend. taxes on gross receipts of transportation cos	††	12	13	2	1	3	.....
518	Same, amend. taxes on canal cos	††	3	21	2	1	2	1

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
519	Same, vote, next to last, reconsidered, motion to agree again to amend	††	6	18	2	1	3	.....
519	Same, amend. taxes on leather, etc	(†*)	19	5	2	.....	2	.....
520	Same, amend. time of collecting tax on deposits of banks	†*	15	9	.....	3	.....	4
520	Same, amend. excepting savings banks	††	18	6	2	1	2	1
520	Same, motion to adj	††	11	19	4	1	1	1
523	Same, amend. duty on wood screws	††	10	14	2	3	.....	2
524	Same, amend. on income taxes	††	14	9	2	2	2	.....
525	Same, amend. taxes on excess circulation of banks	†*	22	4	.....	3	1	2
525	Same, amend. taxes on cloth, etc	††	9	15	2	1	2	.....
526	Same, amend. taxes on books	††	6	16	1	1	1	2
528	Same, amend. on salaries, etc., of assessors	(†*)	18	4	2	.....	2	1
528	Same, passage of bill	**	21	.....	.....	2	1	1
530	Bill to permit sale of Catholic lands in Cal., amend. withdrawing certain restrictions	†*	19	4	.....	3	2	1
530	Same, motion to consider tariff act instead	††	10	13	3	2	2	1
530	Same, amend. on title of U. S. to said lands	††	13	11	3	2	2	1
531	Same, passage	††	18	7	2	3	.....	3
533	Freedmen's Bureau bill, consideration	**	24	1	.....	4	.....	1
534	Bill on land claims in New Mexico, passage	††	19	3	2	3	.....	1
536	Freedmen's Bureau bill, motion to consider bill on interference of Army in elections	†*	5	17	4	.....	3	.....
536	Same, motion to postpone	**	21	.....	.....	5	.....	3
540	Bill to abolish commutation for draft, motion to adj	††	5	20	5	2	2	2
540	Same, amend. all future drafts for a term of not more than one year	††	18	13	3	2	1	2
540	Same, motion to adj	(†*)	17	13	5	.....	3	.....
545	Bill on land claims in Cal., consideration	†*	12	12	6	.....	3	.....
546	Indian approp. bill, amend. to forbid payment to Indian tribes in rebellion	††	15	10	1	3	1	2
552	Bill to recognize free State govt. of Ark., to lay on table	††	4	25	1	5	.....	2
555	Bill on land claims in Cal., to postpone indefinitely	†*	21	6	.....	7	.....	3
558	Bill for relief of Wisconsin, amend. on payment of money to a canal co	††	9	13	1	7	.....	2
559	Freedmen's Bureau bill, consideration	†*	23	2	.....	7	.....	2
560	Bill on interference of Army in elections, consideration	**	.....	25	4	.....	2	1
561	Bill to repeal all acts for rendition of fugitive slaves, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	†*	4	21	6	.....	4	.....
562	Bill granting lands to Wisconsin for R. R., passage	††	16	5	3	2	3	1
562	Freedmen's Bureau bill, to postpone to Dec. 1 next	†*	3	23	6	.....	4	.....
562	Same, amend. on rights of white citizens in States in revolt	**	.....	27	6	.....	2	2
568	Tariff bill, amend. duties on teas	††	14	11	4	2	1	2

568	Same, similar amend	*†	26	.....	1	6	2	1
568	Same, amend. duties on iron, etc	††	9	18	5	1	3	1
570	Bill to confirm certain entries of land in Mo., amend. on price of said lands	††	14	11	1	6	4	.....
574	Tariff bill, amend. placing a duty on philosophical apparatus, etc	†*	17	10	.....	5	1	1
575	Same, amend. (of Com. of Whole), taxes on tea	(†*)	12	16	.....	4	.....	2
575	Same, amend. (of Com. of Whole), duties on iron, etc	††	11	16	6	1	2	.....
576	Same, amend. (of Com. of Whole), duties on silks	††	18	12	1	6	1	1
576	Same, amend. on refunding certain duties	††	4	21	4	2	.....	2
577	Same, amend. duties on paints	††	10	12	2	3	.....	1
578	Same, to reconsider vote taxing philosophical instruments	††	5	17	4	1	.....	1
578	Same, amend. taxes on raw cotton	(†*)	7	15	.....	5	.....	1
579	Same, passage	**	22	.....	.....	5	.....	.....
580	Res. to extend contract with Overland Mail Co., to postpone indefinitely	††	5	21	4	2	3	1
583	Atlantic cable bill, consideration	†*	11	14	5	.....	3	.....
584	Same, amend. to strike out contract with Company, for Govt. dispatches for 10 years	†*	11	16	4	.....	2	1
584	Same, amend. U. S. war vessels to carry only cable itself	††	14	14	1	3	.....	2
587	Bill on land claims in Cal., to reconsider vote to postpone	(†*)	16	13	7	.....	3	.....
591	Bill to abolish commutation for draft, amend. to include Indian tribes in drafts; 2d amend. power to enlist peaceful Indians to fight hostile ones.	††	23	4	1	5	.....	3
591	Same, amend. as amended	††	9	20	1	6	.....	3
591	Same, amend. on furnishing substitutes	††	5	26	1	6	.....	3
592	Same, amend. to strike out section on substitutes	††	11	17	7	1	3	.....
592	Same, to lay bill on table	††	11	17	3	5	1	2
596	Atlantic cable bill, consideration	(†*)	17	15	4	.....	3	.....
598	Same, motion to postpone to Dec	(†*)	14	17	.....	6	.....	3
598	Same, amend. to strike out section on contracts with company	††	17	13	3	2	1	1
598	Same, passage	(†*)	28	3	6	.....	2	.....
600	Bill for repeal of fugitive slave acts, consideration	†*	25	7	.....	7	.....	3
602	Washington and Georgetown R. R. Co. bill, amend. no exclusion on account of color	†*	14	8	.....	5	.....	3
602	Same, amend. number of cars on Sundays	†*	16	9	.....	4	.....	1
602	Same, amend. no exclusion on account of color	†*	17	10	.....	4	.....	2
603	Same, passage	†*	22	3	.....	4	1	1
604	Bill on Indians in Oregon, consideration	(†*)	21	4	7	.....	3	1
606	Bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, consideration	†*	14	12	.....	7	.....	3
607	Bill on interference of Army in elections, amend. forbidding troops near polling places except to repel armed enemies; 2d amend. "or to keep the peace at the polls."	†*	16	4	.....	7	.....	4
607	Same, passage	†*	8	13	7	.....	4	.....
608	Bill to establish a navy-yard, at Cairo, Ill., amend. commission to examine available sites.	††	10	14	3	5	.....	2
609	Same, amend. location at other site if more suitable	††	10	14	1	5	.....	2
609	Same, passage	††	23	2	5	1	2	.....
612	Bill on direct tax in D. of C., consideration	††	12	14	4	1	1	1
613	Bill for relief of contractors for machinery of certain gunboats, amend. to refer to Court of Claims.	††	16	11	2	3	.....	1
614	Bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, motion to adj	††	3	25	4	2	1	1
614	Same, consideration	††	25	5	1	5	.....	2

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
614	Same, that Senate proceed to consider exec. business	††	8	21	5	1	2	.....
615	Same, to postpone bill indefinitely	†*	3	25	6	.....	2	.....
615	Same, to proceed to exec. business	†*	8	22	6	.....	2	.....
615	Same, motion to adj	††	6	20	5	1	1	1
616	Bill for relief of Maj. M. S. Miller, passage	(†*)	20	3	7	.....	2	.....
621	Bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, amend. Congress shall pass all necessary laws for rendition of slaves.	†*	1	27	6	.....	2	2
621	Same, amend. to strike out words repealing part of act of 1793	†*	7	22	6	.....	4	.....
621	Same, passage	†*	26	3	.....	6	1	3
623	Bill to abolish commutation for draft, consideration	†*	16	4	.....	3	.....	3
624	Same, amend. term under future drafts 1 year	††	9	15	1	3	2	.....
624	Same, amend. term not less than 1 or more than 3 years	†*	16	15	.....	5	.....	3
624	Same, amend. not exceeding 1 year	††	19	11	4	2	2	1
625	Same, motion to adj	†*	11	21	7	.....	2	1
625	Same, motion to adj	*†	.....	24	5	1	2	.....
625	Same, passage	**	24	.....	.....	6	.....	1
631	Sundry civil approp. bill, to lay on table appeal on ruling that motion to postpone not in order.	*†	22	.....	2	5	2	1
632	Same, amend. to strike out $10,000 for walk about a hospital	††	6	19	1	3	1	2
632	Same, amend. on aqueduct at Washington	††	15	11	4	2	1	1
643	Washington and Georgetown R. R. Co. bill, to agree to conf. report	†*	25	2	.....	6	1	3
645	Sundry civil approp. bill, amend. to forbid coastwise slave trade	†*	13	8	.....	8	.....	4
646	Same, amend. approp. for books by Schoolcraft	††	10	16	6	1	3	1
646	Same, amend. to forbid in U. S. courts exclusion of witness on account of color	†*	22	6	.....	6	.....	4
647	Same, this amend. (of Com. of Whole) agreed to in Senate	**	29	3	.....	5	.....	2
647	Same, amend. to forbid coastwise slave trade	†*	23	5	.....	6	.....	3
648	Same, passage	*†	29	.....	2	3	1	1
650	Resolution to print 3,000 more copies of report of freedmen's commission	**	24	2	.....	4	.....	2
651	Bill to establish a navy-yard, etc., at Cairo, Ill., House amend. authorizing the President to investigate the matter.	††	20	7	1	2	1	.....
656	Freedmen's Bureau bill, consideration	**	20	1	.....	4	.....	3
657	Same, amend. limiting powers of Bureau	**	.....	28	3	.....	2	1
660	Bill on commercial intercourse between loyal and other States, passage	†*	26	6	.....	5	1	2
660	Bill on interference of Army at elections, to reconsider passage	†*	19	13	.....	7	.....	3
661	Bill to allow Senators and Reps. to visit forts, etc., consideration	†*	7	24	7	.....	3	.....

663	Freedmen's Bureau bill, amend. on confiscation of property in rebellious districts	†*	23	7	.....	5	.....	3
663	Same, amend. on employment of freedmen	††	15	12	2	3	2	.....
664	Same, motion (in Senate) to strike this out again	††	12	9	2	2	.....	3
664	Same, amend. to transfer certain powers from Treas. Dept. to War Dept	††	10	17	2	2	3	1
664	Same, motion for a recess	††	15	9	3	2	.....	1
669	Same, motion (in Sen.) to strike out again amend. on confiscation of property	†*	6	16	5	.....	2	.....
669	Same, passage	†*	21	2	.....	5	.....	2
677	Res. claimants from Arkansas not entitled to sit in Senate, motion to consider bill on repub. form of govt. in States.	(†*)	5	19	.....	5	.....	4
677	Same, adoption of res	††	20	4	5	1	2	1
680	Recess, motion for	*†	18	1	2	3	.....	1
680	Res. on suppression of newspaper in Ky., consideration	**	1	25	5	.....	2	.....
682	Bill on calling out national forces, amend. placing a duty on incomes to provide bounties.	**	25	1	.....	5	.....	1
685	Bill on repub. form of govt. in States, consideration	††	10	10	1	4	.....	3
691	Bill to repeal grant of rooms to Agric. Dept., passage	(†*)	15	8	5	.....	1	.....
693	Bill to regulate commerce among the States, consideration	(†*)	9	14	.....	3	.....	2
695	Res. to build a mil. R. R. from Ohio to east Tenn., consideration	†*	9	11	3	.....	3	.....
699	Bill to reimburse Pa. for calling out militia, motion to strike out that no pay when refusal to be mustered into service of U. S.	(*†)	21	1	5	1	2	.....
700	Same, motion to postpone to Dec	(†*)	6	18	.....	5	.....	4
700	Same, amend. pay of volunteers from certain States	††	17	7	1	5	1	3
701	Bill to repeal act prohibiting sales of gold, etc., passage	(†*)	16	12	5	.....	3	1
704	Bill on repub. form of govt. in States, consideration	†*	20	4	.....	5	.....	2
704	Same, amend. to strike out "white" (in enrollment of citizens)	(†*)	5	16	.....	5	.....	3
714	Same, substitute bill that people of any State in insurrection are incapable of voting for Pres. or Senators and Reps.	†*	8	16	6	.....	3	.....
714	Same, amend. to enact eman. proclamation	(†*)	11	12	.....	6	.....	3
714	Same, to agree to amends. of Com. of Whole	†*	11	13	6	.....	3	.....
715	Same, passage	*†	23	.....	2	2	1	1
715	Adjournment, motion for	††	16	11	5	1	3	.....
723	Bill on calling out national forces, to agree to conf. report	†*	15	9	.....	6	1	3
723	Same, to ask for new conference	††	21	6	4	1	3	1
723	Same, to reconsider last vote	†*	20	7	.....	6	.....	4
724	Same, to reconsider vote on conf. report	†*	18	9	.....	6	.....	2
724	Same, to agree to conf. report	†*	18	9	.....	6	.....	2
726	Bill on repub. form of govt. in States, that Sen. recede from amends	††	18	6	.....	6	.....	2
726	Res. fixing day for closing the session, consideration	††	15	14	5	1	2	.....
729	Res. on certain claims (conf. com. had been unable to agree with House), to postpone indefinitely.	*†	19	2	1	5	2	1
731	Bill on education of naval engineers, motion to consider res. on monarchical govts. in Amer.	**	2	25	7	.....	2	2
732	Bill making approp. for testing submarine inventions, consideration	††	19	7	1	4	2	1
732	Same, passage	†*	21	6	.....	5	2	2
736	Bill on sessions of U. S. courts in New York, amend on salary of a judge	†*	15	13	.....	6	.....	4
738	Res. fixing day for closing session, motion to adj	†*	16	8	.....	7	.....	2
738	Same, motion to adj	†*	12	12	.....	7	.....	2

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Conditional Unionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
738	Same, motion to consider exec. business	†*	14	9	.....	7	.....	2
738	Same, amend July 5 instead of June 30	††	10	14	1	6	.....	2
739	Same, motion to adj	(†*)	10	14	.....	7	.....	2
739	Same, amend. July 4 instead of June 30	††	14	8	6	1	2	.....
739	Same, motion to adj	††	6	16	1	6	.....	2
739	Same, adoption of res	††	12	10	6	1	2	.....
743	Res. imposing special income tax	*†	26	.....	1	6	2	1
743	Bill on sessions of U. S. courts in N. Y., motion to consider exec. business	†*	13	11	.....	5	.....	4
744	Same, amend. on salary of a judge in Conn	(†*)	8	17	.....	4	.....	4
744	Same, amend. on salary of a judge in N. H	(†*)	6	20	.....	5	.....	4
744	Same, amend. on salary of a judge in N. Y	†*	14	12	1	4	1	3
747	Bill for printing debates of Congress, motion supt. of public printing to report	(†*)	11	13	.....	7	.....	4
747	Same, passage	(†*)	16	8	7	.....	4	.....
748	Motion that Senate consider exec. business	†*	19	5	.....	7	.....	4

SECOND SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
22	Res. calling for report of commission to investigate conduct of Gen. Paine, to refer to Com. on Mil. Affairs.	**	30	.....	.....	8
29	Bill to authorize Pres. to transfer a gunboat to Liberia, passage	*†	32	1	1	8
35	Bill to remove disqualification of color in carrying mails, passage	**	26	.....	.....	5
44	Bill to amend internal-revenue act of June 30, '64, passage	†*	23	4	.....	8
45	Res. on requiring oath of allegiance from all residents of D. of C	†*	24	3	.....	7
48	Oath of office bill, passage	*†	26	.....	1	4
51	Res. to encourage enlistments, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	††	8	18	7	1
54	Bill to drop from rolls of Army unemployed general officers, to postpone indefinitely	(††)	20	7	8	1
57	Res. to encourage enlistments, amend. no slave to be freed without compensation	*†	.....	29	7	1
57	Same, amend. act to apply only to future enlistments	*†	.....	30	6	2

58	Same, passage	**	27			10
61	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. to approp. $6,000 for commissioner to exhibition in Germany	(††)	7	15	1	5
67	Bill authorizing Pres to terminate reciprocity treaty with Gt. Britain, passage	(††)	28	6	5	2
71	Consular appropriation bill, amend. increasing salary of consul at Halifax	(††)	11	20	1	7
79	Bill to incorporate R. R. Co. in D. of C., amend. no person to be excluded from cars on account of color	**	24			6
79	Same, amend. to strike out permission to erect wharf	(††)	7	16	1	4
85	Bill for relief of Henry A. Brigham, to postpone indefinitely	††	15	13	1	4
86	Same, passage	(††)	17	9	4	1
91	Deficiency approp. bill, that Senate insist on its amendments	(*†)	27		8	1
92	Bill for relief of Isaac R. Dilles, passage	(†*)	17	9	9	
93	Bill on pay department of Navy, passage	(*†)	22	2	5	2
100	Deficiency approp. bill, to adhere to amend. to strike out addl. pay to H. of R. employees	(**)	29		9	1
107	Another bill to supply deficiencies in approps., amend. to strike out addl. pay to H. of R. employees	(*†)	27	1	6	2
108	Res. advising retaliation for cruel treatment of prisoners, motion to adj	(**)	18	13	6	4
116	Same, consideration	†*	20	8		10
117	Same, to recommit	*†	2	18	8	2
117	Same, amend. to retaliate in conformity with laws of nations	(†*)	16	13	11	
118	Same, amend. for commissaries to visit prisoners in rebel camps	†*	15	16	9	
125	Res. declaring certain States not entitled to representation, motion to adj	(††)	13	21	3	4
125	Same. motion to adj	(††)	14	17	1	4
125	Same, to postpone indefinitely	(††)	10	21	1	5
129	Same, amend. to strike out Louisiana	(††)	14	15	1	7
129	Same, to strike out preamble	(††)	11	23	1	7
130	Same, substitute (which left open the question whether votes of La. and Tenn. should be counted)	(††)	11	24	1	7
130	Same, motion to adj	††	17	19	5	2
134	Metrop. R. R. Co. of D. of C. bill, amend. to forbid exclusion from cars on account of color	†*	19	11		9
135	Res. declaring certain States not entitled to representation, substitute res	(†*)	13	20		7
135	Same, amend. to wording of preamble; 2d amend. to wording	(††)	21	11	5	2
135	Same, orig. amend	(††)	26	5	5	1
136	Same, amend. to strike out part of preamble	(††)	6	23	1	7
136	Same, adoption of res	(††)	23	8	6	2
141	Metrop. R. R. Co. of D. of C. bill, amend. to forbid exclusion from cars on account of color	††	25	3	1	7
141	Another bill on national forces, amend. repealing section 3 of act of July 4, '64 (recruiting in rebel States)	(†*)	18	12	10	
142	Same, amend. on periods of enlistment	†*	23	6		7
145	Same, amend. on courts-martial	(†*)	18	14	11	
145	Same, amend. on commutation by drafted men	(†*)	8	23		7
146	Same, amend. repealing all acts providing for substitutes	(†*)	7	24		7
146	Same, amend. exempting certain U. S. officials	††	3	26	6	1
146	Same, amend. requiring new enrollment of people	††	4	22	7	1
151	Bill to amend postal laws, amend. requiring postage to be prepaid	(††)	23	6	8	1
165	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, amend. on private claim, on holding amend. in order	(†*)	20	6	7	
165	Same, amend. increasing pay of members of Congress	*†	2	29	8	2
166	Same, amend. increasing certain approps., on holding in order	††	17	17	6	1
168	Freedmen's Bureau bill, consideration of conf. report	†*	25	4		7
171	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, amend. fixing salaries of ass. secs. at $3,500	††	15	15	6	2
171	Same, amend. to add $160,000 for library building extension	(†*)	16	14	4	

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
173	Bill to create mail steamship service between U. S. and China, passage	††	24	7	1	4
175	Res. reducing duty on paper used for books and newspapers, to postpone indefinitely	(†*)	14	17	.....	8
175	Same, amend. increasing duties from figure named in bill; 2d amend. reducing it	††	12	20	6	2
175	Same, orig. amend	††	27	8	3	5
176	Same, amend. reducing duties on teas and sugars	*†	1	32	6	2
176	Same, adoption of res	(††)	17	16	4	3
180	Bill to establish certain post-roads, to reconsider passage	††	17	12	1	5
180	Same, amend. changing width of spans of bridge	(†*)	13	14	.....	7
187	Credentials of Joseph Segar of Va., to lay on table	††	26	6	3	7
195	Army appropriation bill, amend. to strike out that no money be used to pay any R. R. co. for transporting troops when grant of lands therefor; 2d amend. approp. for such R. Rs. "shall be subject to future adjustment," motion to adj.	††	7	23	5	3
195	Same, 2d amend. as above	(††)	7	20	2	7
195	Same, orig. amend	(††)	23	4	7	1
196	Same, amend. officers of Regular Army not to have pay or rank above officers of volunteers	††	14	8	1	4
200	Same, that amend. just adopted shall not take away "service ration" of officers of Regular Army	(††)	30	5	7	2
200	Same, amend. as thus amended	††	14	18	4	6
201	Same, amend. increasing pay of all officers and men	††	7	21	7	4
208	Bill for U. S. courts in Nevada, amend. on officers of said courts, etc	(††)	18	8	4	3
209	Recess, motion for	††	23	6	1	4
210	Res. to pay money to Indians in Mich., to recommit	(††)	16	10	3	1
211	Freedmen's Bureau bill, conf. report, motion to adj	††	7	16	2	1
211	Same, to postpone	†*	9	16	4	.....
211	Same, motion to adj	†*	9	11	4	.....
215	Bill on Admiralty cases, etc., in N. Y., passage	(††)	18	6	8	1
215	Freedmen's Bureau bill, to agree to conf. report	†*	14	14	.....	10
222	Bill recognizing govt. of Louisiana, consideration	††	14	14	6	3
223	Same, amend. against recognition of any State until Pres. has declared that armed hostility has ceased there.	(†*)	8	20	.....	9
226	Bill to improve Army Medical Corps, passage	(*†)	19	2	6	1
634	Fortifications, etc., approp. bill, amend. striking out several items, 2d amend. to reduce them	††	21	10	4	4
234	Same, orig. amend	††	13	17	4	4
238	Bill recognizing govt. of La., motion to consider bill to regulate commerce among the several States	(††)	8	19	2	6
240	Bill to create office of naval judge-advocate-gen., passage	(††)	19	8	7	3
242	Bankruptcy bill, consideration	(††)	14	18	3	6

244	Bill recognizing govt. of La., to postpone till Dec	†*	5	17	7	.....	3
245	Same, motion to adj	††	6	16	6		3
245	Same, to lay on table	††	6	16	6		2
245	Same, motion to adj	††	5	16	6		2
245	Same, motion to adj	††	2	16	6		3
252	Same, motion to consider internal-revenue bill	(††)	25	9	9		2
253	Internal-revenue bill (to amend act of June 30, 1864), amend. reducing duty on books	(††)	3	23	2		4
253	Same, amend. exempting magazines	(†*)	12	14	.....		6
254	Res. to employ Powell to paint picture of Capitol, consideration	(†*)	17	11	7	.....	
254	Same, amend. for competition among artists	(†*)	15	14	.....		9
255	Same, to lay on table	(†*)	18	9	.....		10
255	Same, to substitute a painting by Carpenter	**	2	25	.....		8
255	Same, adoption of res	†*	12	17	11	.....	
263	Internal-revenue bill, motion to adj	(†*)	.....	29	1		6
263	Same, amend. on taxes on savings banks	††	16	17	5		3
264	Same, amend, laying tax on bullion	††	24	3	2		6
264	Same, amend. to strike out tax on State-bank issues, motion to adj	†*	9	16	3	.....	
264	Same, motion to adj	††	11	14	3		1
265	Same, motion to adj	††	9	15	2		1
266	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. to strike out transfer of right to build line in Cal	(††)	4	23	1		6
269	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, to add $43,000 to contingent fund of H. of R	(††)	13	17	8		1
270	Indian appropriation bill, amend. to pay certain claims, on holding in order	(†*)	16	10	6	.....	
270	Same, amend. to pay expense of treaty	(†*)	19	9	8	.....	
274	Internal-revenue bill, amend. to strike out tax on State-bank issues	†*	12	22	8	.....	
275	Same, amend. taxing gross sales of merchandise, 2d amend. reducing tax	††	10	24	6		1
276	Same, orig. amend	†*	21	13	.....		7
277	Same, amend. suspending allowances to fishermen, 2d amend. repealing them	††	13	14	6		2
277	Same, orig. amend	††	11	15	6		1
279	Bill for relief of Josiah O. Armes, to lay on table	(††)	14	19	2		8
280	Army approp. bill, to agree to conf. report	(††)	12	22	1		8
282	Internal-revenue bill, amend. to strike out inspection of petroleum	†*	22	9	6	.....	
283	Same, amend. taxing circulation of all banks	†*	5	25	7	.....	
283	Same, amend. on taxes on bank deposits	††	13	19	2		2
283	Same, amend. clerk hire of assessors	(††)	10	19	2		5
284	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) taxation of savings banks	††	19	15	3		5
284	Same, amend. tax on issues of State banks, when to take effect	(†*)	20	11	8	.....	
284	Same, amend. to strike out taxation of State-bank issues	††	10	20	7		1
285	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) taxing sales of merchandise	††	19	10	1		7
285	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) repealing allowances to fishermen	††	11	18	7		2
286	Same, amend. on pay to R. Rs. for carrying U. S. troops	†*	6	20	.....		7
286	Same, amend. increasing postage rates	(††)	10	15	3		5
287	Same, amend. tax on silver ore, etc	(††)	15	8	5		3
288	Recess, motion for	*†	2	19	3		2
289	Res. in regard to officers' servants, amend. on Paymaster Gen	†*	7	19	3	.....	
292	Freedmen's Bureau bill, conf. report, motion to adj	††	9	15	3		1
292	Same, motion to postpone	††	9	15	3		1

Thirty-eighth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
293	Same, motion to adj	(††)	9	17	1	3
293	Bill for govt. in Indian Ter., passage	††	15	7	2	2
298	Bill to establish post roads, amend. every R. R. co. to receive compensation for carrying troops	(†*)	6	18	.....	3
303	Tariff bill, amend. on railroad iron	(†*)	16	13	8	.....
303	Bill to repeal part of act on intercourse with insurrectionary States (in Com. of Whole), amend. on validity of purchases.	††	12	13	5	1
304	Same, same amend. (in Senate)	(††)	12	15	3	5
309	Bill to amend nat. currency act, passage	††	25	6	3	3
311	Internal-revenue bill, to agree to conf. report	††	25	7	7	2
319	Tariff bill, to agree to conf. report	††	21	7	1	5
323	Sundry civil appropriation bill, amend. for support of certain Indians	(†*)	16	13	7	.....
323	Same, amend. on trials by courts-martial	(†*)	17	4	8	.....
324	Same, another amend. on trials by courts-martial	†*	20	6	.....	8
324	Same, amend. to pay Pa. for cost of calling out troops	††	11	11	5	1
324	Same, amend. on purchase of copies of "Annals" of Congress	†*	7	19	5	.....
325	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) to pay Pa. for cost of troops	†*	13	16	5	.....
325	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) on trials by courts-martial	†*	22	6	.....	7
326	Same, amend. to pay Maine and Mass. certain claims	††	14	14	2	5
327	Same, passage	(††)	22	4	4	1
329	Bill for relief of Josiah O. Armes, to proceed to exec. business	††	11	15	3	2
329	Same, passage	(††)	17	10	5	1
330	Exec. business, motion to consider	††	13	11	2	3
334	Bill for relief of Mercantile Mut. Ins. Co., to lay on table	(††)	9	16	1	2
335	Same, to postpone till Dec	††	16	11	2	4
338	Bill to regulate commerce among States, amend. on exclusion of citizens from R. R. s. by local laws	††	19	11	2	3
338	Same, to refer to Com. on Conduct of War	†*	9	15	5	.....
338	Same, to postpone indefinitely	†*	9	21	5	.....

Special session of Senate, Thirty-eighth Congress.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
353	Res. to reprint memoirs of Nat. Acad. of Sciences	††	14	13	3	1
354	Res. to pay mileage of persons claiming to be Senators	(†*)	18	12	6	.....
355	To adj. sine die	††	11	19	3	1
355	To adj. sine die	††	15	17	3	1
355	To adj	††	13	19	1	3
356	To adj. sine die	(††)	22	13	4	1

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives.

FIRST SESSION.

[Republicans, 102; Democrats, 75; Border-State Men, 9; total, 186. (In second session, all members classed as Republicans or Democrats.)]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
7	Res. to seat certain members (4 R. and 1 D.) from Maryland, to lay on table	**	.....	90	69	3	5	1
8	Res. to seat certain members from Va., to lay on table	†*	24	70	72	1	4	2
9	Vote for Speaker:							
	Colfax, R	**	101	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Cox, D		.....	.....	42	.....	.....	.....
	Dawson, D		.....	.....	12	.....	.....	.....
	Mallory, B. S		.....	.....	6	.....	4	.....
	Stebbins, D		.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
	King, D		.....	.....	5	.....	1	.....
	Blair, B. S		.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
	Stiles, D		.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
11	Motion to refer credentials of members from La. to Com. on Elections, to lay on table	**	1	99	68	2	5	.....
12	Same, adoption of motion	**	97	1	3	66	.....	4

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
15	Vote for Clerk:							
	McPherson	**	100		1			
	Etheridge	**			64		5	
16	Vote for Sergeant-at-Arms:							
	Ordway	**	99		1			
	Glossfrenner	**			45			
	Benton	**			14			
	Ball	**			5		5	
17	Vote for Doorkeeper:							
	Goodnow	**	97		2			
	McCloskey	**			30			
	Wilson	**			12			
	Murphy	**			11			
	Pruett	**			2		3	
18	Vote for Postmaster:							
	King	**	99		3		1	
	Cornwell	**			56		3	
	Pelton	**			2			
	Kidd	**			2			
22	Res. relating to exchange of prisoners, amend. to approve efforts of Admr	**	94			68		5
22	Same, adoption of res	*†	97		9	43		3
36	Vote for Chaplain:							
	Channing	†*	83					
	Hopkins	†*			49		5	
	McGuire	†*			5			
	Brownlow	†*	2		2			
	Stockton	†*	11		3			
	Pettet	†*			2			
	Gaus	†*			1			
47	Res. asking President to negotiate with rebels for closing war, to lay on table	**	93		4	55	1	4
50	Res. denying right to impose conditions on return of revolted States, to lay on table	**	88	3		58		5
51	Res. for bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, to lay on table	†*	14	73	62		5	
52	Res. for equal pay to all enlisted soldiers (black or white), to lay on table	**	3	87	60		5	
53	Res. on dates of Christmas recess	†*	39	52	50	5	4	

57	Res. to refer to select com. part of Pres. message on guaranteeing Republican form of govt. to States.	**	89	6	.....	69	.....	5
59	Res. that Com. on D. of Col. employ a clerk	(*†)	77	7	35	27	1	3
60	Res. for a com. on R. R. facilities between N. Y. and Washington	†*	32	53	56	6	3	.....
65	Res. that war ought to cease when objects accomplished, to lay on table	†*	52	38	.....	72	.....	5
72	Res. for inquiry into expediency of canals to Great Lakes, to lay on table	††	13	72	39	23	3	1
74	Res. on rights of States to control "domestic institutions," to lay on table	**	90	.....	.....	61	.....	5
75	Res. condemning suspension of writ of habeas corpus	**	.....	90	63	.....	4	.....
78	Res. against peace while any rebels in arms, to lay on table	*†	1	92	55	8	4	.....
78	Same, adoption of res	**	90	.....	3	61	1	4
79	Res. on duty of Congress to aid in suppressing rebellion	(**)	94	.....	54	1	5	.....
80	Res. thanking U. S. soldiers for gallantry	(**)	95	.....	68	1	5	.....
84	Res. for select com. on nat. bankruptcy act, to lay on table	††	22	68	45	17	2	1
86	Res. requesting Pres. to exchange prisoners, to lay on table	†*	73	16	.....	67	.....	2
87	Same, amend. approving Pres	**	87	3	.....	58	.....	1
88	Same, to lay on table preamble to res	**	79	.....	.....	53	.....	2
89	Deficiency approp. for bounties, etc., amend. no payment for negro soldiers	*†	.....	93	38	12	3	.....
91	Res. that Treas. suspend proceedings on a private claim	(†*)	58	20	48	5	3	.....
93	Res. for printing memorial of nat. canal convention, to lay on table	††	17	60	33	14	2	.....
95	Res. on duty of Pres. to test constitutionality of conscription act, to lay on table	*†	76	.....	5	41	.....	2
106	Res. for com. on new postal route between Washington and N. Y	††	57	13	8	31	1	1
107	Res. to continue enlistment bounties now paid, 3 R	(**)	69	2	42	.....	2	.....
113	Res. condemning all negotiations with rebels	*†	77	.....	10	24	1	.....
114	Same, adoption of preamble	(**)	73	.....	27	.....	2	.....
115	Res. States in rebellion may return to Union with domestic institutions	**	75	.....	3	40	.....	2
124	Res. granting use of Hall of House for address to aid Freedmen's Aid Soc., to lay on table	**	.....	76	45	2	3	.....
125	Res. for com. to investigate incapacity of Executive, to lay on table	**	76	5	1	54	.....	4
126	Res. favoring enlistment of slaves, to lay on table	**	6	73	51	1	4	.....
130	Bill on jurisdiction of Court of Claims, to lay on table	††	11	73	46	9	2	.....
131	Same, to reconsider engrossment	††	21	63	49	8	3	.....
135	Res. explaining act to suppress insurrection, amend. on public warning required under the act.	**	78	2	.....	53	.....	1
143	Adjournment to Monday	††	22	62	29	20	2	2
148	Election case, Jayne v. Todd (Delegate from Dakota), to refer to Com. on Elections	†*	9	76	54	1	3	1
152	Res. State returning to Union to be protected in local institutions, to lay on table	**	78	2	.....	50	1	4
153	Res. on exemption of clergymen from draft, to lay on table	(††)	56	30	42	13	2	3
154	Res. for exchange of prisoners, to lay on table	**	87	.....	2	53	1	3
156	Res. to appoint com. on conduct of war, amend. (com. may summon witnesses, etc.)	(*†)	76	4	29	20	2	2
157	Res. on right of State to regulate its domestic institutions, to lay on table	†*	73	9	.....	61	.....	5
158	Same, to refer to Com. on Rebel States	**	83	4	.....	59	.....	5
159	Res. on duty of U. S. to crush rebellion, motion to adj	*†	4	76	28	19	1	3
160	Same, to lay on table	*†	1	79	24	21	1	2
160	Same, adoption of res	(*†)	86	.....	23	16	3	.....
168	Adjournment to Monday	††	13	64	38	13	4	.....
172	Bill to increase internal revenue, motion for call of House	(*†)	74	.....	24	30	.....	2
173	Same, amend. on tax on spirits on hand	††	66	23	26	34	4	1

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
177	Same, substitute bill	(††)	27	60	22	37	2	2
177	Same, passage	††	69	17	15	49	3	3
180	Res. to explain act to suppress insurrection, motion to adj	*†	6	66	14	2	1	.....
184	Res. to increase soldiers' pay, to lay on table	**	1	81	.....	56	.....	4
184	Same, to refer to com	**	72	5	1	58	.....	3
187	Bill reviving grade of Lieut. General, to postpone	†*	23	53	56	1	4	2
188	Bill enrolling, etc., nat. forces, to make bill a special order	**	86	1	4	50	2	3
194	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. no money to be spent on Capitol, etc	††	25	50	29	26	2	1
195	Same, passage	(**)	80	.....	47	4	3	.....
197	Bill enrolling nat. forces, to reconsider vote to commit to whole House, to lay this on table.	*†	.....	84	45	8	2	2
198	Same, to reconsider (as above)	*†	87	.....	11	42	2	.....
208	Res. on repealing draft acts, etc., to lay on table	**	79	.....	1	42	4	.....
209	Res. to encourage enlistment of negroes, to lay on table	**	2	75	43	.....	4	1
210	Same, adoption of res	**	79	1	.....	41	1	4
211	Bill to revive grade of Lieut. Gen., to lay on table	(††)	11	68	6	46	2	3
212	Same, amend. recommending Grant for the position	(†*)	62	16	48	1	2	1
212	Same, passage	(††)	55	24	37	14	2	3
223	Res. on printing papers on for. affairs submitted by Pres	(†*)	71	12	46	4	1	1
224	Res. to explain act to suppress insurrection, to lay on table	**	8	82	58	1	5	.....
225	Same, to lay on table a motion to reconsider a vote of prev. quest	**	81	9	.....	64	.....	6
226	Same, motion to adj	*†	1	85	13	4	2	.....
226	Same, adj. to Monday	(*†)	.....	81	4	2	.....	.....
227	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	1	86	2	3	1	.....
227	Same, motion to adj	(**)	.....	89	1	2	.....	.....
228	Same, adj. to Monday	(*†)	1	84	2	3	1	.....
229	Same, adj. to Monday	**	4	77	56	1	5	.....
230	Same, to lay on table	**	8	80	59	.....	5	.....
230	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	83	51	1	2	.....
231	Same, adj. to Monday	**	2	79	48	.....	1	.....
232	Same, adoption of res	**	83	7	.....	64	.....	5
233	Adj. to Monday	**	8	73	63	.....	4	.....
247	Res. allowing mileage to A. P. Field (unseated candidate), amend. to allow $1,500	††	35	50	50	10	3	.....
247	Same, adoption of res	††	27	56	49	7	3	.....
251	Res. for printing the book prepared by late Librarian of Congress	†*	19	58	53	3	4	.....

252	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	13	68	59	1	4	.....
254	Adj. to Monday	†*	16	72	57	2	4	1
255	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	(†*)	52	38	51	1	4	.....
256	Motion to adj	*†	.....	87	13	3	.....	.....
256	Bill on enrolling nat. forces, etc., to lay on table	**	.....	86	44	1	4	.....
257	Same, amend. bounty for enlisted slave freed by loyal master to go to master	**	84	3	.....	64	.....	4
258	Same, amend. on posting names of men enrolled	**	4	82	58	4	4	.....
259	Same, passage	**	89	.....	5	61	.....	4
264	Res. that Const. should be so amended as to abolish slavery, to lay on table	**	3	77	51	2	4	.....
265	Same, adoption of res	**	77	4	1	55	.....	3
268	Claim to seat by Rep. from Ark., instr. to com. to inquire whether any govt. in Ark. that could send Rep.	†*	48	38	5	61	.....	5
270	Internal-revenue bill, amend. excise on liquors	(†*)	38	46	2	56	1	4
271	Same, amend. to strike out tax on spirits on hand	††	28	56	45	17	4	1
273	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider disagreement with a Sen. amend	(†*)	41	40	50	3	3	1
274	Same, duty on imported spirits	(††)	35	42	19	34	3	.....
286	Res. for printing report of Gen. McClellan, to lay on table	†*	67	13	.....	56	.....	5
287	Same, prev. quest	†*	10	69	61	.....	5	.....
287	Same, passage of res	†*	11	64	60	.....	5	.....
292	Bill for enrolling nat. forces, etc., to agree to conf. report	**	68	.....	2	23	1	.....
295	Internal-revenue bill, to agree to conf. report	††	23	60	34	23	.....	4
299	Bill for warden of D. of C. jail, to lay on table	**	1	72	50	.....	4	.....
300	Same, passage	**	76	2	.....	49	.....	5
308	Bill for enlistment of residents of certain States in other States, passsage	*†	72	3	9	37	1	4
310	Bill to revive grade of Lieut. Gen., to agree to conf. rep	††	66	11	8	32	1	4
315	Res. repealing res. to pay late Librarian for copyright of a Dict. of Congress, to lay on table.	†*	10	62	44	2	5	.....
315	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	.....	81	6	27	.....	2
316	Same, prev. quest	**	69	6	1	41	.....	5
316	Same, adoption of res	†*	69	13	1	44	.....	5
318	Res. to inquire into operation of acts on intercourse with insurgent States, consideration.	**	74	4	.....	40	.....	3
320	Same, adoption of res	**	73	.....	2	38	.....	5
321	Res. for commissioners to treat for peace	*†	.....	83	22	12	.....	1
322	Res. on need of removing causes of rebellion	(**)	82	.....	42	.....	2	.....
323	Res. neutrality a crime	(**)	77	.....	32	.....	.....	.....
324	Res. condemning arrest, etc., of Vallandigham, to lay on table	(†*)	31	40	1	41	1	3
324	Same, adoption of res	**	.....	75	45	1	2	1
328	Internal rev. bill, to concur with Sen. amend. on tax on spirits on hand	††	22	55	31	20	.....	3
328	Same, to insist on disagreement with Senate	††	63	20	13	42	.....	5
329	Bill for bureau of emancipation, to lay on table	†*	9	68	48	.....	5	.....
330	Same, passage of bill	†*	69	10	.....	52	.....	5
336	Bill on jurisdiction of Court of Claims, to recommit	†*	67	14	2	41	.....	5
339	Internal-revenue bill, to recede from disagreement with Senate	††	28	56	30	15	3	1
340	Res. authorizing sale of surplus gold in Treas., to lay on table	**	4	73	46	.....	4	.....
349	Res. to print the dict. by late Librarian, to lay on table	†*	46	18	1	41	.....	4
349	Same, adoption of res	†*	20	49	41	1	4	.....
355	Res. authorizing sale of surplus gold, amend. 5 days' notice of sale	**	7	65	41	1	1	.....

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
356	Same, passage	(†*)	46	33	42	2	2	.....
358	Bill to increase pay of Provost-Marshal-General, passage	(††)	53	14	13	12	2	.....
373	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, amend. to provide for prison in Neb	††	32	24	13	22	1	3
375	Motion to adj	†*	21	43	35	3	5	.....
383	Res. to buy copies of Cong. Annals, etc., to lay on table	†*	56	16	1	42	.....	5
384	Res. for tax on all domestic liquors on hand in next revenue bill	††	47	24	7	27	.....	4
389	Res. for mileage, etc., to unsuccessful contestant of seat from Mass., to lay on table	†*	66	12	1	43	.....	4
392	Amendment to House rules on voting by absent members, to lay on table	†*	24	58	41	1	5	.....
394	Res. on sale of surplus gold in Treas., to agree to Senate amend. as amended	†*	78	10	4	44	2	2
396	Res. to drop unemployed general officers from rolls, to postpone to April	(†*)	36	35	45	1	2	1
398	Bill to admit Col. as a State, amend. to strike out antislavery clause	*†	.....	76	16	10	2	1
399	Bill to admit Nebraska as a State, amend. if pop. equal to ratio for a member of Cong	**	1	70	38	1	4	1
403	Bill amending homestead laws, amend. giving privileges to soldiers	†*	9	58	41	.....	4	.....
404	Res. to buy copies of Cong. Annals, to lay on table	**	65	6	2	40	.....	4
405	Same, pending reconsideration, motion to adj	**	1	62	31	3	3	.....
407	Same, motion to adj	**	4	54	31	1	.....	.....
411	Res. to pay clerk of Com. on Military Affairs $6 a day	††	33	35	21	17	3	1
411	Res. to pay clerk of Com. on Naval Affairs the same	(††)	51	12	25	11	2	1
414	Army approp. bill, amend. no money to be paid for negro soldiers	*†	.....	73	15	8	3	.....
430	Bill for relief of E. F. and S. A. Wood, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	†*	32	30	2	33	1	2
430	National currency bill, to go into Com. of Whole	**	57	2	.....	38	.....	2
432	Same, motion to excuse an absentee	†*	27	30	30	1	3	.....
432	Same, another like motion	†*	13	39	36	.....	4	.....
434	Same, motion to discharge member brought in by Serg.-at-Arms	*†	46	3	13	16	2	2
437	Res. granting use of Hall of House for an address by a late member of Parl., to lay on table.	**	6	58	29	.....	2	1
437	Same, adoption of res	**	62	5	.....	33	1	2
439	Const. amendment prohibiting slavery, to reject	**	1	73	40	1	4	1
447	Res. on claim of W. W. Hubbell, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	†*	49	19	2	36	.....	4
447	Same, to refer to Com. on Claims	††	47	24	6	34	.....	5
448	Same, adoption of res	††	29	43	33	4	5	.....
457	Bill for govt. of Montana Territory, to disagree with Sen. amend	**	62	3	.....	42	1	4
458	National currency bill, to go into Com. of the Whole	**	69	.....	.....	40	.....	2
461	Res. for information on money received as commutation for draft, to lay on table	**	60	2	.....	41	.....	3
462	Res. for information about negro troops, to lay on table	**	64	1	.....	39	.....	2

463	Res. for names of persons in prison for political reasons, to lay on table	**	62			35		3
464	Res. on monarchical govt. in Mexico	(**)	85		55		5	
465	Res. on rescinding grant of use of Hall of House to member of Parl	**	2	56	39		3	
466	Bill to establish post roads, to lay on table	††	47	24	10	34	1	4
468	Res. for increase of soldiers' pay, to refer to Com. on Mil. Affairs	**	74		1	46		2
471	National currency bill, amend. to allow 1, 2, and 3 dollar bills	**	72	2	4	19		3
472	Same, amend. taxes on banks	**	71	5	1	53		3
473	Same, amend. State banks may become nat. banks	†*	64	10	1	50		3
474	Same, amend. on rates of int. nat. banks may charge	†*	32	43	53		4	
474	Same, amend. power of States to tax nat. banks	†*	18	56	57		3	
493	Same, substitute bill	†*	59	17		58		3
493	Same, to lay bill on table	†*	35	43	53	1	3	
502	Res. for relief of a postmaster	(†*)	40	25	43	4	3	1
506	Res. expelling B. G. Harris, D., of Indiana, from House for treasonable words in debate	**	82	1	1	54	1	3
507	Res. censuring Harris before House, motion to adj	*†		79	20	3	1	
508	Same, to lay on table	*†	1	77	22	3		
508	Same, motion to adj	*†	1	75	22	4		1
509	Same, adoption of res	*†	81		15	20	2	
514	Res. (by a Dem.) on purposes of the war, to lay on table	**	81	3		58		3
520	Res. to expel Long, D., for favoring recognition of Southern independence, amend. declaring Long an unworthy member, ruled in order; on appeal Chair sustained.	**	78	1		62	1	3
521	Same, prev. quest. on amend	†*	72	9	3	58		4
521	Same, to lay res. as amended on table	**	2	79	63	1	5	
522	Same, adoption of part of res	**	79	2	1	63		5
523	Same, to lay on table the part on reading res. to Long	**	5	70	62		4	
523	Same, adoption of preamble	**	77	2	1	58		3
527	Bill to provide gov. for Montana, to lay conf. report on table	†*	9	67	52		5	
527	Same, to agree to conf. report	†*	54	20		60		5
528	Same, to insist on disagreement with Sen. amends	†*	12	67	58		5	
529	Bill for mail steamship service to Brazil, to lay on table	(††)	17	45	12	38	1	4
535	Bill to guarantee to certain States repub. form of gov., prev. quest. on postponing till Tuesday.	**	71	4	1	47		2
535	Same, to postpone till Tuesday	**	76	1		43		2
536	Const. amendment on slavery, to postpone one week	**	70	2	1	42		2
537	Another nat. currency bill, to sustain ruling that need not go to Com. of Whole	**	71			30		1
538	Same, to sustain another ruling	(*†)	74		11	9		
539	Same, amend. on power of States to tax nat. banks	†*	69	8	1	51		1
542	Res. State-bank issues should be taxed out of existence	**	60	2	1	42	1	2
543	National currency bill, to lay on table reconsideration of engrossment	**	75	4		57		5
544	Same, to lay bill on table	**	1	76	53		5	
544	Same, passage	**	80	2		59		5
545	Res. to increase customs duties, to suspend rules and introduce	**	75	1	3	41	2	3
546	Bill to provide govt. for Montana, to insist on disagreement with Sen. amends	**	68	3	1	47		5
548	Res. to increase customs duties, to suspend rules and introduce	**	68	1	3	36	1	1
548	Same, motion to adj	**	3	66	38	4	1	1
549	Same, again to suspend rules, motion to adj	*†	2	66	23	3	1	

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
563	Motion to go into Com. of Whole	(††)	41	36	33	5	.....	.....
572	Res. on mineral lands, etc., in Colo. and Ariz., to lay on table	††	58	12	5	35	.....	.....
586	Internal-revenue bill, amend. on taxes on bank notes	††	38	46	37	19	3	.....
586	Same, taxes on sugars	†*	72	10	.....	60	.....	3
587	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider last vote	**	8	75	59	.....	3	.....
588	Same, amend. just rejected, agreed to	**	75	8	.....	56	.....	2
589	Same, another amend. on sugar taxes	**	59	3	1	42	.....	2
590	Same, amend. duties on spirits; 2d amend	††	54	23	12	39	2	1
591	Same, amend. as amended	††	58	20	13	40	1	2
592	Same, passage	*†	78	.....	21	39	3	.....
594	Res. asking Pres. for certain telegrams and orders, to lay on table	(††)	17	56	11	36	1	2
595	Brooks, D., had been called to order for irrelevant remarks, motion to allow him to proceed.	†*	29	35	51	1	3	.....
598	Army approp. bill, to lay on table appeal from ruling that an amend. not in order	*†	77	.....	17	23	1	2
599	Same, amend. pay of privates	**	4	80	46	5	3	.....
600	Same, Sen. amend. on pay of colored soldiers	**	78	4	2	44	.....	3
601	Same, Sen. amend. on bounties to colored soldiers	**	78	4	1	46	.....	2
602	Same, Sen. amend. on same subject	**	73	6	.....	46	.....	3
605	Res. that when rebellion ceased in any State it returned to its rights under Const., to lay on table.	**	67	5	.....	47	.....	4
606	Res. on rights of U. S. and of States, to refer to Com. on Rebel States, to lay on table	**	.....	71	.....	44	.....	3
606	Same, to refer as above	(**)	69	1	.....	46	.....	3
615	Bill for relief of Indian tribes in Kansas, to lay on table reconsideration of passage	†*	16	52	38	2	3	.....
619	Bill to equalize pay of soldiers, passage	(**)	83	.....	50	.....	3	.....
624	Bill to guarantee to States republican form of govt., to agree to preamble	†*	57	25	.....	47	.....	3
625	Same, passage	**	74	7	.....	59	.....	3
627	Bill to reimburse Pa. for expenses in calling out troops, to lay on table	††	31	42	32	19	3	.....
628	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider last vote	††	27	46	30	17	2	.....
629	Same, same motion renewed	††	32	43	25	20	2	.....
629	Same, to reconsider vote to lay bill on table	††	47	32	21	23	.....	2
630	Same, to refer bill to Com. on Mil. Affairs	††	35	44	19	34	.....	3
631	Same, to lay bill on table	††	49	33	10	43	.....	3
632	Same, passage	††	28	52	41	11	3	.....
632	Motion to continue evening sessions	††	43	35	12	32	1	2
634	Adjournment to Monday	†*	21	53	41	5	2	1

640	Election case, Bruce, D., v. Loan, R., motion to adj	(**)			76	3	50	2
640	Same, res. declaring Loan not entitled to seat	**	5		71	51	3	
644	Bill to drop from army rolls unemployed gen. officers, amend. excepting certain officers	**	2		69	40	4	
645	Same, amend. in nature of substitute	**	5		69	41	4	
646	Same, passage	**	71		2	40	1	3
650	Bill to grant to soldiers homesteads on confiscated land in rebellious districts, passage	**	76		4	56		5
651	Bill to establish certain post roads, to lay on table	**	5		65	45	3	4	1
652	Same, passage	**	60		6	2	48	1	4
655	Bill for relief of Mercantile Insurance Co., passage	†*	12		64	50	1	5	
661	Res. on right of States to regulate local institutions, to lay on table	**	72		1	4	48		4
665	Bill granting land to People's Pacific R. R. Co., amend. R. R. to transport troops, etc., free	(††)	28		26	23	18	4	1
666	Same, passage	††	39		31	15	32	1	3
670	Res. Segur of Va. not entitled to seat	*†	63		5	31	15	1	3
675	Indian approp. bill, amend. reducing an item	††	31		33	19	25		1
678	Adjournment to Monday	††	15		43	32	7	2	
679	Adjournment to Monday	††	27		43	46	6	3	
680	Bill to provide govt. for Montana, to agree to conf. report	(†*)	47		26	52		3	
682	Bill for relief of widow of Gen. Stevens, passage	(†*)	33		32	40	4		1
683	Bill for relief of Josiah O. Armes, passage	†*	33		35	47	1	4	
684	Motion to adj	††	31		40	33	8	4	
686	Res. to pay mileage, etc., to claimants of seats from Va	††	24		43	33	14	3	
690	Res. censuring suppression of certain newspapers in N. Y	**			79	50		4	
691	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, Sen. amend. on salary of Treasurer of U. S	(††)	29		39	7	36	1	3
693	Nat. currency bill, to lay on table	**			80	51		5	
694	Same, Sen. amend. on amount of currency to be issued	**	7		71	48		2	
694	Same, Sen. amend. on rate of int. nat. banks may charge	†*	24		51	39	1	3	
695	Same, to lay bill on table	**	2		72	48		5	
696	Same, Sen. amend. on taxes on nat. banks	††	40		39	18	26	3	2
700	Army approp. bill, to agree to conf. report (difference was on pay of colored troops)	(†*)	22		61	3	55		5
705	Res. authorizing Pres. to terminate commercial treaty with England, substitute to terminate if new treaty not made	††	14		70	39	23	1	4
706	Same, another substitute (unconditional authority)	†*	71		17	2	61	1	4
707	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	19		71	57	2	4	1
707	Same, to lay res. on table	††	52		37	20	35	1	3
708	Same, to postpone till Dec	††	59		31	19	36		5
711	Adjournment to Monday	††	25		36	32	13	4	1
712	Bill for relief of W. Brindle, passage	†*	16		55	45	3	4	
716	Res. war not fought to destroy State institutions, to lay on table	(†*)	26		55	1	55		4
717	Same, to refer to Com. on Rebel States	**	81		3		59		5
718	Bill for speedy punishment of guerrillas, to introduce under suspension of rules	**	77			2	39		3
719	Res. that Yeamans, of Ky., entitled to seat	*†	76			15	26	4	
722	Res. to amend charter of D. of C., to lay on table reconsideration of reference to Com. on D. of C.	**	1		73	53		3	
723	Same, to reconsider the reference	**	75			1	48		4
724	Same, to refer to Com. on D. of C	**	1		72	51	1	3	
724	Same to lay res. on table	**			72	45		2	

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
726	Res. to authorize military R. R. from Ohio River to E. Tenn.	††	54	13	5	43	5	.....
727	Bill granting lands to a Pacific R. R., passage	††	54	18	20	30	.....	2
728	Const. amendment on slavery, to reject	**	.....	75	52	1	3	.....
730	Bill on uniform system of bankruptcy, to postpone	††	22	56	37	18	4	.....
732	Election case of Birch v. King, motion to adj	*†	1	63	8	20	.....	.....
733	Same, to lay on table	(††)	32	34	19	21	2	1
734	Same, to declare neither elected	††	17	48	22	21	.....	3
740	Res. to pay mileage, etc., to some unsuccessful contestants, to lay on table	**	65	5	1	49	.....	5
740	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	62	7	.....	50	.....	4
745	Bill to forbid certain sales of gold, motion for call of House	††	7	57	28	5	3	.....
747	Tariff bill, amend. admitting machinery free	(††)	44	24	20	17	3	1
748	Same, passage	*†	73	.....	8	22	.....	4
750	Bill for speedy punishment of guerrillas, to lay on table	**	.....	65	32	2	3	.....
751	Same, passage	**	70	1	2	32	.....	4
751	Res. on extradition of Spanish subjects by Pres. without treaty, to refer to Com. on Jud.	**	71	.....	1	40	.....	3
755	Bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, to lay on table motion to reconsider vote referring back to com.	**	1	65	39	1	4	.....
756	Same, adjournment to Wednesday	(*†)	2	63	10	24	1	.....
756	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	1	65	7	22	.....	1
757	Same, motion for call of House	*†	5	62	23	10	.....	.....
758	On suspending rules to introduce report of Com. on Foreign Affairs on Pres. message about Mexico.	†*	6	53	33	2	4	.....
763	Bill to forbid certain sales of gold, to lay on table	†*	10	47	40	.....	3	.....
763	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider last vote	†*	7	52	41	.....	3	.....
764	Same, to lay whole matter on table	**	5	53	41	.....	3	.....
768	Bill to regulate veto power in Wash. Ter., passage	**	71	1	2	41	.....	2
770	Bankruptcy bill, to lay on table	††	10	54	36	11	3	.....
772	Bill to amend charter of street R. R. co., amend. on frequency of cars	††	25	32	32	8	.....	1
773	Same, passage	††	28	28	33	7	1	1
776	Bankruptcy bill, passage	††	52	24	12	39	.....	2
780	Election case, Knox, R., v. Blair, B. S., to postpone	**	6	71	47	1	4	.....
781	Same, res. unseating Blair	*†	72	3	10	29	.....	.....
782	Same, res. seating Knox	**	70	5	.....	46	.....	2
783	Adjournment to Monday	††	15	56	31	11	2	2
786	Bankruptcy bill, to lay on table motion to reconsider rejection	††	9	67	31	14	4	.....

787	Res. paying mileage, etc., to some unsuccessful contestants for seats, to lay on table	†*	64	11	.....	49	.....	4
788	Same, adoption of res	†*	10	62	50	.....	4	.....
789	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider last vote	†*	9	58	50	.....	4	.....
790	Election case, Jayne v. Todd (Dakota), to seat neither	†*	57	13	.....	49	.....	4
791	Same, to lay on table	†*	16	43	.....	48	.....	4
792	Same, motion to adj	†*	41	22	.....	46	.....	3
793	Same, motion to adj	†*	25	24	.....	43	.....	4
795	Same, Jayne not entitled to seat	(**)	44	1	44	.....	4	.....
796	Same, to seat Todd	†*	16	31	44	.....	4	.....
799	Army approp. bill, to agree to conf. report	†*	71	8	1	47	.....	3
801	Res. States in rebellion not entitled to choose electors for Pres., to lay on table	(†*)	46	32	55	1	3	.....
803	Bill to repeal fugitive slave laws, passage	**	89	1	1	57	.....	4
805	Bill to forbid certain sales of gold, to lay on table motion to reconsider vote to lay bill on table.	**	3	79	56	.....	4	.....
806	Same, passage	**	76	3	.....	55	.....	4
807	Sundry civil approp. bill, to strike out enacting clause	(††)	41	37	31	27	1	3
808	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider this vote	(††)	47	31	37	14	1	3
812	Const. amendment on slavery, adoption (two-thirds not in favor)	**	91	.....	4	62	.....	4
815	Internal-revenue bill, amend. on salary of assessors	††	55	14	8	39	.....	2
816	Same, motion to adj	*†	2	71	32	11	1	1
817	Same, Sen. amend. on taxes on spirits	†*	46	6	1	43	.....	2
821	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, to agree to conf. report	††	44	31	9	40	.....	2
823	Internal-rev. bill, Sen. amend. taxes on spirits	†*	64	9	1	55	.....	3
824	Same, another Sen. amend. taxes on spirits	††	27	53	45	9	1	.....
825	Same, Sen. amend. pay of collectors	†*	52	20	1	46	.....	3
828	Res. for adjustment of certain private claims, passage	†*	14	59	55	.....	3	.....
831	Res. for adjustment of claims vs. Govt. from injury to property by U. S. troops, to lay on table.	†*	57	16	2	53	.....	4
832	Same, amend. to reduce number of comrs.; 2d amend. apportionment of districts to comrs.	**	70	6	.....	51	.....	4
833	Same, orig. amend	†*	53	19	.....	47	.....	4
834	Same, amend. method of proving claims	†*	66	9	.....	46	.....	4
835	Same, to lay bill on table	††	43	26	7	44	.....	4
836	Same, motion to adj	††	25	46	23	33	.....	4
842	Same, to dispense with further action under a call of House	(*†)	72	3	26	15	1	1
844	Same, passage	††	33	44	36	12	4	.....
845	Bill to incorporate Metrop. Ry. Co. in D. of C., amend. to strike out cl. forbidding exclusion on ground of color.	**	4	76	54	.....	4	.....
846	Same, passage	**	78	2	4	42	.....	4
849	Res. to authorize amending contract with Ericsson for building floating batteries, passage	(††)	53	14	31	20	1	2
851	Bill for navy-yard at New London, Conn., to lay on table reconsideration of vote to postpone.	(††)	39	27	29	17	2	.....
855	Res. to revoke permits to trade in rebellious States, to lay on table	††	52	23	15	44	.....	4
859	Sundry civil approp. bill, amend. pay of clerk of com	††	32	33	43	6	3	1
864	Bill for relief of H. S. Brinton, to postpone	†*	11	64	54	2	4	.....
869	Bill on enrolling nat. forces, etc. to reject	**	6	76	65	.....	4	.....
870	Same, amend. to strike out cl. abolishing commutation for draft	†*	34	49	62	1	4	.....

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Border-State Men.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
873	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. R. R. to transport troops free	††	13	63	25	17	1	2
875	Res. on representation from rebellious States, to postpone till Dec	**	1	76	46	2	3	.....
877	To give up recess on June 22	††	34	44	33	20	4	.....
884	Bill to provide ways and means to support Govt., amend. changing rate of int. on bonds to be issued.	††	25	59	32	22	2	.....
885	Same, amend. to issue short bonds instead of Treas. notes	††	18	59	26	21	.....	1
889	Res. mileage, etc., to unsuccessful contestants, amend. to add another name	†*	12	66	53	.....	3	.....
890	Same, adoption of res	†*	19	58	49	1	3	.....
893	Pacific R. R. bill, amend. to strike out right to issue mtge. bonds	(††)	18	58	19	23	1	.....
895	Same, passage	*†	58	6	13	28	.....	3
906	Bill for enrolling nat. forces, to lay on table	**	.....	76	54	2	3	.....
909	Res. to revoke trade permits in rebellious States, to postpone 10 days	††	59	13	12	45	2	2
910	Res. for mileage to other unsuccessful contestants	†*	9	61	62	.....	3	.....
914	Tariff bill, Sen. amend. to reduce duty on R. R. iron	††	34	53	46	13	2	1
915	Same, amend. duties may be paid in currency	*†	.....	86	31	22	3	.....
917	Res. for mileage to other unsuccessful contestants	†*	15	62	64	.....	4	.....
920	Bill for enrolling nat. forces, amend abolition of commutation for draft, etc	†*	62	21	.....	67	.....	4
923	Same, substitute bill	†*	58	23	.....	66	.....	4
925	Same, another substitute	(††)	17	66	7	52	.....	4
928	Same, another substitute (by Smithers, R.) (abolishing commutation for draft)	**	76	7	.....	66	.....	4
930	Bill to provide ways and means to support Govt., amend States may tax U. S. bonds	**	7	77	60	.....	4	.....
932	Bill for enrolling nat. forces, to lay on table motion to reconsider Smithers amend	**	5	85	64	.....	4	.....
933	Same, to reconsider that amend	**	83	6	.....	61	.....	4
933	Same, to agree to that amend	**	81	7	.....	64	.....	4
934	Same, prev. quest. on bill and amendments	†*	73	12	.....	62	.....	4
935	Same, amend. men between 45 and 60 subject to draft	(††)	40	47	6	52	1	3
936	Same, amend. bill not to change law about those conscientiously opposed to arms	††	60	20	16	42	1	2
938	Same, passage	**	82	9	.....	64	.....	4
943	Res. on representation of rebellious States, to lay on table	(††)	41	32	39	12	.....	2
946	To give up recess on June 29	††	18	54	35	10	3	.....
949	Sundry civil approp. bill, amend. negro to testify in U. S. court only when allowed by State law.	**	6	64	38	2	3	.....
949	Same, Sen. amend. no witness to be excluded on ground of color	**	67	6	1	39	.....	3
965	Bill on salaries of postmasters, to lay on table	††	23	51	29	17	.....	2
966	Same, passage	††	47	19	18	20	1	.....

971	Bill on enrolling nat. forces, amend. no draft till after attempt to negotiate peace	(*†)	.....	74	13	14	.....	3
978	Same, amend. no State to recruit in other States	†*	11	62	49	1	3	.....
979	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	61	9	.....	50	.....	3
980	Same, reconsideration of that vote	†*	11	62	51	.....	3	.....
980	Same, to agree to the amend	†*	11	65	49	.....	3	.....
982	Same, amend. on enlistments in rebel States	**	68	5	1	45	.....	3
982	Same, substitute bill	(†*)	26	50	.....	48	.....	3
985	Bill to repeal act prohibiting sale of gold, passage	(†*)	36	29	40	.....	2	.....
999	Bill for relief of Maj. N. S. Brinton, passage	††	54	8	6	30	.....	3
1001	Bill to guarantee to certain States repub. form of govt., to lay on table	**	4	63	36	2	2	1
1003	Salaries of certain members, to refer to Com. on Judiciary	(†*)	26	39	3	40	.....	2
1004	Same, to lay on table	*†	67	5	4	34	.....	2
1009	Bill for enrolling nat. forces, to agree to conf. rep	†*	66	9	.....	44	.....	2
1015	Res. imposing special income duty, amend. tax on liquors on hand	††	47	13	13	32	.....	2
1016	Same, substitute bill (omitting liquors on hand)	††	25	43	26	15	.....	1
1017	Same, to lay res. on table	†*	11	55	43	.....	1	1
1018	Same, adoption of res	†*	53	12	.....	44	1	1
1020	Same, to reconsider last vote, motion to adj	††	18	44	30	13	2	.....
1021	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider	†*	6	51	37	1	1	.....
1022	Same, adoption of res	**	53	3	.....	45	.....	1
1029	Res. releasing certain people from liability to draft, to suspend rules in order to introduce	(†*)	18	43	.....	36	.....	1
1033	Res. extending present session, to lay on table motion to reconsider adoption	(*†)	61	4	23	8	.....	1

SECOND SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
8	Res. on reducing duties on coffee, to lay on table	†*	63	12	1	36
9	Res. on taxing domestic liquors on hand, to lay on table	††	24	49	23	14
10	Same, adoption of res	††	41	28	12	23
12	Res. for report of interview on exchange of prisoners, to refer to Com. on Conduct of War	**	79	.....	3	37
23	Bill to prevent sale of gold for more than real value, to lay on table reconsideration of vote referring to Com. on Ways and Means.	†*	49	25	2	43
24	Same, to lay bill on table	†*	26	51	47	1
26	Res. instructing Com. on Jud. to consider amend. to Const. on appor. of Reps	†*	59	12	1	44
34	Bankruptcy bill, passage	††	63	25	17	39
36	Res. that La. may resume relations with Govt., to lay on table motion to reconsider reference to Com. on Jud.	†*	65	17	1	50
38	Bill for navy-yard at New London, to lay on table	(††)	44	38	36	15
39	Res. for termination of treaty with England, to lay on table	*†	7	72	38	13
40	Same, adoption of res	*†	81	8	10	34

Thirty-eighth Congress, House of Representatives—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
43	Bill to drop from rolls unemployed general officers, passage	*†	81	1	18	37
44	Res. for a commission on revenue, to lay on table	††	27	54	42	11
45	Same, motion to adj	(††)	31	53	24	29
49	Res. on right of Congress to declare foreign policy of U. S., to lay on table	†*	68	14	2	49
54	Another res. to same effect, to lay on table	†*	49	25	1	48
54	Same, prev. quest. on res	†*	23	55	48	1
55	Same, adoption of first part of res	(†*)	69	8	50	.....
56	Same, to lay second part on table (such action by Cong. not a subject for diplomatic explanation)	†*	60	19	2	48
57	Same, adoption of second part	†*	21	57	47	2
59	Bill to amend int. revenue act, amend. to strike out addl. tax on domestic spirits on hand	††	30	48	35	13
60	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	††	31	45	34	11
64	Freedmen's Bureau bill, to lay Sen. amends. on table	**	6	71	46	.....
72	No quorum, motion for call of House	(†*)	12	43	1	27
74	Motion to adj	††	6	50	16	13
75	Motion to adj	††	26	34	19	9
100	Res. granting use of Hall of Reps. to U. S. Christian commission	*†	74	4	4	34
101	Res. on duty of Pres. to end hostilities, to lay on table	**	82	2	2	49
109	Bill to guarantee to certain States a repub. form of govt., to postpone to Feb. 1	(††)	56	26	47	8
114	Res. on certain prisons, to lay on table reconsideration of vote adopting	(**)	76	5	60	.....
120	Legislative approp. bill, amend. to strike out increase of certain salaries	(††)	45	32	33	7
126	Bill to amend act to provide ways and means, amend. no note under act to be legal tender, etc	††	21	55	39	8
127	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	†*	61	21	4	43
129	Res. to reduce duty on paper, to lay on table	†*	41	34	2	50
130	Same, prev. quest. on res	†*	36	42	52	2
131	Same, motion to adj	(†*)	10	70	3	45
132	Same, to lay res. on table	(†*)	41	42	1	49
133	Same, adoption of res	(†*)	44	39	53	2
135	Res. to investigate breach of privilege by Field, of La., amend. to suspend him from floor meanwhile	*†	78	3	5	35
139	Res. for printing more copies of "Dict. of Cong.," to lay on table	*†	76	8	15	34
145	Res. thanking Sheridan and his men	(**)	85	.....	45	2
146	Deficiency approp. bill, to adhere to item for House reporters	†*	38	42	54	4
150	Bill for addl. steamboat inspectors, to lay on table	††	21	49	48	9
152	Substitute deficiency approp. bill, amend. to strike out item for House reporters	(†*)	34	36	3	40
157	Bill amending charter of Washington Gas Light Co., amend. act to expire July 1, 1866	(††)	30	54	6	49
164	Res. thanking Pres. for relieving Gen. Butler, to lay on table	*†	85	3	12	40
168	Const. amendment on slavery, to lay on table motion to reconsider rejection	*†	1	100	56	11

169	Same, to reconsider	*†	101	1	11	56
170	Same, adoption	*†	102	1	17	55
171	Motion to adj	(*†)	95	.....	26	24
173	Bill for canal around Niagara Falls, amend. to add canal from Lake Mich. to Mississippi River	(††)	34	56	15	43
174	Same, to lay bill on table	††	15	71	36	24
175	Same, passage	††	74	13	21	38
181	Freedmen's Bureau bill, to lay on table	**	7	82	60	.....
183	Bill for canal from Lake Mich. to Mississippi, passage	††	61	23	16	45
184	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	††	63	20	14	43
184	Deficiency approp. bill, to disagree with Sen. amend. striking out item for House reporters	(††)	38	40	9	43
195	Res. requesting Pres. to make peace, to lay on table	(††)	24	62	6	46
198	Naval approp. bill, amend. to strike out item for certain clerks	††	40	39	12	36
199	Same, amend. for a board of admiralty	††	30	49	30	21
214	Freedmen's Bureau bill, to agree to conf. report	†*	64	9	.....	53
218	Bill to amend int. rev. act, motion to adj. (no quorum)	††	19	36	14	13
219	Same, motion to adj	††	9	39	15	14
220	Same, motion to adj	(††)	28	31	15	18
223	Same, motion to adj	††	17	32	17	15
224	Same, motion to adj	(††)	9	45	14	24
227	Bill for relief of heirs of Almond D. Fish, to lay on table	†*	49	31	2	55
245	Bill for contract with Powell for picture for the Capitol, passage	††	22	49	39	11
246	Res. granting use of Hall to Nat. Freedmen's Relief Assoc	**	69	5	1	31
248	Res. for peace, leaving to States control of local affairs, to lay on table	**	72	2	1	45
249	Res. deprecating overtures for peace, to lay on table	†*	26	52	46	.....
252	Bill granting to Wisconsin lands to aid in building ship canal, passage	††	39	21	13	33
255	Motion to give up evening session on Feb. 14, 1865	†*	21	56	49	.....
257	Bill extending time for completing certain land-grant R. Rs., to lay on table	††	24	45	30	16
258	Same, passage	††	43	28	13	30
261	Another bill extending time for completing certain land-grant R. Rs., passage	(††)	54	21	30	21
266	Bill for relief of H. A. Brigham, passage	†*	29	34	44	3
267	Res. referring claim of A. T. M. Fuller to Court of Claims, to lay on table	†*	59	17	1	53
268	First bill extending time for completing certain land-grant R. Rs., to lay on table reconsideration of vote on passage.	††	24	47	24	24
269	Same, passage	††	52	19	23	27
273	Bill to amend int. revenue act, amend. to strike out a tax on liquors	†*	16	66	56	2
274	Same, amend. taxes on tobacco	†*	72	10	1	57
275	Same, amend. tax on receipts of transportation cos	†*	28	56	56	2
276	Same, amend. increase of tax on sellers, etc., of goods	†*	58	23	5	51
277	Same, amend. 10 per cent tax on State bank notes	†*	67	11	1	56
278	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	72	9	.....	62
279	Same, amend. on sale of gold	(†*)	33	40	1	54
282	Bill to raise pay of certain officers of Army, to lay on table	(†*)	18	43	.....	40
283	Same, amend. to raise pay of privates	(†*)	39	30	44	2
284	Same, to recommit	†*	58	10	4	42
289	Res. for information on sales of gold, to lay on table	†*	59	12	1	46
290	Res. for information on persons arrested, etc., to lay on table	†*	54	12	.....	45

Thirty-eighth Congress—House of Representatives—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
295	Bill to incorporate Mississippi Bridge Co., to lay on table	*†	3	69	43	9
296	Bill to guarantee repub. form of govt., etc., to lay on table	†*	25	64	67	.....
297	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	†*	27	57	66	.....
298	Res. for arrest of Field, of La., for breach of privilege of House	**	78	3	4	46
299	Res. rescinding grant to Field of privilege of Hall, to lay on table	†*	14	64	57	.....
308	Bill to reestablish supremacy of Constitution in South, to lay on table	†*	17	65	63	.....
310	Res. to encourage enlistments, to lay on table	**	8	76	58	1
310	Same, passage	**	73	8	1	55
312	Bill to prevent interference of army in elections, passage	†*	54	19	59	.....
314	Bill to forfeit land of rebels, to lay on table	**	5	61	47	.....
315	Same, 3 R	**	67	4	.....	50
316	Same, to lay on table	**	7	69	61	.....
317	Same, passage	**	73	7	.....	65
318	Same, amend. to title of bill	**	76	7	.....	62
324	Bill to provide further for calling out nat. forces, amend. on crediting troops to townships	*†	66	1	18	35
328	Res. for inquiry into condition of Indian tribes	††	60	17	16	36
333	Bill to provide further nat. forces, amend. on crediting men to States	†*	10	68	51	4
334	Same, amend. foreign residents not subject to draft	*†	2	74	48	7
335	Same, amend. to abolish substitutes for draft	(†*)	42	34	63	.....
336	Same, amend. on liability to new draft	†*	17	45	60	.....
340	Bill authorizing extension of a patent, passage	††	45	15	11	23
343	Bill to provide further nat. forces, amend. to strike out allowances for mileage	††	14	60	37	17
344	Same, amend. quotas of States to be in proportion to pop	*†	1	81	50	10
346	Same, amend. on furnishing of insufficient substitutes	**	70	6	1	61
347	Same, amend. to last amend	†*	9	63	63	.....
348	Same, motion for call of House	†*	49	23	4	57
351	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, Sen. amend. leaving out item for House reporters	††	44	27	11	48
353	Bill to provide further nat. forces, to lay on table reconsideration of last amend. (supra)	†*	13	60	62	.....
354	Same, motion that recess be not taken till bill disposed of	*†	73	2	6	46
355	Same, amend. punishment of deserters	**	3	82	61	.....
356	Same, amend. to repeal draft	*†	1	83	26	12
358	Same, passage	**	79	1	4	47
360	Bill to aid R. R. from Cal. to Puget Sound, passage	††	50	13	9	21
365	Bill on way and means to support Govt., amend. on amount of bonds authorized	††	15	75	33	22
366	Same, amend. no more legal-tender notes to be issued	††	10	73	45	13
367	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of passage	*†	81	4	10	43

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Fiftieth Congress—Senate.

FIRST SESSION.

[Republicans, 39; Democrats, 37; total, 76—President, Grover Cleveland, D.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
70	Bill to protect innocent users of patented articles, to refer to Com. on Patents	*†	34	.....	6	25
97	Bill to aid common schools, consideration	*†	24	1	14	14
102	Adjournment to Jan. 4	†*	11	17	26	2
123	Adjournment to Monday	(††)	22	5	21	5
140	Bill to refund to States direct tax of 1861, amend. sums to be paid in spite of debt of State to U. S	*†	1	26	13	13
150	Res. to investigate intimidation of colored voters	**	29	1	.....	23
155	Bill to refund direct tax of 1861, motion to take up exec. business	†*	3	26	23	.....
155	Same, motion to take up exec. business	**	1	27	25	.....
182	Same, amend. to add tax on raw cotton	*†	1	33	15	13
182	Same, amend. sums to be refunded by U. S. direct to persons who paid the tax, etc	(†*)	9	22	1	26
183	Same, passage	(††)	28	5	20	5
186	Adjournment to Monday	††	13	15	16	7
206	Report on R. Rs. aided by Govt., to refer to special com	(*†)	34	3	20	12
214	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. on rate of int. on judgments in favor of importers	††	20	7	4	18
221	A private pension bill, passage	(*†)	32	.....	23	7
221	A private pension bill, passage	(*†)	31	.....	23	6
222	Adjournment to Monday	(††)	13	9	17	8
261	Adjournment to Monday	††	14	17	24	8
287	Bill to aid common schools, motion to take up exec. business	(†*)	18	8	25	1
320	Same, amend. to change distribution among States	(††)	16	20	6	28
321	Same, amend. to strike out provision that before getting money State must furnish statistics	*†	1	34	24	10
322	Same, amend. to strike out no 2d grant to State not accounting for 1st	*†	.....	35	24	10
323	Same, passage	††	23	12	16	17
346	Bill to incorporate a Wash. Elect. Ry. Co., consideration	*†	20	2	9	12
346	Same, amend. to change location	**	23	1	.....	19
346	Same, amend. rails to be of Amer. manufacture	*†	23	.....	2	17
355	Same, amend. tax of 10 per cent (instead of 4 per cent) on gross receipts	**	.....	21	21	.....
355	Same, amend. to leave out tracks on certain streets	**	1	18	22	.....
356	Same, to recommit bill	**	.....	21	21	1
366	Same, amend. franchise to be granted to highest bidders	*†	1	19	15	8
366	Same, amend. change of location	†*	18	3	.....	19
367	Same, amend tax to increase gradually from 4 per cent to 8 per cent	(†*)	17	3	23	.....
382	Bill to incorporate Nicaragua Canal Co., amend. act not to involve U. S. in pecuniary obligations	**	2	20	19	2

382	Same, amend. capital not to be diverted	*†	1	23	16	3
383	Same, amend. stock to be subscribed and work begun within fixed times	*†		21	15	4
383	Same, amend. all laborers to be citizens of U. S	*†		23	10	10
383	Same, amend. act not to involve U. S. in pecuniary obligations	**		24	22	2
384	Same, passage	*†	27	1	11	14
384	General pension bill for soldiers totally incapacitated, amend. who have no other "adequate" means of support.	**	27		2	22
385	Same, amend. to strike out "totally"	**	27			23
385	Same, amend. to strike out "in the degree herein specified"	**	26			22
435	Urgent deficiency approp. bill, amend to strike out that Public Printer enforce 8-hour law	†*	8	19	24	1
436	Same, amend. to add $60,000 for asst. custodians	**		24	24	1
436	Same, same amend	**		29	25	1
444	Adjournment to Monday	(††)	17	12	27	5
444	General pension bill, amend. incapacity may be from old age	(†*)	13	14		39
444	Same, amend. to extend to veterans of Mexican, etc., wars	*†	2	28	19	9
445	Same, amend. (made in Com. of Whole) to strike out "totally"	(†*)	14	27		15
445	Same, passage	*†	31		13	16
461	Res. for select com. to examine into civil service	**		29	24	
482	Bill for classification, etc., of imports, amend. to strike out certain powers of appraisers	*†	1	27	4	20
495	Bill for monument to negro soldiers, passage	**	29		2	19
506	Bill on grade of commander in Navy, consideration	(*†)	26	1	21	4
506	Same, passage	(††)	25	5	15	9
542	Bill to provide for purchase of U. S. bonds by Sec. of Treas., amend. when banks withdraw notes Treas. notes to be issued, to lay on table.	††	15	10	8	12
543	Same, same amend. save that new notes legal tender only to banks, to lay on table	††	18	8	6	16
544	Same, adoption of last amend	††	10	15	18	6
564	Bill for relief of Admiral Carter, passage	(††)	18	5	11	8
586	Bill allowing bridge at Memphis, amend. to increase width of spans	(*†)		22	3	21
587	Same, amend. bridge may be used for wagons at option of co	†*	9	9	21	2
595	Bill to provide for purchase of U. S. bonds, etc., to recommit	†*	19	7	1	24
601	Bill to grant to R. R. right of way in Ind. Ter., consideration	††	13	13	21	4
602	Same, passage	††	10	11	19	4
604	Bill to provide for purchase of U. S. bonds, etc., amend. when bank notes withdrawn Sec. of Treas. to buy silver.	(†*)	16	11	22	2
608	Pension bill for Mrs. Painter, amend. increasing the pension	**	23			17
620	Bill to create Bureau of Animal Industry, amend. its power to extend to "disease conditions"	†*	13	7		19
637	Bill to allow sale of mining lands to aliens, amend. maj. of partners or directors to be citizens	*†	2	25	18	6
637	Same, passage	*†	23		8	13
653	Adjournment to Monday	††	8	16	18	4
695	Bill for admission of So. Dakota, amend. to admit Dak. undivided	**		26	23	
696	Same, passage	**	26			23
741	Bill to forfeit lands granted to R. Rs., amend. saving rights of purchasers under act of Mar. 3, 1887	(*†)	22		16	7
766	Same, amend. Ont. and Brule Riv. R. R. not to be excepted	*†	1	22	19	4
787	Same, amend. confirming title to lands sold; 2d amend. these titles to be settled by existing law, to lay 2d amend. on table.	††	17	5	6	13
788	Same, to lay orig. amend. on table	††	3	16	14	6

Fiftieth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
788	Same, orig. amend	*†	18	1	7	15
789	Same, amend. land in Mich. granted by act of 1856 not to be excepted	††	9	12	15	4
790	Same, motion to adj	††	5	15	16	6
795	Same, to agree to amend. made in Com. of Whole (p. 788)	*†	21	1	6	13
796	International copyright bill, amend. act not to apply to periodicals	*†	2	20	10	8
797	Same, passage	(*†)	24	.....	11	10
797	Bill to forfeit lands granted to R. Rs., to lay on table reconsideration of passage	†*	15	5	.....	21
803	Same, same motion	†*	21	7	1	27
817	Bill to allow B. and P. R. R. Co. to acquire land in Dist. of Col., consideration	**	20	2	1	17
826	Bill to create Dept. of Labor, consideration	*†	17	1	6	15
826	Pension approp. bill, on holding an amend. in order	*†	19	2	3	16
838	Same, amend. cl. about widow to apply only to future pensions	**	.....	22	20	1
875	Adjournment to Monday	**	.....	23	23	.....
894	Bill reviving grade of General, passage	*†	24	.....	10	7
903	Bill to quiet title to Des Moines lands, passage	(††)	17	4	11	7
967	Dist. of Col. approp. bill, amend. certain wires to go underground	(†*)	18	4	18	1
968	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	**	.....	19	15	1
969	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†	.....	18	15	2
1029	River and harbor bill, amend. to add $10,000 for Yadkin River, N. C	(††)	16	5	21	3
1035	Same, motion to adj	††	2	14	8	3
1048	Same, amend. to add $150,000 for Green and Barren rivers	(††)	17	4	18	2
1049	Same, amend. to reduce item for James River, Va	*†	16	1	3	21
1049	Same, amend. to increase item for St. Johns Riv., Fla	††	3	12	20	6
1049	Same, amend. to add $5,000 for Indian River	(††)	5	15	8	14
1095	P. O. approp. bill, amend. for better mail service with Cent. and So. Amer	*†	23	.....	5	16
1121	Bill to appoint and retire Gen. Frémont, passage	*†	24	.....	5	21
1121	Bill for adjust. of accounts under 8-hour law, amend. on exceptions to law	†*	13	6	2	23
1122	Same, amend. assent to longer day void	**	19	.....	2	23
1122	Same, 3 R	*†	19	.....	4	22
1122	Same, passage	*†	21	.....	4	22
1167	Naval approp. bill, amend. to provide more cruisers	(††)	6	19	3	22
1168	Same, amend. to strike out a cruiser	(††)	19	6	18	5
1174	Same, amend. to strike out naval stations on Gulf and on Pacific	††	13	9	6	15
1183	Army approp. bill, amend. for gun factory, etc	*†	20	.....	4	16
1200	Sundry civil approp. bill, motion to adj	(*†)	1	17	9	11

1208	Same, amend. grant to widow of S. F. Baird	*†	21	2	8	9
1213	Same, amend. for survey of arid regions	††	21	4	8	14
1217	Same, amend. for a building at Atchison, Kans	††	19	5	2	18
1218	Same, amend. for a building at Opelousas, La	(†*)	5	12	1	21
1219	Same, amend. for a building at Staunton, Va	†*	15	4	1	19
1226	Same, amend. to buy painting by Benj. West	††	20	3	3	21
1227	Same, to lay on table appeal from ruling that amend. not in order	(†*)	10	7	21	1
1227	Same, amend. grant to Mrs. Baird (from Com. of Whole)	*†	21	1	7	10
1228	Same, amend. to buy painting by Benj. West (from Com. of Whole)	††	21	3	3	15
1233	Motion to go into exec. session on fisheries treaty with England	**	24	.....	.....	22
1240	Res., hour of meeting to be 11, consideration	**	24	.....	.....	22
1240	Same, amend. hour of adj. to be 5, to lay amend. on table	**	24	.....	.....	23
1240	Adjournment to Monday	**	1	19	20	.....
1249	Bill for relief of W. F. Smith, passage	(*†)	21	2	19	3
1256	Chinese exclusion bill, consideration	(*†)	26	.....	14	3
1266	Res. hour of meeting to be 12	**	.....	21	17	1
1269	Bill to grant mil. res. in Fla. for school, amend. for an industrial school	††	6	11	13	9
1283	To go into exec. session on fisheries treaty with England	**	24	.....	.....	20
1298	Army approp. bill, to agree to conf. report	*†	20	.....	10	11
1304	Res. on overhead electric wires in Dist. of Col	(††)	10	9	12	9
1334	Res. on intimidation of colored voters, motion to adj	**	23	.....	.....	20
1363	Sundry civil approp. bill, that Sen. recede from amend. on prosecutions under int. rev. laws	*†	.....	19	17	3
1395	Bill to carry out treaty with China, to refer to Com. on For. Relations	††	3	16	16	4
1396	Same, passage	(**)	19	2	18	1
1396	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	††	3	18	16	4
1397	Same, motion to adj	*†	1	20	16	2
1426	Same, to reconsider vote on passage	†††	6	15	14	6
1444	Bill to create Dept. of Agriculture, amend. to transfer Weather Bureau thereto	*†	21	2	12	7
1509	Adjournment to Monday	(††)	17	6	18	3
	Votes in executive session from which secrecy removed.					
1590	Treaty with England on interpretation of convention of 1818, to consider in open session	**	28	.....	.....	28
1591	Same, to lay on table appeal from ruling that motion to postpone not in order	**	21	.....	.....	19
1593	Same, to consider in open session	**	21	.....	.....	19

SECOND SESSION.

35	Mills tariff bill, substitute from Com. on Finance, to lay on table	**	.....	26	19	.....
36	Same, amend. to abol. minimum penalty for violating int. rev. laws	*†	.....	28	17	2
36	Same, amend. on enforcing int. rev. laws	**	.....	24	18	.....
37	Same, amend. excise on brandy	*†	.....	26	16	4
38	Same, amend. seizure of distilleries	**	.....	23	17	1

Fiftieth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
39	Same, amend. to exempt alcohol used in the arts	**		23	17	1
42	Adjournment to Monday	†*	5	20	23	
47	Mills tariff bill substitute, amend. to reduce duty on iron	**		22	20	
48	Same, a similar amend. to same schedule	**		20	20	
48	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	19	
48	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		23	21	
49	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		21	21	
49	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	20	
49	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	18	
50	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		26	22	
53	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		27	20	2
54	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		25	23	
54	Same, motion to take up exec. business	**		25	20	
54	Same, motion to adj	**		23	21	
57	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		23	18	
60	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		23	19	
61	Adjournment to Monday	†*	3	23	23	
61	Mills tariff bill substitute, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	21	
61	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		21	18	
61	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	19	
62	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		22	17	
70	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		21	19	
74	Hours of sitting, amend. to strike out recess from 5.30 to 8	**		27	25	
74	Mills tariff bill substitute, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	23	
75	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		23	18	
75	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		24	19	
76	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**		25	17	
76	Same, motion to adj	**		23	18	
80	Same, amend. to ore schedule	**		23	18	
81	Same, a similar amend	**		23	18	
81	Same, amend. to admit needles free	**		22	20	
81	Same, amend. to reduce duty on quicksilver	**		22	18	
82	Same, amend. to duty on wood screws	**		22	19	1
82	Same, amend. reducing duty on type metal	**		21	19	
86	Same, amend. to tobacco schedule	**		25	17	

87	Same, amend. to duty on live stock	**		25	23	
87	Same, amend. to duty on meat extracts	**		22	20	
88	Same, amend. to strike out duty on macaroni	**		22	19	
88	Same, amend. to reduce duty on starch	**		22	19	
89	Same, amend. striking out duty on vegetables	**		24	16	
89	Same, a similar amend	**		21	19	
103	Same, amend. to duty on iron goods	**		24	20	
108	Same, amend. to cotton schedule	**		21	18	
108	Same, amend. to cotton-thread schedule	**		22	18	
108	Same, amend. to cotton-cloth schedule	**		22	17	
109	Same, amend. to same schedule	**		22	20	
117	Same, amend. to velvet schedule	**		22	19	
118	Same, amend. to cotton-braid schedule	**		24	15	
118	Same, amend. to put flax straw on the free list	**		23	16	
118	Same, amend. to put flax on free list	**		23	16	
119	Same, amend. to reduce duties on manuf. of flax	(*†)	29		20	3
123	Res. on connection of European govts. with isthmian canals	**		24	19	
127	Mills tariff bill substitute, amend. to schedule on linens	**		24	19	
127	Same, amend. to put bagging on free list	**		25	19	
127	Same, amend. to bagging schedule	**		23	16	
128	Same, amend. to put burlap on free list	**		25	18	
131	Same, amend. to flax schedule	**		23	18	
132	Same, amend. to paper schedule	**		22	19	
132	Same, amend. to paper schedule	**		22	18	
133	Same, amend. to put Bibles on free list	**		22	18	
133	Same, amend. to put brooms on free list	*†		21	11	10
134	Same, amend. to put bit. coal on free list	**	25			17
134	Same, amend. to increase duty on wire card clothing	(†*)	20	3	17	1
135	Same, amend. to increase duty on jewelry	*†	27		5	17
137	Adjournment till 11 to-morrow	**		27	22	
138	Mills tariff bill substitute, amend. to duty on lime	**		24	20	1
138	Same, amend. to alabaster schedule	**		24	23	1
138	Same, amend. to ivory schedule	**		22	20	1
139	Same, amend. to duties on marble	**		23	20	1
139	Same, amend. to duty on matches	**	25			20
139	Same, amend. to reduce duty on pearls	**		22	20	1
140	Same, amend. to duty on smokers' pipes	†*	4	21	18	1
140	Same, amend. to increase duty on precious stones	*†		22	15	2
140	Same, amend. to put grindstones on free list	††	8	15	14	5
141	Same, amend. to increase duty an watches	**	1	21	19	
142	Same, amend. to duty on materials for hats	*†		22	15	3
142	Same, amend. to precious-stones schedule	*†	24		3	13
145	Same, amend. to fish schedule	**		24	16	
145	Same, amend. to lay duty on Chinese matting	*†		21	18	2
146	Same, amend. to put shingles on free list	**	24			18
148	Same, amend. to wood-pulp schedule					

Fiftieth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
153	Same, amend. to duties on materials for shipbuilding	**	.....	26	24	.....
153	Same, amend. to same schedule	**	.....	22	22	.....
153	Same, amend. to put brick on free list	**	.....	24	17	.....
154	Same, amend. to free list	**	.....	23	20	.....
154	Same, amend. to free list	**	.....	23	18	.....
154	Same, amend. to free list	**	.....	24	17	.....
163	Same, amend. to free list	**	.....	26	23	.....
168	Same, amend. to tin-plate schedule	**	24	.....	1	18
173	Same, amend. to give bounty on home-grown sugar	**	26	1	1	22
179	Same, amend. to cutlery schedule	**	.....	23	19	.....
188	Same, amend. to wool schedule	**	.....	29	22	2
189	Same, amend. to wool schedule	**	.....	32	27	1
189	Same, amend. to lumber schedule	**	.....	26	19	2
190	Same, amend. to lumber schedule	**	.....	30	21	.....
190	Same, amend. to sugar schedule	**	.....	29	22	2
190	Same, amend. to make salt free, to impose income tax, etc	*†	.....	30	20	3
191	Same, amend. to stocking schedule	**	31	.....	.....	25
192	Same, amend. on nationality of crews of U. S. fishermen	**	.....	32	23	1
192	Same, amend. to iron schedule	**	1	31	28	1
192	Same, amend. to duties on rice	††	4	23	16	13
193	Same, amend. to duties on rice	(*†)	30	.....	15	11
193	Same, amend. to silk schedule	(††)	12	19	9	16
194	Same, amend. to duties on oranges	(*†)	23	.....	16	7
194	Same, motion to adj	*†	.....	28	18	3
194	Same, amend. goods to go free through U. S. to Canada	**	.....	23	22	.....
195	Same, amend. to duties on junk	**	31	.....	1	27
195	Same, amend. cotton machinery free	**	.....	30	21	2
196	Same, a similar amend	**	.....	30	21	1
196	Same, amend. agric. machinery free	**	.....	30	21	.....
196	Same, amend. to duties on steel rails	*†	1	31	28	3
196	Same, amend. to duty on iron	*†	1	28	23	4
197	Same, to substitute bill from Fin Com. as amended in Com. of Whole	**	32	.....	.....	30
197	Same, passage	**	32	.....	.....	30
201	Bill to pay claim for cotton seized in civil war, amend. claimant not to recover unless loyal	†*	18	6	.....	29

202	Same, amend. on admissibility of evidence	†*	17	3	.....	27
202	Same, passage	†*	5	20	27	.....
228	Diplomatic, etc., approp. bill, amend. to create ambassadors	††	16	9	10	15
239	Same, to agree in Sen. to this amend. (made in Com. of Whole)	††	16	9	9	17
255	Bill to organize Terr. of Oklahoma, to refer to Com. on Terr	(†*)	17	12	22	.....
277	Legislative, etc., approp. bill, motion to adj	(†*)	3	5	.....	8
303	Res. for com. to revise laws on election of members of Cong., to consider	**	22	.....	.....	19
350	Bill to refund direct taxes, to reconsider adoption of conf. report	(*†)	.....	26	8	16
350	Sundry civil approp. bill, motion to take up exec. business	**	.....	26	24	.....
351	Same, amend. for payment to widow of Chief Justice Waite	*†	19	1	9	15
366	Motion to adj	*†	17	.....	2	11
377	Sundry civil approp. bill, motion to take up exec. business	**	.....	20	19	.....
383	Res. to inquire into nat. elections in 1888, to consider	**	28	.....	.....	26
385	Same, motion to take up exec. business	**	.....	21	20	.....
385	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	21	20	.....
386	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	19	17	.....
390	Same, to consider res	**	26	.....	.....	22
391	Same, to postpone	**	.....	26	23	.....
391	Same, to resume consideration	**	25	.....	.....	21
391	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	21	13	.....
406	Bill to reimburse Land Office officials, to pass over veto	(*†)	25	.....	10	8
447	Bill to amend interstate-commerce act, House amend. rates on oil not to be less in tanks than in barrels	(††)	19	4	15	7
456	Res. to inquire into nat. elections, motion to adj	(††)	5	12	5	7
456	Same, motion to adj	††	6	11	8	5
471	Private pension bill, passage	††	15	4	11	11
472	Motion to proceed to exec. business (over pension bills)	**	2	20	22	.....
476	Deficiency approp. bill, limit of time for filing claims	††	18	7	13	13
476	Same, amend. to pay Cong. employees for extra services	(††)	9	16	6	19
477	Same, amend. to reimburse P. S. Post for defending his seat	**	22	2	1	18
477	Same, amend. to pay Kansas claims for lands	††	17	4	10	11
477	Same, amend. to pay Col. claims for lands	(††)	16	5	13	7
478	Same, amend. to pay claims of steamship cos	(††)	16	4	14	7
478	Same, amend. to pay Neb. claims for lands	(††)	14	5	13	7
490	Indian approp. bill, amend. to strike out about sale of lands to U. S	(*†)	19	2	8	11
509	Bill to refund direct taxes, to pass over veto	(*†)	28	2	17	7
514	Const. amendment on manufacture of alcoholic liquors, to consider	†*	13	9	.....	24

Votes in executive session from which secrecy removed.

587	Extradition treaty with England, to consider in open session	††	8	14	3	24
587	Same, amend. to adjourn	†*	8	11	23	2
589	Same, to postpone until December	††	10	8	13	13
591	Same, to recommit	††	4	19	16	4
592	Same, amend. to add injuries by explosives or to railroads	††	7	16	2	18
592	Same, amend. to omit "malicious injuries to property," etc	(†*)	13	10	19	1

Fiftieth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
	Votes in executive session from which secrecy removed—Continued.					
593	Same, amend. to omit "manslaughter"	††	6	16	18	2
594	Same, to assent to treaty	††	5	25	10	13
595	Same, to lay on table res. to remove secrecy from above votes	*†	1	20	12	11
595	Same, amend. to res. to add proceedings in Com. on Foreign Relations	**	.....	24	22	1
596	Same, adoption of original res	††	16	8	13	11
	SPECIAL SESSION.					
563	In absence of President pro tem. of Senate, that John J. Ingalls be chosen President pro tem	**	.....	29	27	.....

Fiftieth Congress—House of Representatives.

[Republicans, 152; Democrats, 169; Independent, 2; Labor, 2; total, 325.]

FIRST SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Part divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Independents.		Labor.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
10	Vote for Speaker:									
	Carlisle, D	**	.....	.....	163	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Reed, R		147	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Brumm, Ind		.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....
63	Res. to refer to Com. on Approps. reports of Court of Claims on French spoliation claims, prev. quest.	*†	107	11	55	72	.....	.....	1	1
27	Res. to pay certain employees of House, to refer to Com. on Accounts	††	33	43	59	48	1	.....	.....	.....

304	Res. for a clerk for Com. on Census, prev. quest	†*	72	66	10	121	.....	2	1	1
307	Res. on number of clerks of coms., amend. on duties of clerks	†*	98	26	9	136	1	1	1	1
388	Same, next adj. to be to Monday	††	14	96	74	57	.....	.....	1	1
389	Next adj. to be to Monday	**	2	99	113	4	.....	.....	.....	1
415	Res. to inquire into delay in printing Cong. documents	**	127	2	6	138	1	.....	2	.....
429	Res. on number of clerks (as changed by Com. on Accounts), substitute therefor.	†*	54	53	9	127	.....	1	1	1
430	Same, passage	**	1	85	122	2	.....	1	1	1
447	Bill to issue notes to nat. banks, next adj. to be to Friday	(**)	.....	115	.....	131	.....	1	1	1
448	Same, to consider bill	††	98	11	45	82	1	.....	.....	2
450	Same, motion to adj	††	13	98	85	31	.....	1	2	.....
460	Same, to consider bill	††	107	12	43	43	1	.....	.....	.....
461	Same, next adj. to be to Saturday	(**)	.....	115	2	99	.....	1	.....	1
469	Res. to take part in Melbourne Exposition	(††)	79	32	75	56	2	.....	1	1
471	Bill to issue notes to nat. banks, to consider	††	86	13	38	83	1	1	.....	2
481	Election case, Thobe, L. v. Carlisle, D., to refer to select com	**	114	.....	8	132	1	.....	2	.....
491	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	115	140	5	.....	1	.....	1
504	Same, to seat Carlisle	†*	6	7	158	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
554	Bill for sale of Indian lands in Kansas, amend. settlers to pay full value.	††	18	98	81	50	.....	2	.....	1
559	Same, motion to adj	††	12	88	69	50	.....	1	.....	1
569	Bill to refer claim of owners of steamship to Court of Claims, to refer to Com. on Jud.	*†	7	100	94	27	.....	2	.....	1
570	Same, passage	*†	98	5	31	87	2	.....	.....	1
595	Bill to repeal tax on oleomargarine, to refer to Com. on Ways and Means (instead of Agric.).	(*†)	3	112	58	76	1	1	.....	1
639	Bill on 2d class mail, amend. postage on books 1 c. per lb. (instead of 8 c.)	(†*)	105	19	9	131	2	.....	1	.....
641	Same, passage	(†*)	16	103	128	11	.....	2	1	1
684	Election case, Lowry, D., v. White, R., res. to seat White	*†	138	.....	46	104	1	.....	1	1
770	Bill to punish adv. of lottery tickets in D. of C., to refer to Com. on Jud	††	15	89	104	22	.....	1	.....	2
830	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. Public Printer to enforce 8-hour law	(*†)	114	.....	64	53	2	.....	2	.....
834	Bill for relief of McKey, to recommit	*†	3	109	59	57	.....	2	1	.....
836	Same, passage	*†	107	2	47	68	2	.....	.....	2
837	Same, to lay on table motion to reconsider	*†	107	8	46	64	1	.....	.....	2
862	Amend. of Const. on date of inauguration, passage	††	66	51	60	78	1	.....	2	.....
929	Private pension bill, amend. to change the amount	*†	90	6	58	64	1	.....	1	.....
943	Res. to investigate circular issued by Pension Bureau, to lay on table	**	3	99	116	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
973	Res. on failure to print Pres. message, to refer to Com. on Printing	**	1	124	130	3	.....	2	.....	1
1030	Bill on duty of Pacific R. R. to carry mails, passage	(**)	86	2	109	2	.....	.....	2	.....
1059	Election case, McDuffie, R., v. Davidson, D., to seat McDuffie	**	121	1	1	142	.....	.....	.....	1
1105	Bill to pay certain war claims, amend. to add a claim	††	24	81	104	13	1	1	1	1
1106	Same, passage	††	20	78	84	23	1	.....	1	.....
1119	Bill to grant Cal. 5 per cent of proceeds of public lands, motion to limit debate.	*†	101	11	28	68	1	.....	.....	1
1120	Same, to lay bill on table	*†	6	97	60	44	.....	1	.....	1
1141	Bill to incorporate a R. R. in D. of C., amend. to require consent of abutters.	††	56	39	12	103	.....	1	.....	1

Fiftieth Congress—House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Independents.		Labor.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1164	Bill to allot lands to Indians, to recommit	(††)	17	66	29	68	.....	1	1	.....
1183	Res. for addl. doorkeepers, to recommit	††	59	54	23	109	2	.....	2	.....
1197	Deficiency approp. bill, amend. to strike out item for Brooklyn Navy-Yard.	†*	102	13	3	128	1	1	1	1
1199	Bill to pay a war claim, passage	(††)	50	25	65	26	2	.....	.....	1
1213	Res. assigning time to Com. on Labor, to refer to Com. on Rules	(*†)	.....	121	55	57	.....	2	.....	2
1215	Same, prev. quest. on res	(*†)	116	.....	87	21	2	.....	2	.....
1236	Res. fixing time for pension business, to refer to Com. on Pensions	(*†)	115	2	18	97	1	.....	1	1
1238	Bill to issue fractional silver certificates, passage	(*†)	110	11	64	55	1	1	2	.....
1260	Res. assigning time for Com. on Labor, to lay on table reconsideration	(*†)	121	.....	101	18	1	.....	2	.....
1361	Res. for information on sending seeds, etc., through mails, to lay on table.	**	.....	117	125	5	.....	.....	1	.....
1362	Same, to reconsider	**	118	.....	5	125	.....	1	.....	1
1375	Private pension bill, passage	*†	119	2	34	92	.....	1	1	1
1376	Private pension bill, passage	*†	112	2	34	87	.....	1	1	1
1404	Amend. of Const. on date of inauguration, to suspend rules and pass	††	11	96	68	56	.....	1	1	1
1407	Bill to refund direct taxes, to strike out of a res. assignment of time for	*†	.....	111	69	49	.....	1	1	.....
1408	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of this vote	(*†)	109	.....	58	38	1	.....	1	.....
1415	Res. fixing business of House for next few days	(*†)	99	1	55	43	.....	.....	1	.....
1431	General approp. bill, to consider	*†	.....	81	95	32	.....	1	.....	.....
1432	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	*†	115	1	42	72	.....	.....	.....	1
1445	Bill to refund direct taxes, prev. quest. on going into Com. of Whole	(*†)	117	.....	49	28	2	.....	1	.....
1446	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	(*†)	116	.....	45	16	2	.....	1	.....
1448	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	.....	106	15	56	.....	2	.....	1
1449	Same, to limit debate	(*†)	111	.....	45	23	2	.....	1	.....
1450	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	(*†)	117	.....	42	17	1	.....	.....	.....
1455	Same, motion to adj	(**)	1	111	5	67	.....	2	.....	1
1456	Same, motion for recess	(**)	.....	115	3	59	.....	2	.....	1
1457	Same, next adj. to be to Friday, amend. to Saturday	(**)	.....	127	1	60	.....	2	.....	.....
1458	Same, next adj. to be to Friday	(**)	.....	115	.....	60	.....	1	.....	.....
1459	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	.....	112	47	37	.....	2	.....	1
1464	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	.....	87	24	21	.....	2	.....	1
1465	Same, call of the House (to obtain quorum)	(*†)	93	1	34	12	2	.....	1	.....
1467	Same, to dispense with further action under call	(††)	78	20	42	16	2	.....	.....	2
1468	Same, to reconsider last vote	(††)	12	87	16	40	.....	2	.....	1

1469	Same, motion to adj	(*†)			100	19	35		2			1
1470	Same, call of the House (no quorum)	(*†)	96		2	41	12	2		1		
1472	Same, motion to adj	(*†)			93	24	32		2			1
1478	Same, next adj. to be to Friday, amend. to Saturday	(**)			117	2	61		2			1
1479	Same, next adj. to be to Friday	(**)			124	2	69		2			1
1481	Same, next adj. to be to Monday	(**)			116	5	78		2			1
1482	Same, motion to adj	(**)			124	4	65		2			1
1483	Same, motion for recess till 5, amend. 4; 2d amend. 4.30	(*†)			119	7	60		2			1
1485	Same, orig. amend. 4	(**)			121	3	60		1			1
1486	Same, motion for recess, amend. 6; 2d amend. 6.30	(**)			113	1	51		2			1
1488	Same, orig. amend. 6	(**)			106	2	55		2			1
1489	Same, next adj. to be to Monday	(**)			112	2	59		2			
1496	Same, motion for recess till 5, amend. 6; 2d amend. 4	(*†)			119	7	63		2			1
1497	Same, 2 amend. 4.30	(**)			115	3	62		2			1
1500	Same, 2 amend. 4.04	(**)			120	4	59		1			1
1502	Same, motion to adj	(*†)			111	14	51		2			1
1503	Same, motion for recess, 2d amend. 4.05	(**)			115		49		1			1
1506	Motion to adj	*†			122	67	42		1			1
1512	Same, motion for recess till 5; amend. 4, 2d amend. 3	(**)			124	5	65		1			1
1513	Same, orig amend. 4	(**)			113	5	65					
1514	Same, another amend. 4.20	(**)			113	4	50		1			1
1533	Same, motion for recess of one-half hour, amend. 2 hours	(*†)			107	9	54		1			1
1534	Same, another amend. till 3 o'clock	(**)			114	3	56		1			1
1536	Same, another amend. till 3.30	(**)			109	3	61		1			1
1537	Same, another amend. till 3.35	(**)			108	5	58		1			1
1539	Same, motion to adj	*†			116	79	33		1	1		1
1542	Same, next adj. to be to Thursday	(**)			113	3	56		1			1
1553	Same, next adj. to be to Saturday	(**)			109	4	61		2			
1556	Same, res. directing Serg. at Arms to bring in absent members	*†	105			31	38	2		1		
1558	Same, motion to adj	*†			121	80	23		2			1
1559	Same, next adj. to be to Friday	(*†)			115	8	45		2			1
1562	Same, motion to adj	*†			109	67	28		2	1		1
1564	Same, motion to adj	*†			103	65	17		1			1
1565	Same, to dispense with further action under call of House	*†			99	48	20		1			1
1566	Same, motion to adj	*†			104	53	13		1			1
1567	Same, motion to adj	*†			101	55	15		2	1		
1569	Same, motion for call of House	*†			100	59	14		2	1		
1570	Same, motion to adj	*†			102	50	11		2			1
1571	Same, motion to adj	*†			98	51	15		2	1		1
1573	Same, motion to adj	*†			65	23	9		1			1
1574	Same, to dispense with further action under call of House	*†			109	74	26		2			
1575	Same, motion to adj	*†			104	74	27		2	2		
1576	Same, to dispense with further action under call of House	*†			98	72	20		2	1		
1577	Same, motion to adj	(*†)			58	13	14					1
1585	Same, motion to adj	**			129	128	2		2	2		
1588	Same, motion to adj	**			134	145	2		2	2		

Fiftieth Congress—House of Representatives—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Independents.		Labor.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1647	River and harbor bill, to suspend rules and pass, to adj	(††)	47	54	15	116	2			2
1648	Same, orig. motion	††	35	68	97	32		2	2	
1650	Res. on power of Sec. of Treas. to buy bonds under act of Mar. 3, 1881	(††)	57	27	81	33		2		2
1679	Motion to adj	(*†)	7	64	68	32		2	1	1
1708	Bill to secure public lands to settlers, to consider	(††)	37	53	45	73	1		2	
1723	Bill to increase police force of D. of C., to go into Com. of Whole	(††)	34	67	20	97	1			2
1824	Motion to dispense with private business for the day	**	7	89	100			1		1
1842	River and harbor approp. bill, passage	(††)	63	49	96	20		1	2	
1844	Motion to adj	(††)	21	63	40	55		1	1	1
1954	Approp. bills, to go into Com. of Whole	(††)	26	87	64	67				1
1956	Bill to create Dept. of Agriculture, passage	(*†)	118		117	13			1	
1970	Bill to protect free labor from convict labor, 3 R., prev. quest	(*†)	104	7	79	37	1		1	
2027	Leg., etc., approp. bill, amend. to add item for assay office at St. Louis	††	50	31	54	64	1		1	1
2058	Motion to adj. (to delay Mills bill)	**	1	90	112	2		1	1	
2198	Motion to adj. (same object)	††	37	6	29	52				1
2228	Bill to secure public lands to settlers, amend. to reserve coal for U. S	(††)	48	19	80	19	1		2	
2259	Motion to adj. (to delay Mills bill)	*†	5	81	82	22	1			2
2275	Bill to forfeit R. R. land grants, amend. to forfeit unless whole line built in time specified in grants.	*†	7	67	53	39				
2276	Same, amend. to forfeit if R. R. now unbuilt	††	57	17	14	75				
2284	Same, passage	(**)	79	5	100	3				
2317	Agric. approp. bill, Sen. amend to add item for experiments with sorghum sugar.	*†	103	1	21	98	1		1	
2335	Private pension bill, call of House (no quorum)	(††)	53	21	52	29			1	
2237	Same, to dispense with further action under call	*†	75	3	27	49				1
2349	P. O. approp. bill, Sen. amend. to add item for better mail service to So. Amer.	†*	54	31		103	1			1
2350	Same, to disagree to said amend. and ask further conf	†*	31	57	108			1	1	
2352	Res. to pay substitute for a House reporter	*†	84	3	16	81	1		1	
2395	Bill for public building at Allentown, Pa., to pass over Prest.'s veto	*†	111	1	25	81	2		2	
2397	Motion to adj	(*†)	3	90	21	91		1		2
2411	River and harbor bill, to lay on table reconsideration of vote on ordering yeas and nays.	(††)	76	40	95	33		1	1	
2414	Bill to appoint and retire Gen. Averell, passage	(*†)	97	6	44	68	1		1	
2415	Bill to appoint and retire Gen. A. J. Smith, passage	*†	81	4	36	61				

2424	Mills tariff bill, amend. to increase free list (cotton ties)	**	10	124	158	2		2	2	
2425	Same, passage	**	2	145	158	2		2	2	
2427	Next adj. to be to Wednesday	*†	12	118	66	85	1	1		2
2510	Bill for building at Omaha, to agree to conf. report	††	61	24	18	68	1		1	
2547	Motion to adj., (no quorum)	††	26	45	40	34	1			2
2589	Approp. bills, to go into Com. of Whole	(**)	71	6	86	3	1		1	
2608	Motion to revoke leaves of absence to members, motion to adj	††	28	35	30	48				2
2609	Same, to lay on table	(††)	31	26	46	27				2
2620	Approp. bills, to go into Com. of Whole, motion to adj	*†	4	64	45	23				1
2668	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	††	38	27	8	60				2
2669	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	††	44	19	20	45				2
2680	Approp. bills, to go into Com. of Whole	(**)	74	3	84	1			2	
2686	Bill to print Govt. securities in highest style of art, to go into Com. of Whole.	(**)	82		81	3	2		2	
2689	Same, later no quorum, motion to dispense with further action under a call of House.	(*†)	70	5	68	16	2		2	
2714	Sundry civil approp. bill, to consider report of conf. com	††	30	38	52	44		1		1
2722	Motion to adj	(††)	11	46	38	54				1
2748	Bill to protect Amer fishing vessels, passage	(**)	70	4	104		1		1	
2765	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	(*†)	5	49	21	47		2		2
2766	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	(††)	10	43	31	43		1		2
2767	Motion for call of House	(††)	34	10	36	22	2		1	
2793	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	(††)	10	52	27	38		1		1
2809	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†	3	62	55	26				2
2866	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†	1	37	37	23				
2919	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†		32	25	11				
2920	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†	1	27	31	3				
2927	Bill to adjust accounts of workmen, etc., under 8-hour law, motion to adj.	*†		26	27	4				

Fiftieth Congress—House of Representatives—Continued.

SECOND SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Labor and Independents.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
35	Bill for monument to Gen. Knox, to make bill a special order	*†	101	.....	22	52	2	1
39	Same, motion to adj	*†	1	95	56	22	1	1
40	Same, prev. question on 3 R	(*†)	95	.....	41	32	1	.....
43	Same (no quorum), motion to adj	*†	.....	88	54	13	2	.....
76	Bill to refund direct tax of 1861, passage	*†	136	.....	40	95	2	1
95	Next adj. to be to Jan. 7, amend. Jan 4	††	31	72	66	34	1	2
99	Motion to adj	(††)	13	79	30	53	.....	2
102	Motion to adj	*†	5	89	52	36	.....	2
111	Bill to provide clerks for members of Cong., to go into Com. of Whole	††	73	26	19	80	3	1
142	Motion to adj. (to cut off res. that no call of States for bills during rest of session)	††	17	67	42	41	.....	1
147	Bill to incorporate Nicaragua Canal Co., amend. U. S. to incur no liability	(†*)	53	29	80	6	2	1
149	Same, amend. no certfs. of stock to be issued till 10 per cent of capital paid in, etc	††	32	50	68	24	2	1
151	Same, amend. reserving right to alter or repeal	††	33	42	47	38	2	1
153	Same, passage	*†	83	8	74	25	2	1
161	Motion to adj. (to cut off res., supra)	††	15	69	57	27	.....	4
168	Motion to adj. (ditto)	*†	6	102	67	34	1	2
170	Motion to adj. (ditto)	*†	4	99	69	24	1	3
171	Next adj. to be till Thursday (ditto)	(**)	1	92	4	77	.....	3
172	Motion to adj. (ditto)	*†	3	96	68	27	1	2
174	Next adj. to be till Wednesday (ditto)	(*†)	2	91	10	63	.....	2
175	Motion to adj. (ditto)	*†	7	90	63	19	.....	3
176	Next adj. to be till Thursday (ditto)	(**)	2	91	6	65	.....	3
181	Res. no call of States for bills during rest of session, prev. quest	(*†)	96	5	89	14	3	.....
181	Same, prev. quest. on motion to recommit	(**)	102	1	112	3	4	.....
182	Same, to recommit	**	8	105	111	10	1	3
189	Election case of Smalls, R., v. Elliott, D., to consider	(*†)	108	.....	80	15	2	.....
195	Same, motion to take a recess	(**)	2	81	1	99	.....	4
200	Same, next adj. to be till Monday	(**)	1	101	.....	123	.....	4
202	A public building bill, prev. quest. on conf. report	(*†)	112	2	102	16	4	.....
204	Same, to agree to conf. report	(*†)	113	1	63	52	3	.....
206	Another pub. building bill, prev. quest. on conf. report	(*†)	101	5	92	21	3	.....
214	A private pension bill, to consider	*†	102	2	38	66	2	.....
215	Same, 3 R	*†	82	9	27	71	1	2
217	Same passage	††	77	13	26	70	1	1

227	Res. to rescind res. closing sitting at 5 p. m	†*	33	79	121	5	2	1
232	Bill to amend int. rev. laws, to refer to Com. on Approps	*†	102	2	22	88	2	1
234	Bill to repeal tax on tobacco, to refer to Com. on War Claims	**	95	4	4	112	2	1
290	Bill to admit So. Dak. as a State, substitute from com. stating conditions of admission of Dak., Mont., Wash., and New Mex., 2d subs. admission of So. Dak. at once.	**	113	.....	2	121	2	1
293	Same, the substitute from com	**	.....	120	130	.....	3	.....
294	Same, to recommit	**	118	.....	.....	128	.....	3
296	Same, passage	†*	12	98	130	.....	3	.....
297	Same, to agree to preamble	**	91	2	.....	103	.....	3
313	Another bill to repeal tax on tobacco, to refer to Com. on War Claims	**	100	2	2	121	1	2
321	Bill to organize Oklahoma Terr., to make it a special order	(††)	85	27	75	49	3	1
322	Bill to buy land for P. O. in Wash., to suspend rules and pass	††	78	25	31	80	.....	3
329	Election case, Smalls, R., v. Elliott, D., to consider	††	88	17	17	91	1	1
373	Bill to organize Okl. Terr., to go into Com. of Whole	(††)	54	26	76	27	4	.....
375	Same, amend. rights of soldiers to extend to lands opened	††	96	18	16	91	2	2
381	Same, to lay on table reconsid. of last vote	††	93	24	24	105	2	2
383	Same, to reconsider it	††	24	93	109	22	2	2
384	Same, amend. (as above)	(††)	93	25	16	113	1	2
387	Same, amend. to strike out that certain Indian leases void	††	18	90	34	95	1	2
388	Same, substitute comrs. to treat with Indians for sale of lands	††	62	52	56	70	1	2
392	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	(††)	56	55	74	57	2	2
394	Same, passage	(††)	67	44	79	57	2	1
432	Bill to incorporate Nicaragua Canal Co., to agree to conf. report	(††)	96	19	80	39	2	2
435	Private pension bill, to reconsider	**	93	4	9	93	1	1
436	Same, to recommit	*†	2	94	71	22	1	1
453	Private pension bill, to consider reconsideration of vote against, 3 R	†*	76	11	3	102	1	2
470	Election case, Smalls, R., v. Elliott, D., to consider	*†	105	.....	25	88	1	1
492	Same, to seat Smalls	**	123	.....	2	141	2	1
497	Bill to admit So. Dak., instr. to conf. com. to omit provisions about New Mex	*†	119	3	14	109	2	2
499	Same, to lay reconsideration of this vote on table	**	124	1	10	106	2	2
500	Same, instr. to com. So. Dak. to come in on changing its const	**	128	.....	7	102	2	1
501	Same, motion to adj	*†	1	124	80	17	1	2
502	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	114	85	4	1	2
508	Same, to lay reconsideration of instr. on table	*†	129	.....	14	108	2	2
510	Same, instr. No. Dak., Mon., and Wash. to come in	*†	129	.....	17	100	2	2
512	Private pension bill, passage	*†	72	7	22	76	1	1
525	Private pension bill, to agree to conf. report	*†	106	2	24	65	1	2
535	Bill to protect seals, 3 R	(††)	81	28	63	51	1	2
540	Election case, Sullivan, D., v. Felton, R., call of House	†*	16	46	110	.....	2	1
541	Same, motion to adj	†*	68	21	2	118	1	3
552	Bill to refund direct tax of 1861, motion to adj	(**)	.....	113	1	87	.....	3
558	Same, to consider conf. report	*†	110	.....	23	91	2	2
559	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	*†	126	.....	32	75	2	1
560	Same, to agree to conf. report	*†	127	.....	38	86	3	1
584	P. O. approp. bill, amend. to strike out classification of clerks	†*	50	54	2	115	1	3

Fiftieth Congress—House of Representatives—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Labor and Independents.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
589	Mills tariff bill, to consider res. that substitution of new bill by Senate is in conflict with Const.	*†	.....	112	88	30	1	2
591	Same, to lay on table reconsideration of last vote	*†	122	.....	40	82	3	1
592	Private pension bill, to consider making it special order	*†	125	1	48	65	1	1
593	Same, motion for recess	(**)	.....	112	2	101	.....	3
615	Election case, Sullivan, D., v. Felton, R., to consider	**	6	92	107	9	2	1
620	Same, that Serg. at Arms bring in absentees (no quorum)	†*	28	39	113	.....	2	.....
621	Same, to dispense with further action under call	*†	103	2	20	101	1	2
624	Same, motion for recess	(**)	2	74	1	114	.....	2
626	Same, motion for recess	(**)	5	74	.....	97	.....	3
627	Same, next adj. to be to Wednesday	(**)	3	67	.....	91	.....	2
628	Same, motion to adj	*†	80	.....	12	84	3	1
667	Dist. of Col. approp. bill, amend. $1,000,000 for Zool. Garden	††	73	34	20	94	1	3
669	Same, Sen. amend. $200,000 for same	††	94	16	36	79	1	3
697	Bill to quiet title to Des Moines lands, to consider	**	122	2	12	111	2	1
700	Bill to dispose of some public lands, to agree to conf. report	(**)	115	2	127	5	3	.....
702	Bill to quiet title to Des Moines lands, to pass over veto	*†	107	10	38	94	2	.....
716	Bill to amend interstate-commerce act, to consider conf. report	(**)	105	.....	209	3	1	1
721	Sundry civil approp. bill, Sen. amend. on Bureau of Engraving	(††)	54	56	46	61	2	2
723	Same, Sen. amend. increasing approp. for Cong. Library	(*†)	117	3	60	53	1	.....
738	Same, Sen. amend. for grant to widow of Chief Justice Waite	†*	71	25	6	93	.....	3
750	Deficiency approp., Sen. amend. on water main in D. of C	(*†)	99	10	63	45	2	.....
762	Bill to forfeit certain lands granted to R. Rs., conf. report, motion for recess	(**)	2	83	.....	105	.....	3

Fifty-sixth Congress—Senate.

FIRST SESSION.

[Republicans, 52; Democrats, 26; Silverites, 4; Populists, 5; total, 87—President, William McKinley, R.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
83	Res. asking for communications with Aguinaldo, amend. to add communications with comrs. on treaty with Spain.	*†	37	2	3	14	1	2	.....	2
98	Bill for Twelfth Census, to agree with House amend. for statistics on deaf and blind.	†*	12	27	15	1	3	1	.....	3
98	Same, to agree with House amend. for statistics on mines	(††)	7	22	6	9	3	1	.....	3
107	Treaty with Samoa, res. for information, to refer to Com. on For. Relations.	*†	36	1	2	18	1	2	.....	2
141	Currency bill, amend. authorizing appt. of comrs. to any internat. bimet. conference.	*†	1	42	17	3	2	.....	5	.....
143	Same, amend. people of U. S. favor bimet	**	1	43	20	2	3	.....	3	.....
143	Same, amend. act not intended to place obstacles to international bimet.	**	45	.....	.....	24	.....	3	.....	3
143	Same, amend. on standard value of gold coin, to lay on table	**	42	.....	2	21	.....	3	.....	2
144	Same, amend. gold and silver dollars to be legal tender at nominal value.	**	.....	42	22	2	3	.....	2	.....
144	Same, amend. act not to affect legal tender of silver	**	.....	42	21	2	3	.....	2	.....
144	Same, amend. to repeal tax on State-bank circulation	**	.....	42	19	1	.....	3	1	1
144	Same, amend. for paying off nat. debt in gold and silver	**	.....	45	22	2	3	.....	2	.....
144	Same, amend. for free coinage of silver	**	.....	45	22	2	3	.....	3	.....
144	Same, passage	**	44	1	2	22	.....	3	.....	3
159	Senator from Pennsylvania, to consider res. on election of Mr. Quay	(††)	20	16	11	8	3	1	.....	3
203	Relief of Porto Rico bill, amend. Const. was extended over island by treaty with Spain.	**	35	.....	1	14	.....	.....	.....	3
219	Same, to agree to conf. report	**	34	.....	.....	14	1	.....	.....	1
234	Civil govt. for Alaska, amend. Sec. of Int. to make rules for mining, etc.	(††)	15	18	5	7	.....	1	1	2
234	Govt. of Porto Rico bill, amend. for free coinage of silver	**	.....	32	11	1	1	.....	3	.....
237	Same, amend. to omit provision for duty of 5 cts. per lb. on coffee imported into Porto Rico.	**	.....	32	12	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
237	Same, to omit provision for 15 per cent of U. S. duty between U. S. and Porto Rico.	**	1	33	14	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
239	Same, amend. (peso to be redeemed at 93⅛ instead of 60 cents)	**	.....	32	10	1	.....	.....	2	.....
239	Same, amend. Const. and laws of U. S. to extend to Porto Rico	**	.....	32	10	1	.....	.....	3	.....
241	Same, amend. assem. to have no power to enact law in conflict with U. S. Const.	**	.....	31	14	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

Fifty-sixth Congress—Senate—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
244	Same, amend. int. rev. laws extended over Porto Rico	†*	6	37	21	.....	.....	3	3	.....
244	Same, amend. free trade between U. S. and Porto Rico	†*	6	37	19	1	.....	3	3	.....
244	Same, passage	†*	38	6	.....	21	2	1	.....	3
244	Govt. of Philippines bill, to consider, motion to adj	††	14	24	12	4	.....	1	3	.....
245	Same, motion to adj	††	15	24	8	6	1	1	1	.....
261	Indian approp. bill, amend. Sec. of Int. may contract with "contract schools."	**	2	25	12	1	1	3	1	1
268	Pacific cable bill, amend. to omit that materials be of Amer. mfg	*†	.....	30	9	4	1	3	1	1
272	Nicaraguan Canal bill, to consider	*†	2	28	10	2	1	3	2	.....
272	Alaska code bill, to consider	†*	9	20	11	.....	.....	4	2	.....
281	Same, amend. claims to land to originate only after this act	†*	3	26	12	.....	1	1	1	.....
299	Senator from Pa., res. of com. Mr. Quay not entitled to seat, amend. to strike out "not."	††	25	13	5	14	2	1	.....	5
299	Same, adoption of res	††	13	25	14	5	1	2	5	.....
309	Senator from W. Va., res. of com. seating Mr. Scott	(*†)	33	.....	13	2	3	.....	3	1
316	So. African Republic, res. of sympathy	††	6	24	8	3	2	2	4	.....
320	Army approp. bill, amend. Commissary Dept. to give preference to articles grown in U. S.	**	2	27	10	.....	2	2	4	.....
330	Army reorg. bill, amend. to strike out that Commander of Army have rank of lieut. gen.	*†	.....	34	7	5	.....	4	1	1
330	Same, amend. to add that Vet. Corps shall consist of, etc	††	15	16	7	6	2	1	1	.....
331	Same, amend. to strike out "two from each State"	††	4	26	8	3	1	2	.....	2
341	Naval approp. bill, amend. after naval cadet has finished four years of course, successor may be appointed.	(††)	29	4	9	7	2	1	.....	.....
350	Same, amend. to omit "if armor plate can not be purchased from manufacturers."	†*	6	23	12	1	3	.....	1	.....
351	Same, amend. to reduce price of armor plate from $445 to $300 per ton	†*	5	23	13	1	3	.....	1	.....
351	Same, another amend. $350 per ton	†*	3	24	13	1	3	.....	1	.....
351	Same, $400 per ton	†*	5	22	12	1	3	.....	1	.....
356	Same, $425 per ton	†*	5	27	12	.....	4	.....	4	.....
356	Same, amend. on armor and armament as amended	**	32	3	.....	10	.....	3	.....	4
360	Bill on appointments in dependencies, to postpone indefinitely	(††)	7	21	2	10	.....	3	1	1
376	Post-Office approp. bill, amend. pneumatic-tube service only in discretion of Postm. Gen., to lay on table.	†*	15	15	12	1	3	.....	2	.....

380	Privilege of the floor, to lay on table motion to grant it to Boer peace comrs.	*†	32	2	3	13	1	2	.....	4
380	Post-Office approp. bill, amend. to approp. for pneumatic tubes, no new contracts to be made.	*†	33	2	3	12	2	2	.....	4
381	Same, amend. by Mr. Pettigrew, to reduce payment to railroads for mails.	*†	3	28	7	3	2	2	4	.....
381	Nicaragua Canal bill, to consider	††	8	23	9	3	.....	2	4	.....
403	Naval approp. bill, agreement to conf. report	*†	27	2	6	7	2	.....	.....	2
407	So. African Republic, res. of sympathy, to refer to Com. on For. Relations.	*†	37	4	2	15	1	2	.....	5
408	Sundry civil approp. bill, amend. to increase an approp. from $100,000 to $250,000.	††	17	19	10	4	2	1	4	.....
422	Sioux City and P. R. R. Co. bill (to appoint com. on debt to U. S.), amend. com. not to accept less than full sum due.	**	1	31	13	.....	1	1	1	.....
423	Same, amend. report to be made to Congress	**	1	35	15	.....	1	1	2	1
423	Extradition to Cuba, amend. judge to be satisfied of security for fair trial	(††)	32	5	10	4	3	.....	1	1
427	Bill for relief of J. L. Smithmeyer, etc., passage	(††)	20	17	10	7	3	1	3	.....
439	Anti-trust bill, ref. to Com. on Judiciary	*†	39	3	2	13	2	2	.....	5
439	Emergency river and harbor bill, to agree to conf. report	(*†)	3	33	4	10	1	2	2	1
450	Naval approp. bill, amend. on purchase and manuf. of armor plate	†*	38	8	1	21	.....	2	.....	4
451	Eight-hour bill, res. to discharge com., to lay on table	†*	31	8	1	13	1	3	.....	4

SECOND SESSION.

19	Ship-subsidy bill, to consider	**	37	.....	.....	15	1	2	.....	3
61	Army reorg. bill, amend. on Vet. Corps	(*†)	27	2	11	2	3	.....	2	1
67	Same, amend. to substitute "distilled spirits" for "beer," etc., in sect. 40, to lay on table.	††	22	7	8	6	2	1	2	1
69	Same, a brig. gen. in Spanish war to be maj. gen	*†	32	.....	6	8	1	2	2	1
70	Same, amend. one-third of vacancies created to be filled from officers of volunteers.	*†	2	30	9	2	2	1	3	.....
71	Same, amend. no further force to be used in the Philippines until after amnesty, to lay on table.	**	30	3	1	11	1	2	.....	3
71	Same, amend. on grade of captain	†*	8	21	11	.....	2	1	3	.....
79	Same, amend. to strike out provisions on number of men in company, etc.	*†	34	.....	4	13	1	2	.....	5
88	Same, amend. to strike out that Pres. may keep Army at maximum strength during present exigencies.	**	1	39	19	2	2	1	4	.....
88	Same, amend. act to expire July 1, 1903	**	1	38	19	.....	1	1	4	.....
88	Same, amend. President to disclaim sovereignty over Philippines, etc	*†	1	38	17	4	1	1	3	.....
89	Same, amend. to strike out sect. on enlisting Philippinos	*†	1	37	19	3	1	1	3	.....
89	Same, amend. no liquor licenses in Philippines and no liquor to be imported.	††	9	32	11	9	1	1	2	1
89	Same, amend. no liquor to be imported into Philippines	(††)	12	30	8	9	1	1	2	1
89	Same, amend. no liquor licenses in Philippines	††	8	30	9	9	1	1	2	1
89	Same, amend. organization of Pay Dept	(††)	12	23	5	11	1	1	.....	3

Fifty-sixth Congress—Senate—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
89	Same, amend. to strike out provisions on number of men in companies	*†	.....	40	18	2	1	1	3	.....
90	Same, to agree to amend. of H. of R. as amended	*†	38	1	4	18	1	1	.....	3
117	Indian approp. bill, motion to adj. (sug. of no quorum)	*†	2	25	7	4	.....	3	.....	.....
129	Army reorganization bill, to agree to conf. report	††	29	7	3	14	1	2	.....	2
136	Shipping (subsidy) bill, motion to adj. (sug. no quorum)	**	.....	29	9	.....	1	2	3	.....
145	War revenue bill, amend. to reduce check stamps to 1 cent	*†	1	36	14	3	2	1	1	2
145	Same, amend. to omit tax on telegrams, etc	**	.....	34	11	.....	1	1	3	.....
146	Same, amend. imposing an income tax	**	.....	37	14	1	2	1	4	.....
146	Same, motion to adj	**	.....	34	10	1	2	1	3	.....
150	Shipping (subsidy) bill, motion to adj. (sug. no quorum)	†*	10	21	6	.....	2	1	2	.....
157	Naval approp. bill, amend. cadets on completing 4 years to be commissioned.	(*†)	33	3	6	5	1	.....	.....	4
163	Agric. approp. bill, motion to adj. (no quorum)	*†	.....	25	7	1	.....	2	2	.....
173	Same, that amend. (on inspection of dairy products) out of order	**	1	34	15	.....	2	1	2	1
175	Same, amend. to increase certain items	††	8	20	10	2	3	.....	2	.....
177	Oleomargarine bill, to consider	(*†)	32	.....	10	2	3	.....	.....	.....
190	Military Acad. approp. bill, to agree to conf. report	(††)	9	26	5	14	2	1	2	1
193	Post-office approp. bill, amend. to reduce sums paid railroads for carrying mails.	(*†)	3	38	9	10	2	2	4	1
193	Same, that amend. (to extend pneumatic-tube mail carriers) out of order.	(††)	35	8	15	5	.....	3	5	.....
197	Same, amend. more than one person to have right to perform the service.	(††)	22	11	16	3	3	.....	1	.....
197	Same, amend. to extend pneumatic-tube service	(††)	20	21	6	12	.....	2	.....	2
197	Same, amend. Postmaster-Gen. instructed to withhold an approp	(††)	8	26	7	12	3	.....	1	2
200	Same, amend. to omit special approps. for certain trunk lines	(††)	10	27	7	15	2	1	.....	2
200	Same, amend. Postmaster-Gen. not to construe approp. as direction to expend it, to lay on table.	(††)	22	13	14	8	.....	2	2	.....
205	Fortification approp. bill, amend. to reduce an item	*†	.....	33	10	5	1	2	2	.....
213	Army approp. bill, that amend. (govt. of Philippines to be exercised as Pres. directs) out of order.	**	38	.....	.....	17	1	2	.....	4
224	Same, motion to adj	(*†)	.....	35	4	8	.....	3	2	1
229	Same, amend. no act of any officer to conflict with Const. and laws of U. S.	**	1	43	17	1	3	1	4	.....
230	Same, amend. to add decl. of intention not to retain permanent sovereignty over Philippines.	*†	1	42	15	2	3	1	5	.....

230	Same, amend. provisions for govt. of Philippines to continue until Mar. 4, 1903.	**	1	42	17	.....	3	1	5	.....
230	Same, amend. every officer in Philippines to take oath to support Const. of U. S.	**	1	40	17	.....	2	1	5	.....
230	Same, amend. to secure to Philippinos share in govt. so far as safe	**	1	38	16	.....	2	1	4	.....
230	Same, amend. to incorporate a bill of rights	**	1	39	16	1	2	1	4	.....
230	Same, amend. to separate leg., exec., and jud. powers	**	1	42	19	.....	3	1	3	.....
231	Same, to agree to amend, as modified	**	43	1	1	19	1	3	.....	4
231	Same, amend. on conditions under which U. S. shall withdraw from Cuba, 2d amend. to omit right of U. S. to intervene to protect life, etc.	**	.....	40	17	.....	2	2	2	1
231	Same, similar 2d amend	**	1	40	16	.....	2	2	2	.....
231	Same, orig. amend	**	42	.....	.....	16	1	2	.....	2
232	Same, amend. that Const. extends to Philippines	**	1	38	12	.....	1	3	2	.....
232	Same, no appointments in Philippines without consent of Senate	**	.....	39	11	.....	1	2	2	.....
232	Same, passage	**	41	1	.....	13	2	2	.....	2
248	Automatic brakes bill, to discharge Com. on Interstate Com. from consideration of.	††	5	32	13	3	3	1	4	.....
249	Sundry civil approp. bill, to sustain ruling of Chair that amend. in order.	(††)	25	13	9	2	.....	3	.....	2
249	Same, amend. for park in D. of C	(††)	9	18	2	10	4	.....	1	1
249	Same, amend. for two addl. comrs	**	.....	31	15	.....	2	2	2	.....
250	Same, to sustain ruling of Chair on Nicaragua Canal amend	*†	30	1	4	9	1	3	1	3
259	Anti-trust bill, motion to proceed to exec. business	**	39	4	.....	19	1	3	.....	3
261	Same, to consider the bill	**	3	33	15	1	2	2	4	.....
261	Safety appliances on railroads, bill to consider	††	15	18	17	2	2	1	5	.....
269	Naval approp. bill, that Senate recede from amend. No. 89	(††)	25	9	6	3	1	3	.....	3
270	Washington Telephone Co., bill, to consider	†*	13	23	11	1	1	3	1	1
272	St. John's Lodge relief bill, to refer to Court of Claims	†*	23	11	.....	11	.....	3	.....	3
274	St. Louis Exposition bill, that Senate recede from amend. No 2	(††)	27	5	8	2	1	2	2	1
	Votes in executive session from which secrecy removed.									
287	Hay-Pauncefote treaty, amend. treaty not to prevent U. S. from acquiring territory to protect canal.	††	5	38	16	5	2	2	2	.....
287	Same, amend. to strike out sec. 7, Art. II (forbidding fortification)	††	5	38	17	4	2	2	2	.....
287	Same, amend. treaty not to prevent U. S. from protecting canal	*†	4	38	17	4	2	2	2	.....
287	Same, U. S. to have right to discriminate in favor of U. S. coastwise vessels.	††	6	37	17	4	2	2	2	.....
288	Same, amend. U. S. may secure defense and public order	††	5	37	18	4	2	2	2	.....
288	Same, consent to treaty as amended	(*†)	40	3	11	10	2	2	2	3

Fifty-sixth Congress—House of Representatives.

FIRST SESSION.

[Republicans, 187; Democrats, 161; Populists, 7; Silverites, 2; total, 357.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
5	Election of Speaker:									
	For Henderson	**	181							
	For Richardson				154		1		1	
	For Bell								4	
	For Newlands						2			
6	Adoption of rules of 56th Congress	**	178		151			2		6
34	That Roberts, of Utah, is ineligible	(*†)	178	1	118	30	1	1	7	
69	Bill on standard of value of money, to consider	**	164		135			2		6
108	Same, passage	**	179		11	142		2		6
119	Motion to adj. (next business was Com. on Elections)	†*	78	17	3	82		2		5
120	Motion to adj. (Com. on Elections being called)	†*	75	12	2	77		1		4
159	Rights of aliens bill, amend. to give aliens 5 (instead of 10) years to sell land in D. of C.	*†	1	118	80	22	2		5	
171	Privilege, motion to lay on table appeal from ruling of Chair on privilege of a census bill.	**	164		1	133				5
197	Election (Utah), substitute res. that Roberts entitled to seat	*†	6	168	72	71		1	3	4
197	Same, res. Roberts not entitled to seat	(*†)	167		95	48	1	1	5	1
226	Motion to adj. (sug. no quorum)	(††)	17	47	6	38		1	1	3
226	Motion to adj. (same)	(††)	21	45	5	36	1		2	3
227	Motion to adj. (same)	(††)	18	46	13	30	1		1	4
247	Motion to adj. (same)	*†	6	121	78	26		1		4
269	Leg., exec., and jud. approp. bill, amend. (from Com. of Whole) striking out approp. for Civil Service Com.	(††)	34	74	43	44		2		4
271	Com. of Whole, that House go into (sug. of no quorum)	(**)	100		49	1	1		5	
295	Govt. of Porto Rico bill, substitute	**	5	170	147	4	2		6	
295	Same, to recommit	**	6	168	148	4	2		6	
295	Same, passage	**	168	6	4	146		2		6
299	Contested election (Alabama), to consider	**	137	3		134		1		6
299	Same, to reconsider	**	128			126		1		5
302	Relief of Porto Rico bill, prev. quest. on 3 R	**	152			123		1		6
302	Same, motion to recommit with instrs. to limit approp	**		149	124		1		6	
303	Same, passage	*†	146		13	104	1		2	4

303	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	**	143		8	104	1		6
304	Contested election (Alabama), to consider	**	136			122		1	6
305	Business of House, to go into Com. of Whole (sug. of no quorum)	(**)	105		51	1		6	
310	Frederick Douglass memorial bill, to lay on table appeal from ruling on order in debate.	**	122		1	85			4
310	Same, prev. quest. on bill	**	107			89			5
310	Same, 3 R	**	98		2	77	1		3
322	Contested election (Alabama), min. res. seating Robbins	**		138	126		2	6	
324	Same, maj. res. seating Aldrich	**	141			127		2	6
338	Contested election, Wise v. Young, min. res. seating Young	**		131	122	1		6	
339	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	**	132			123			6
339	Same, maj. res. unseating Young	**	132			121			6
340	Same, maj. res. seating Wise	**	131			120			5
346	Standard of value of money bill, adoption of conf. report	**	156		10	115		1	4
370	Relief of Porto Rico bill, to concur in Sen. amends	**		111	81	2	1	5	
375	Res. for information on British fortifications, to lay on table	**	111			90		1	5
387	Bill to amend postal laws, to recommit	†*	37	85	103	11	2	6	
394	Bill for relief of W. F. Loveland, 3 R	(**)	97		47	1	1	5	
399	Relief of Porto Rico bill, adoption of conf. report	*†	120		12	82	2	1	5
428	Res. for information Porto Rico, amend. to include persons from whom imported goods purchased.	**		88	75		1	6	
453	Sioux City & P. R. R. Co. bill, (for Comrs. to settle debt to Gov.) amend. to add "Provided that they deem the same for the best interests of the Govt."	**	4	103	83	6	1	5	
457	Govt. of Porto Rico bill, to discharge Com. of Whole	**	158	9		126		2	5
458	Same, to concur in Senate amends	**	161	9		136		2	6
461	Public moneys (Philippines, etc., bill), amend. act to apply to Cuba only while occupied by U. S., 2d amend. to add "and the Philippines."	**		135	113		2	6	
462	Same, passage	**	119		3	104		1	6
468	Amend. to Constitution on election of Senators, passage	(†*)	114	14	120	1	2	6	
491	Naval approp. bill, to go into Com. of Whole	††	93	13	11	76		2	5
491	Same, motion to adj	**	1	98	61	6	1	5	
512	Govt. of Hawaii bill, to agree to conf. report	*†	103	2	33	48		1	2	3
522	Dept. of Agric. bill, passage	(*†)	88		49	27	1	4	
530	Isthmian canal bill, amend. to strike out "fortifications"	*†	132	6	19	90		2	5
530	Same, passage	(††)	123	17	95	18	2	4	1
549	Oleomargarine, request for information upon materials of, to lay on table	††	26	88	55	45		1	3
562	Contested election (No. Carolina), min. res. Crawford elected	**	2	128	122			3	
562	Same, maj. res. Pearson elected	**	129	1		123			3
583	Amer. Nat. Red Cross Assoc. bill, prev. quest. on bill	**	105	2	5	90		2	6
584	Same, to recommit	**	2	103	87	8		2	5
597	Relief of St. John's Lodge bill, 3 R	(†*)	24	11	46		2	3	
613	Extradition bill, to lay on table appeal from ruling that amend. to bill not in order.	**	127		2	95		1	5
614	Same, to recommit with instr. to amend so as to apply to Cuba only	**		128	99		2	5	
625	James H. Eastman pension bill, 3 R	(**)	73		42	4	2	5	

Fifty-sixth Congress—House—Continued.

FIRST SESSION—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
639	Naval approp. bill, Sen. amend. on contracts for armor	*†	7	114	93	11	2	.....	5	.....
643	Bill for commission on commerce with China, to strike out enacting cl	*†	4	121	89	10	.....	.....	6	.....
647	Const. amend. (election of Senators), to make special order	**	141	1	.....	111	.....	2	.....	4
653	Same, passage	**	148	2	5	124	1	1	.....	5
659	Anti-trust bill, amend. to make antimonopoly cl. more drastic	**	.....	130	115	.....	2	.....	5	.....
660	Same, amend. when Prest. satisfied price of article artificially raised to suspend duties upon it.	**	.....	132	116	2	1	.....	5	.....
661	Same, amend. any corp. controlling corp. in other State to file accounts, etc., with U. S. Sec. of State.	**	.....	138	120	.....	2	.....	5	.....
661	Same, amend. act not to apply to trade unions	(**)	129	8	124	.....	2	.....	5	.....
662	Same, passage	(**)	142	1	125	.....	2	.....	5	.....
666	Pensions of widows, res. for information, to discharge com. from consid. of.	**	3	130	104	.....	1	.....	4	.....
669	Sundry civil approp. bill, to concur in Sen. amend. (No. 134)	††	46	97	64	33	1	1	5	.....
670	Same, to concur in Sen. amend. (No. 183)	(††)	68	42	52	33	2	.....	5	.....
675	Alaska code bill, to reconsider agreement to conf. report	**	132	4	1	108	.....	2	.....	5
678	Naval approp. bill, to instr. conferees not to agree to amend. 18	††	22	109	85	32	1	1	4	.....
678	Same, to recede from disagreement on Sen. amend. No. 58 (contracts for armor).	*†	1	129	86	17	.....	.....	5	.....
685	Approp. for Mil. Academy, to agree to conf. report	**	120	9	8	78	.....	1	.....	5
687	Business of House, that House take recess till 9 to-morrow (instead of 8)	††	10	75	27	23	1	.....	4	.....
692	Naval approp. bill, Sen. amend. No. 58 with an amend	*†	132	2	22	88	.....	1	.....	5
699	Same, Sen. amend. No. 9 (surveys of Cuban and Phil. waters) with an amend.	††	72	54	45	39	.....	1	1	2
702	Adjournment of Congress, Sen. amends. on day and hour	**	112	.....	2	69	.....	2	.....	3

SECOND SESSION.

31	Army approp. bill, to recommit	(*†)	2	172	63	72	.....	1	5	1
31	Same, passage	**	167	1	4	126	.....	2	.....	4
35	Oleomargarine bill, amend. to strike out all after enacting cl	††	37	130	75	44	.....	1	1	4
36	Same, passage	††	140	23	51	68	1	.....	4	1

53	War-revenue bill, amend. tax of 1 cent on each shipment of goods	*†	11	126	105	14	2	6	
54	Same, to recommit in order to reduce taxes	**		157	123		2	6	
63	Bill on grade crossings in Washington, prev. quest. on closing debate	*†	135	3	21	77	1	2	5
63	Same, res. to close debate at 3.05	*†	127	4	19	74	1	2	6
64	Same, motion to go into Com. of Whole	*†	138	2	22	57		2	1 6
64	Same, prev. quest. on taking a recess	*†	139	2	19	40	1	2	3
65	Same, taking recess	(*†)	129	1	27	23		1	3
66	Same, passage	*†	126	8	37	58	1	1	5
80	Abridgment of suffrage, res. that Com. on Census inquire into, motion to adj.	**		87	62	3	1	3	2
81	Same, to consider res	**	80	2		75	2		4
82	Same, motion to adj	**	1	73	71	1	2	4	
85	River and harbor bill, motion to adj	**		103	78	2	2	4	
86	Res. on abridgment of suffrage, to consider	**	103	1	1	84	2		4
86	Same, prev. quest. on res	**	103			93	2		3
96	Appor. of Reps. in Congress, substitute for sect. 1	(††)	82	53	79	47	1	1	4 1
97	Same, amend. after "contiguous" insert "and compact"	††	100	23	30	82	1	2	3
130	Cramp & Sons relief bill, that debate in Com. of Whole be 2 hours (instead of 1 minute).	*†	2	96	53	17	2	4	
130	Same, motion to go into Com. of Whole	*†	97		16	49	1		5
131	Same, prev. quest. on bill	*†	96		9	50	2		4
138	Home for aged colored people bill, to suspend rules and pass	*†	106	3	28	53	2		3
142	Cramp & Sons relief bill, to recommit	**	3	103	83	7	2	1	5
143	Same, passage	*†	102	2	11	74		2	4
143	Revenue-Cutter Service bill, res. making special order	(††)	77	15	43	38	1	1	2 2
153	Army reorganization bill, to agree to conf. report	**	133	1	2	91		3	5
165	Washington Gaslight Co. bill, to reconsider vote whereby bill was recommitted.	††	59	43	23	55		1	4
182	Relief of St. John's Lodge bill, to recommit	†*	48	40	1	95		2	4
189	Bill to carry into effect treaty with Spain, substitute from Com. on War Claims.	†*	19	83	97	6	2	5	
200	Post-Office approp. bill, prev. quest. on motion to recommit	(††)	104	21	56	56	1	1	4
202	Bill on grade crossings in Washington, to agree to conf. report	*†	105	3	26	58		1	1
218	War-revenue bill, to request conference	(†*)	86	38	105	1	1	5	
219	Motion to adj. (no quorum)	**		80	54		1	4	
219	Motion for call of House	**	75			43	1		4
232	Sundry civil approp. bill, to go into Com. of Whole	†*	101	15	2	107	3	1	4
233	Same, to lay reconsideration of this vote on the table	**	10	120	112	3	3	4	
233	George P. White relief bill, to lay reconsideration of passage on table	**	4	126	106	5	2	5	
234	Private Calendar, to go into Com. of Whole on	†*	13	103	101		2	5	
239	St. Louis Exposition bill, to suspend rules and pass	(*†)	118	13	67	28	3	2	1
240	Labor injunctions bill, to suspend rules and pass	(†*)	52	56	2	85		1	3
263	Dept. of Agric. approp. bill, Sen. amends	††	43	66	82	15	2	1	4
271	Naval approp. bill, to recede from disagreement to Sen. amend. No. 88	(††)	69	65	85	23	2		3
272	Bill to carry into effect treaty with Spain, to agree to conf. report	*†	116	4	26	75		1	4
281	Privilege, consideration of right to have speech printed in Record	**		130	111		2	5	

Fifty-sixth Congress—House—Continued.

SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Silverites.		Populists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
282	Same, to consider res. ordering speech printed	**	.....	127	110	1	1	.....	4	.....
282	Same, adj. of House	**	115	.....	.....	95	.....	1	.....	5
289	Naval approp. bill, Sen. amend. No. 89	††	49	96	65	33	.....	2	4	1
292	Revenue-Cutter Service bill, to go into Com. of Whole	(††)	92	35	64	55	.....	1	1	1
299	Same, prev. quest. on motion to limit debate in Com. of Whole to 5 minutes	††	116	22	49	55	1	1	1	1
301	Same, to go into Com. of Whole	††	73	67	48	62	1	2	.....	3
302	St. Louis Exposition bill, Sen. amend	(††)	34	108	53	54	2	.....	2	2
303	Army approp. bill, prev. quest. on motion to take from table	**	138	.....	1	116	.....	2	.....	2
304	Same, to take from table	**	145	1	.....	119	.....	2	.....	5
305	Same, to lay on table appeal from ruling	**	147	.....	.....	110	.....	2	.....	4
305	Same, Sen. amends	**	161	1	.....	129	.....	2	.....	4
309	Bill to prevent sale of firearms in Pacific islands, second demanded on suspension of rules.	(*†)	75	.....	16	8	1	.....	1	.....
309	Same, to suspend rules and pass	*†	104	1	13	77	.....	.....	.....	2
326	Martha Crayon, bill to convey land to heirs of, to take recess till 12 o'clock	*†	121	.....	15	80	.....	2	1	4
328	Committee on Insular Affairs, authority to visit Porto Rico	*†	2	120	76	18	2	.....	3	1

Massachusetts Senate, 1899.

[Republicans, 33; Democrats, 7; total, 40—governor, Roger Wolcott, R.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
56	Election of U. S. Senator:					
	Lodge	**	31	.....	.....	.....
	Bruce	**	.....	.....	7	.....
296	Bill to license gas fitters in Brookline, to substitute general bill to license them	††	5	17	2	4
389	Bill for public school teachers' retirement fund, 3 R	††	12	13	4	2

459	Same, subs. to pay on death, etc., only amount reserved from teacher's salary with int	††	18	13	2	5
470	Bill on hours of labor of women and children in shops, etc., 3 R	††	5	16	4	1
482	Bill for public school teachers' retirement fund, to reconsider adoption of substitute bill	††	13	18	4	1
482	Res. to print addl. copies of Bradford's History, to reject	††	12	16	1	6
484	Bill to extend law on weekly payment of wages, 3 R	(†*)	17	8	5	.....
496	Bill on taking eels and clams from Merrimack River, 3 R	††	11	13	3	3
500	Same, to reconsider	††	14	13	6	1
511	Bill on practice of pharmacy, to postpone till Wednesday	††	11	13	1	3
512	Bill on votes of shareholders of corps., 3 R	††	6	18	4	1
513	Bill for payment to Sarah E. Leavitt, 3 R	†*	7	15	4	.....
522	Bill to pay money to children of F. B. Bogan, 3 R	†*	6	15	6	.....
528	Same, to reconsider	(†*)	9	6	4	.....
529	Bill for payment to widow of D. F. Cadigan (lost on 3 R.), to reconsider	†*	7	9	4	.....
546	Bill on Malden Bridge, 3 R	(*†)	17	1	3	2
547	Bill to reorganize board of aldermen of Boston, to engross	††	15	5	5	1
559	Bill on salaries, etc., of aldermen of Boston (defeated), to reconsider	†*	11	14	6	.....
563	Res. to provide addl. copies of Bradford's History, 3 R	††	11	9	4	1
573	Same, to engross	††	14	10	3	1
594	Approp. bill to kill gypsy moth, to engross	††	15	5	3	1
600	Res. on election of U. S. Senators, to reject	†*	17	2	.....	4
601	Bill to make 8 hours a day's work for cities and towns, 3 R	†*	6	12	4	.....
609	Res. to print addl. copies of Bradford's History, passage	††	11	10	5	1
611	Bill for uniform wages and hours in public work, 3 R	††	2	17	2	1
628	Bill for payment to widow of M. F. McDonald, 3 R	††	7	17	5	1
628	Bill for payment to widow of D. F. Cadigan, 3 R	††	5	19	5	1
629	Bill for payment to children of F. B. Bogan, 3 R	††	11	13	5	1
631	Bill on making returns of steam boilers, to engross	††	12	14	3	3
633	Bill to make 8 hours a day's work in cities and towns, to reconsider rejection on 3 R	†*	8	13	6	.....
637	Bill to reorganize school committee of Boston, to engross	††	8	20	3	3
647	Bill to regulate political caucuses, 3 R	†*	13	7	.....	6
652	Same (reconsidered), amend. that caucuses to choose party com. may be held at any time	†*	7	21	7	.....
661	Bill on granting locations to street railways, 3 R	††	10	20	5	1
665	Bill on width of tires of wagons, amend. act not to apply to vehicles used only in cities	††	14	13	5	2
674	Bill for payment to children of F. B. Bogan, to engross	††	10	10	5	1
675	Bill for payment to mother of J. D. Lane, 3 R	††	10	9	4	1
686	Bill on pay of comrs. to assess damages, to reject	††	15	13	2	5
699	Bill to replace tracks on Tremont street, amend. for referendum to citizens, and requiring toll for cars	††	13	16	2	5
700	Same, amend. to strike out sec. 2 (repealing power of Comrs. to remove tracks)	††	12	17	2	5
701	Bill on Boston fire dept., 3 R	*†	.....	26	6	1
703	Bill on pay of comrs. to assess damages, 3 R	††	11	13	4	2
719	Bill to authorize cities to create death benefit fund for their employees, to reject	†*	20	5	.....	7
719	Bill on hours of work of women and children, 3 R	††	5	19	6	1
746	Res. to buy portraits of State governors, amend. to add picture of Boston in 1820	††	18	12	1	6
747	Bill for inclosed platforms on street cars, to reconsider vote to engross	††	19	9	2	5
748	Same, to refer to next gen. court	††	18	10	4	3
751	Res. to buy portraits of governors, to reconsider vote to engross	††	11	15	6	1

Massachusetts Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
755	Legacy tax bill, 3 R	††	9	17	6	1
768	Bill to incorporate the Cape Cod Canal Co., 3 R	††	11	16	5	1
768	Res. to buy protraits of governors; amend. strike out picture of Boston in 1820	††	11	9	1	5
775	Bill to construct State highways, amend. $471,500 instead of $500,000. (vs.)	††	14	11	3	3
775	Same, to engross	††	15	10	2	5
796	Bill on width of tires on wagons, 3 R	††	16	9	1	5
801	Bill on sale of ice, to reconsider vote to suspend rules and introduce	†*	4	19	7	.....
808	Bill on notice to junior incumbrancers of sales under mortgages, passage	†*	9	13	6	.....
809	Bill to abolish board of apportionment in Boston, 3 R	††	17	5	1	4
814	Bill that Westminster Chambers may be maintained at present height, com. report reference to next gen. court, to substitute the bill.	††	7	12	4	1
815	Bill to exempt trades unions from laws on beneficiary organizations, to reconsider vote to engross	(†*)	5	11	.....	6
816	Bill to extend Atlantic ave., to insist on senate amends	††	15	2	1	3
818	Bill for board of comrs. on inland fisheries, 3 R	†*	4	11	3	.....
820	Bill that Westminster Chambers may be maintained at present height, to reconsider vote adopting com. rep.	††	8	12	4	2
820	Bill for comrs. on inland fisheries, to reconsider 3 R	††	8	12	3	4
825	Bill for inspection of nurseries of plants, 3 R	††	10	9	5	1
833	Bill to preserve the State House, 3 R	††	15	14	3	2
834	Bill to incorporate Cape Cod Canal Co., to engross	(†*)	13	7	7	.....
841	Bill to extend civil-service exemption to veterans of Spanish war, passage	(†*)	14	12	7	.....
845	Bill for inspection of nurseries of plants, amend. to confine to cranberry and San Jose scale	††	14	9	1	4
846	Res. for new building at Inebriate Hospital, 3 R	††	17	11	5	1
847	Bill to dredge Cohasset Harbor, to reject	††	12	12	2	4
849	Bill for inspection of nurseries of plants, to reconsider vote to engross	††	13	12	3	2
850	Same, to reconsider amend. (p. 845)	††	11	14	5	1
851	Same, to adopt the amend	††	11	14	1	4
851	Same, to refer bill to next gen. court	††	12	12	1	5
852	Same, to engross	††	12	15	4	1
864	Res. for approp. in favor of Carney Hospital, to reject	†*	12	8	.....	7
867	Bill to dredge Cohasset Harbor, 3 R	††	15	7	4	1
885	Bill that park comrs. take Nantasket Beach, amend. on method of payment	††	8	23	5	2
885	Same, amend. only citizens of State to be employed	†*	12	20	7	.....
886	Same, amend. referendum to people of metrop. dist	†*	6	25	7	.....
886	Same, 3 R	††	28	4	2	5
888	Res. in favor of Carney Hospital, 3 R	†*	10	15	6	.....
891	Bill to exempt trades unions from laws of beneficiary organizations, to pass over governor's veto	(†*)	17	9	7	.....
897	Bill to increase salary of a dist. atty., to reject	††	11	12	2	4
901	Bill on business of trust companies, amend. act not to affect companies chartered prior to 1894	††	7	16	5	1

901	Res. in favor of Carney Hospital, to engross	†*	6	11	6	.....
902	Bill to continue to publish province laws, 3 R	††	6	13	4	1
905	Bill to extend civil-service exemption to veterans of Spanish war, to pass over governor's veto	†*	8	20	6	.....
907	Bill that Boston city council may hold investigations, to accept conf. report	††	24	3	1	6
909	Res. in favor of Carney Hospital, to reconsider vote to engross	†*	19	6	.....	7
909	Same, to engross	†*	10	15	7	.....
912	Bill on damages by making reservoirs in Ashland, 3 R	††	20	7	1	2
915	Bill to continue to publish province laws (vote against 3 R. reconsidered), 3 R	††	17	11	6	1
918	Res. in favor of Carney Hospital, passage	†*	11	16	7	.....

Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1899.

[Republicans, 167; Democrats, 70; Prohibitionist, 1; Independents, 2; total, 240.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Independents.		Prohibitionist.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
36	Order to com. on labor to investigate labor troubles in Marlborough, to lay on table.	†*	127	22	4	56	2	.....	1	.....
70	Election of U. S. Senator:									
	Lodge	**	156	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....
	Bruce		1	.....	64	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Porter		.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
117	Approp. to destroy gypsy moth, 3 R	††	78	43	12	37	1	1	.....	1
157	Same, amend. to insert during Jan. of this year	††	52	85	42	12	1	1	.....	.....
223	Annexation of Philippines, to consider res. against	**	1	126	53	2	.....	2	.....	1
310	Bill to forbid hunting on Lord's Day, to engross	††	95	11	7	30	1	.....	1	.....
358	Bill on superintendent of streets in Taunton, to reject	†*	101	15	1	59	.....	.....	.....	.....
379	Bill to abol. days of grace on sight drafts, to pass over veto	(**)	147	3	61	2	1	.....	1	.....
443	Bill on conditional sales of pers. property, to reject	††	78	32	9	46	.....	1	1	.....
518	Bill to make State election a half holiday, to reject	††	78	39	6	44	1	.....	.....	.....
528	Bill for water board for Newburyport, to suspend rules and introduce	††	73	49	48	10	1	.....	.....	.....
592	Bill to limit number of liquor licenses, to engross	*†	119	11	7	44	1	1	.....	.....
626	Bill to incorporate Street Ry. Mut. Ins. Co., to engross	*†	123	6	27	30	1	.....	1	.....
640	Bill on rights of owners of land to object to liquor licenses, to engross	†*	22	65	38	3	.....	1	.....	1
667	Bill to replace tracks on Tremont st eet, 3 R	††	82	59	41	23	1	1	1	.....
706	Bill on hours of labor of women and children, to reject	†*	65	41	.....	55	.....	1	1	.....
730	Bill on life policies in prudential cos., to reject	†*	76	14	3	35	1	.....	1	.....
739	Bill on charges of telephone cos., 3 R	††	38	64	42	13	.....	1	.....	1
757	Bill on fraternal military assocs., to reject	†*	103	15	1	50	.....	.....	1	.....
759	Bill to incorp. Marine Park Tower Co., 3 R	††	62	53	23	30	.....	1	.....	1
762	Bill to regulate party caucuses, to engross	**	80	1	.....	41	.....	.....	1	.....

Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Independents.		Prohibitionist.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
773	Bill to replace cars on Tremont street, amend. for ref. to citizens, and requiring toll for cars.	††	54	66	26	33	.....	.....	1	.....
775	Same, another similar amend	††	65	60	24	35	2	.....	1	.....
786	Bill to equalize tax burdens, to reject	††	82	45	23	22	.....	1	.....	.....
816	Bill on charges of telephone cos., to engross	††	43	87	39	15	.....	2	.....	1
857	Bill to exempt $10 a week income from attachment, prev. quest. on rejection.	††	64	15	5	41	.....	.....	.....	.....
867	Bill on prudential ins. on assessment plan, to reject	†*	93	19	4	51	1	.....	1	.....
869	Legacy tax bill, to engross	†*	53	54	53	3	1	1	.....	1
887	Bill on transportation of bicycles as baggage, to substitute bill for adverse report on petition.	††	44	47	31	16	.....	2	1	.....
912	Same, to refer to next gen. court	††	24	40	15	17	.....	1	.....	.....
920	Bill on right of owners of land to object to liquor licenses, to engross	††	20	97	44	7	1	1	.....	1
923	Bill on Boston sewerage works, amend. bonds to be issued outside debt limit, etc.	†*	21	61	44	2	.....	1	.....	.....
931	Same, to reconsider engrossment	††	23	88	39	5	.....	2	.....	1
940	Bill on State assessment of pers. property, to substitute for adverse report on petition.	*†	7	91	24	10	.....	.....	.....	1
942	Bill for returns from foreign corps., to reject	†*	79	21	2	47	1	.....	1	.....
950	Bill to extend workingmen's trains, to subs. bill for adverse report on petition.	††	20	81	41	5	.....	1	.....	.....
952	Employers' liability bill, to subs. bill for adverse report on petition	†*	32	86	49	1	1	1	.....	.....
955	Another employers' liability bill, to reject	†*	65	25	3	38	1	.....	.....	.....
957	Bill on injuries on railroads, to engross	†*	20	49	34	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
965	Bill to extend civil-service exemptions to veterans of Spanish war, 3 R	(†*)	73	24	54	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
987	Bill to replace cars on Tremont street, amend. to strike out limit of toll to be paid.	††	59	57	20	34	.....	.....	.....	.....
996	Legacy tax bill, to refer to next general court	†*	69	40	3	38	1	1	.....	.....
1001	Bill on equitable process after judgment, prev. quest. on 3 R	*†	102	4	8	35	1	.....	1	.....
1014	Bill to construct bridge over the Mystic, amend	††	34	73	35	9	.....	.....	.....	1
1014	Same, substitute bill	††	58	44	5	37	.....	.....	1	.....
1027	Bill on highways in Boston, amend	(†*)	47	46	39	4	1	1	1	.....
1040	Res. in aid of certain veterans, to refer to next gen. court	††	43	65	8	42	.....	1	1	.....
1047	Legacy tax bill, amend. no tax on estate of less than $25,000	†*	65	36	2	40	.....	.....	.....	1
1089	Bill on soliciting orders for liquor, to reject	††	80	34	7	37	.....	1	1	.....
1092	Bill to exempt trade unions from beneficiary organization laws, to pass over governor's veto.	(†*)	85	54	58	.....	1	.....	.....	1

[Republicans, 27; Democrats, 23—Governor, Theodore Roosevelt, R.]

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
7	Res. that Whipple be clerk, to substitute Douglass	**	.....	27	22	.....
36	Res. that Ellsworth be temp. prest., to substitute Grady	**	.....	26	21	.....
	Vote for U. S. Senator:					
75	Depew, R	**	27	.....	.....	.....
	Murphy, D		.....	.....	23	.....
87	Bill to enlarge powers of Pan-American Exposition Company, to recommit for amend	*†	1	19	16	5
88	Same, passage	(*†)	21	.....	18	2
91	Bill on rights of way of R. Rs. in cities, to refer to com. on R. Rs., to lay this on table	†*	9	6	1	11
92	Same, to refer to com. on R. Rs. (instead of cities)	††	8	7	3	10
119	Bill to reduce certain rates of ferriage, to refer to com. on commerce	(††)	6	17	4	16
145	Res. in favor of treaty with Spain	*†	25	.....	9	10
219	Bill to revise charter of Auburn, passage	**	25	.....	1	21
253	Bill on time of holding annual elections of Dunkirk, passage	**	26	.....	.....	20
256	Bill legalizing action by boards of supervisors changing time of holding town meetings, passage	**	26	.....	1	20
293	Bill to amend executive law about notarial clerks, passage	(**)	15	1	14	.....
395	Bill on minimum capital stock of insurance cos., passage	(**)	21	1	22	.....
415	Bill on Pan-Amer. Exposition, amend. to provide for women officials	(†*)	5	15	1	18
417	Same, amend. exposition not to be open Sunday, 2d amend. except art, etc	(†*)	11	10	21	1
417	Same, amend. as amended	†*	14	8	.....	22
418	Same, passage	(†*)	18	4	22	.....
436	Bill to authorize Syracuse to levy a tax for bridge, passage over mayor's veto	**	27	.....	.....	22
438	Bill on time of holding annual elections of Dunkirk, passage over mayor's veto	**	27	.....	.....	22
458	Bill to regulate telephone charges, to recommit	††	5	21	12	9
468	Bill to compensate certain owners of cattle, passage	(*†)	20	.....	9	1
499	Bill to regulate druggists, etc., passage	(**)	18	1	15	.....
502	Bill on contracts for electric lighting in towns, passage	**	26	.....	.....	8
503	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	(**)	1	19	.....	17
519	Bill to prevent use of any substitute for hops in beer, amend. to restrict to deleterious substitutes	(††)	10	13	5	14
519	Same, passage	(††)	21	3	16	5
524	Bill to exempt from taxation real estate of Natl. Academy of Design, passage	(**)	21	2	18	1
554	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. act in regard to salaries of teachers, amend. to strike out enacting cl	†*	14	8	.....	22
554	Same, passage	†*	8	16	23	.....
560	Bill to establish State electric plant, to recommit	†*	6	20	23	.....

New York State Senate, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
575	Bill to amend tax law on mortgages of real estate, to disagree with adverse report of com	**	2	22	20	2
575	Same, to agree to com. report	**	23	2	2	20
577	Bill on street surface R. Rs. on Amsterdam avenue, N. York, to disagree with report of com	(††)	13	14	4	19
587	Bill to entitle E. B. Scribner to examination for admission as an attorney, passage	(**)	22	1	15	.....
591	Bill to change time of holding town meetings, passage	(†*)	20	3	15	.....
616	Bill to prevent mistakes in handling poison, passage	(†*)	14	7	17	.....
620	Bill to provide for local option, etc., passage	**	26	.....	.....	20
627	Bill on opening a certain avenue in city of N. Y., passage	(**)	20	.....	15	1
669	Bill on powers of county boards of supervisors over tires on vehicles, to recommit in order to amend	(††)	4	10	3	16
669	Same, to recommit in order to amend	(††)	8	12	4	18
670	Same, passage	(††)	11	4	19	3
671	Bill to incorporate Improved Order of Red Men, to recommit	(†*)	5	8	.....	19
671	Same, passage	(**)	14	1	20	.....
684	Bill to amend Code of Civil Procedure on attachment in city court of N. Y., 3 R	††	23	4	4	18
699	Same, passage	††	22	4	5	18
704	Bill to prevent monopolies in articles of common use, passage	(†*)	13	2	22	.....
709	Bill relating to certain highway corporations, passage	(††)	21	3	13	6
710	Bill on distribution of tax paid by foreign insurance corps., passage	(**)	23	2	23	.....
714	Bill on agric. corps., call of senate	**	20	.....	1	18
715	Motion to suspend rule on printing journal	†*	22	3	2	21
770	Bill on use of surface R. R. tracks on Amsterdam avenue, N. Y., to disagree with amends. of com. of whole.	(††)	10	15	11	12
780	Bill on assocs. to improve horses, passage	(**)	24	2	22	.....
786	Bill to amend executive law on atty. gen., passage	**	25	.....	.....	18
787	Same, to reconsider	**	26	.....	.....	19
787	Same, call of senate	**	26	.....	.....	19
788	Same, to strike out enacting cl	**	.....	26	20	.....
789	Same, passage	**	26	.....	.....	21
789	Bill authorizing practice of medicine by certain persons, passage	(††)	17	6	11	8
790	Bill to release to O. W. Robbins certain real estate, passage	(**)	21	1	16	1
810	Bill to regulate telephone charges in State, to disagree with adverse report of com	(††)	8	18	7	16
811	Another bill to regulate telephone charges, to disagree with adverse report of com	(††)	10	17	8	15
828	Bill to amend Greater New York charter by excluding certain territory therefrom, passage	**	25	.....	2	19
836	Bill on investments of savings banks, to recommit	**	1	26	21	2
857	Const. amend. on biennial elections, etc., motion to amend report of com. of whole ruled out of order, ruling sustained.	†*	21	3	1	22

857	Same, to lay on table motion to adj	†*	3	21	22	1
857	Same, call of senate	†*	21	3	1	22
858	Same, motion to adj	†*	21	3	1	22
858	Same, motion for recess till 4 o'clock, amend. 5	†*	21	3	1	22
859	Same, amend. 6.30	†*	21	3	1	22
859	Same, amend. 7.30	†*	21	3	1	22
859	Same, amend. 8, 2d amend. 9	†*	22	3	1	22
885	Bill to permit Astoria Co. to carry gas and elect. across East River, to disagree with report of com	†*	11	11	.....	23
885	Same, to agree to report	(†*)	11	10	23	.....
886	Same, motion to adj	(†*)	8	15	.....	22
886	Same, to reconsider agreement to report	†*	12	11	.....	23
919	Bill to amend Penal Code to prohibit use of trading stamps, etc., passage	(**)	23	.....	18	1
922	Bill to amend law of detective agencies, passage	(*†)	18	1	14	2
924	Bill to amend banking law in regard to impairment of capital, to recommit	*†	1	18	11	4
924	Same, passage	(*†)	22	1	14	3
932	Amend. to const. biennial sessions, to take from table	†*	24	3	1	21
944	Bill on surface tracks on Amsterdam avenue in N. Y., to recommit	(††)	6	19	10	12
945	Same, passage	(††)	22	5	12	11
965	Bill to amend labor laws, passage	(**)	14	1	18	.....
967	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. on warrants of attachment in city court of N. Y., passage	††	22	4	5	16
968	Bill to allow Nat. Conservatory of Music to charge fees to its pupils, passage	(†*)	18	2	17	1
969	Bill to amend acts on transportation cos. exceptingR. Rs., passage	(**)	25	1	21	2
970	Bill to amend State charities law, passage	(**)	22	1	20	.....
1005	Bill on use of dogs in hunting deer, passage	(**)	25	1	21	.....
1007	Bill to protect water supply in St. Lawrence County, passage	(**)	25	1	21	.....
1016	Bill on charter of city of Oswego, passage	**	27	.....	.....	16
1036	Bill to legalize acts of fire commissioner of Brooklyn, passage	**	19	1	.....	18
1040	Bill on dept. of street cleaning in Greater N. Y., amend. to strike out enacting cl	*†	1	23	16	2
1041	Same, passage	*†	26	.....	2	17
1046	Bill to authorize Rochester to raise money for school purposes, passage	**	27	.....	.....	18
1076	Bill on civil service of State, cities, etc., passage	**	27	.....	.....	23
1078	Bill for a State electric plant, to suspend rules and take up	**	26	1	2	20
1078	Same, passage	**	27	.....	2	20
1093	Bill relating to an avenue in Brooklyn, passage	(**)	26	.....	19	1
1097	Bill to extend time for building a canal, passage	(*†)	24	.....	16	3
1100	Bill to amend election law on use of voting machines, passage	(*†)	21	.....	17	5
1103	Bill to amend act relating to St. Saviour's Sanitarium, passage	(**)	25	1	21	.....
1104	Bill on assessment for grading an avenue in City of N. Y., passage	(**)	26	.....	20	1
1142	Bill on adulteration of foods, passage	(**)	23	1	18	1
1144	Bill for a transfer tax clerk in surrogate's court of Ulster, passage	(†*)	21	3	19	.....
1161	Bill for a certain transfer tax clerk, passage	(**)	22	1	21	.....
1181	Amend. to const. (on court of appeals), passage	(**)	24	1	21	.....
1191	Approp. for more land in Adirondack Park, passage	(†*)	19	3	14	1
1195	Bill for relief of Young Women's Settlement in N. Y. City, passage	(†*)	21	4	21	.....
1196	Bill to amend acts relating to size of apple barrels, etc., passage	(†*)	15	6	16	.....
1197	Bill to amend acts on village of Seneca Falls, passage	*†	21	.....	7	9

New York State Senate, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1200	Bill for bridge over East River, N. Y., to suspend rules and pass	†*	17	4	1	20
1201	Bill to amend charter of Greater N. Y. (street franchise), to suspend rules and pass	††	15	7	4	17
1216	Bill to amend law on licensing peddlers, assembly amends	(††)	15	8	13	2
1217	Bill on charter of Auburn, assembly amends	(*†)	26	.....	4	3
1221	Bill relative to assurance cos., assembly amends	(**)	25	.....	21	1
1228	Bill on extension of street railroads, to disagree with report of com. of whole	††	10	9	6	13
1228	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	††	13	10	10	11
1229	Bill on mortgages of railroad corps., to strike out amend. of com. of whole	(††)	14	4	12	6
1267	Bill for a commissioner of records in Kings County, passage	(*†)	21	.....	11	4
1278	Bill to incorporate High Falls Electrical Co., passage	(†*)	15	6	16	.....
1305	Bill granting city of Yonkers certain land, passage	(**)	20	1	20	.....
1307	Bill to amend Penal Code and regulate bicycle races, passage	(*†)	18	.....	14	3
1308	Bill on hours of labor and rate of wages, to recommit	†*	18	2	1	20
1309	Bill to prevent tuberculosis in cattle passage	(††)	13	8	16	2
1312	Bill to amend stock corporation law (changes in capital of R.Rs.), passage	(†*)	16	3	21	.....
1315	Bill on reservoirs in Adirondacks, passage	(†*)	16	2	19	.....
1316	Bill on mortgages of R. R. corporations, passage	(†*)	14	5	16	1
1316	Bill to regulate price of telegraphic messages, passage	(**)	18	.....	16	1
1318	Bill on municipal courts in Brooklyn, passage	*†	23	.....	7	13
1330	Bill to buy out rights of toll on roads and bridges, to recommit	(†*)	14	9	18	.....
1331	Bill relating to prisons, passage	(*†)	21	2	13	3
1336	Bill on taxation of public franchises, passage	(*†)	22	2	11	9
1336	Bill to require fenders on street cars, amend. to strike out enacting clause	††	13	11	4	16
1337	Same, amend. restricting act to certain places	(††)	8	17	4	17
1337	Same, passage	††	12	14	16	5
1338	Bill to pay expenses of certain State officials, passage	†*	5	18	20	.....
1339	Same, motion to adj	†*	15	6	.....	21
1339	Same, to take from table reconsideration of passage	†*	5	17	21	.....
1339	Same, to reconsider	†*	5	18	21	.....
1340	Same, passage	†*	5	18	21	.....
1354	Bill to permit experiments for developing power of Niagara, passage	†*	6	16	21	.....
1362	Motion for call of senate	**	21	.....	.....	15
1363	Bill on comr. of jurors of Albany County, passage	**	26	.....	.....	20
1364	Bill to amend act in relation to labor, to reconsider vote to recommit	**	23	.....	.....	15
1365	Bill to change time of opening State canals, amend. to strike out enacting clause	†*	16	4	.....	19
1365	Same, passage	†*	5	17	20	.....

1376	Bill giving court of claims jur. to hear certain claims, passage	(**)	24	2	18	.....
1395	Bill to remove police dept. of N. Y. City from political control, 3 R	†*	23	3	.....	22
1396	Same, to lay on table reconsideration	†*	23	3	.....	22
1396	Same, to reconsider	†*	23	3	.....	22
1405	Bill authorizing Rochester to raise money for school buildings, to pass over mayor's veto	*†	27	.....	2	18
1416	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (filing notices of actions), passage	(**)	21	.....	12	1
1423	Bill to amend stock corp. law (issue of debenture bond stock), passage	(**)	22	1	16	.....
1439	Bill on power of village trustees to prescribe width of tires, passage	(†*)	17	2	11	.....
1441	Bill for regulation of druggists, passage	(†*)	15	5	15	.....
1481	Bill on board of water comrs. of Rome, to pass over veto of common council	(**)	24	.....	10	1
1483	Bill on engineers in city of N. Y., passage	(*†)	24	.....	8	4
1486	Bill to enable certain men to take examination for attys. at law, passage	(†*)	16	2	19	.....
1490	Bill to amend Penal Code (discrimination in admission prices to theaters), passage	(**)	23	1	19	.....
1501	Bill to amend charter of Greater N. Y. (salaries of teachers), sen. amends	(†*)	21	3	20	.....
1513	Bill to amend acts on Delaware and Hudson Canal Co., passage	(*†)	24	.....	15	4
1514	Bill on park in county of Richmond, passage	**	26	.....	.....	20
1517	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (actions for divorce), passage	(†*)	19	6	18	1
1518	Bill to amend act of 1882 consolidating laws on city of N. Y. (summary proceedings), passage	**	26	.....	.....	20
1519	Bill to authorize bridge across East River, passage	*†	24	.....	3	13
1521	Bill on investments by savings banks, passage	*†	25	1	4	15
1521	Bill on right of way of R. R. cos., passage	(*†)	23	1	10	8
1522	Bill on civil service of State of N. Y., to lay on table motion to concur in assembly amends	**	1	25	17	1
1523	Same, to concur in assembly amends	**	25	1	1	18
1543	Bill to incorporate American Bond and Mortgage Guaranty Co., passage	(**)	25	.....	19	1
1544	Bill to amend Penal Code (offenses against election laws), passage	**	26	.....	.....	22
1545	Bill on driveway in city of N. York, passage	(**)	23	1	20	.....
1546	Bill for system of uniform accounts in cities, passage	††	18	6	8	11
1552	Bill to amend liquor laws, passage	**	26	.....	.....	21
1553	Bill to legalize acts of fire commissioner of Brooklyn, to reconsider	**	27	.....	1	19
1554	Same, passage	**	27	.....	.....	21
1554	Bill to incorporate Salvation Army, passage	(†*)	22	3	20	1
1562	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter, by excluding territory, to lay on table	**	.....	26	20	1
1562	Same, to pass over mayor's veto	**	26	.....	1	20
1563	Bill on assessment for improvement of Surf avenue, N. Y. City, to refer to com. on affairs of cities	**	1	21	19	1
1575	Same, to pass over mayor's veto	**	27	.....	1	21
1577	Bill to open avenue in city of N. Y., to pass over mayor's veto	**	27	.....	1	21
1588	Bill to promote commerce on seaboard waters of State, to recommit	**	2	25	20	1
1589	Same, to reconsider this vote	†*	11	14	21	1
1589	Same, motion to refer to Com. on Taxation ruled out of order, to sustain ruling	†*	22	5	1	21
1590	Same, to refer to Com. on Taxation	(††)	14	13	19	3
1593	Bill to amend charter of Greater N. York (to establish gas plant), to discharge Com. of Whole from considering it.	**	.....	27	20	.....
1594	Bill to amend village law on suffrage for municipal improvements, to take from table motion to disagree with adverse report.	††	15	9	6	15
1636	Bill to empower Court of Claims to hear claim of Devillo Palmer, passage	(†*)	18	4	19	2
1647	Bill on revision of accounts by comptrollers, to reconsider passage	(*†)	20	2	13	9

New York State Senate, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1648	Same, passage	(*†)	1	20	9	11
1648	Same, to reconsider last vote	(*†)	1	22	6	14
1674	Bill on taxable transfers of property, to lay on table motion to disagree with report to strike out enacting clause.	††	22	4	2	18
1710	Res. requesting governor to return for amend. bill on disused R. R. lands	*†	23	.....	6	13
1711	Bill to amend law of auction sales, passage	(*†)	24	.....	16	3
1712	Bill to empower Court of Claims to hear claim of John Moore, passage	†*	4	8	13	1
1715	Bill authorizing construction of bridge over Hudson, passage	**	24	2	1	17
1716	Bill to authorize board of estimate of N. Y. to audit a claim, passage	*†	24	1	3	16
1717	Bill on liability of employers for personal injuries, passage	(†*)	16	5	16	.....
1719	Bill imposing on lot owners in N. Y. duty to maintain sidewalks, passage	†*	7	12	21	.....
1719	Bill to regulate price of gas in Manhattan and Bronx, passage	(†*)	14	3	18	1
1720	Bill to create office of public admr. in Richmond Co., passage	(**)	17	1	16	.....
1730	Bill to amend rapid-transit acts in cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants, to refer bill to com. on cities	(†*)	19	7	18	.....
1732	Bill on time of opening State canals, to reconsider vote whereby lost	†*	6	12	20	.....
1732	Same, passage	†*	12	14	20	.....
1740	Bill on ward boundaries, etc., in Elmira, to pass over mayor's veto	*†	27	.....	2	14
1742	Bill to create comr. of jurors, passage	(**)	23	1	19	.....
1747	Bill to amend an act to create a metropolitan election district, passage	**	27	.....	.....	21
1749	Bill to amend R. R. law (construction of tracks), passage	(**)	26	1	19	.....
1750	Bill to amend game law, to reconsider passage	(††)	17	9	11	8
1750	Same, passage	(††)	5	16	3	11
1751	Bill to amend transportation corporation law (inspection of gas meters), passage	*†	27	.....	2	17
1752	Bill to amend primary election law, passage	(*†)	27	.....	9	7
1753	Bill to amend Greater N. York charter (inspection of gas meters), passage	**	27	.....	.....	17
1757	Bill to empower court of claims to hear a claim, passage	(†*)	12	8	15	1
1757	Bill on condemnation of cemeteries by Genesee River Co., passage	(**)	24	1	20	1
1758	Bill to amend poor law, passage	(**)	25	1	21	.....
1760	Bill to incorporate General Carriage Co., passage	(†*)	15	2	15	.....
1764	Bill for addl. facilities for schools in cities having superintendents of schools, passage	(*†)	26	.....	15	2
1769	Amend. of const. on exemption from taxation, adoption of	*†	25	.....	2	18
1770	Bill to amend general corporation law (salaries of officers), passage	(**)	22	1	18	.....
1775	Bill to amend charter of Rochester, to recommit	(*†)	.....	17	5	9
1775	Same, passage	(†*)	15	10	12	1
1776	Bill on rapid-transit railways in cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants, passage	(**)	26	1	21	.....

1777	Bill to empower court of claims to hear a claim against State, amend. to strike out enacting clause	(†*)	10	11	.....	19
1778	Same, passage	(†*)	13	7	18	.....
1780	Bill to amend charter of Internat. Bond Co., amend to strike out enacting clause	(††)	11	12	3	9
1781	Same, passage	††	12	12	15	2
1781	Bill on title to real property sold by guardians, passage	(††)	11	10	15	2
1784	Bill to amend tax law (guardians in transfer tax proceedings), passage	(*†)	19	.....	12	2
1786	Bill to exempt from tax real estate held for religious and charitable purposes, passage	(††)	17	2	10	6
1789	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (suits for partition), passage	††	8	12	15	6
1791	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (salary of justices of supreme court), passage	(††)	3	20	8	10
1792	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter, passage	*†	24	.....	9	11
1793	Fill to incorporate city of Lansingburg, passage	**	24	2	.....	21
1796	Bill to amend tax law (fees of county treasurers), passage	(**)	26	1	21	.....
1812	Bill on children sent to char. institutions in N. Y., to refer to com. of whole	†*	4	16	17	1
1818	Bill on water supply of Rochester, to pass over mayor's veto	(*†)	26	1	6	2
1820	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, assembly amends	(†*)	16	8	16	1
1829	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (offensive trades), to pass over mayor's veto	††	23	4	4	17
1837	Bill for comr. of records in Kings Co., to pass over mayor's veto	††	23	3	4	14
1838	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (references in surrogates' courts), passage	(**)	26	.....	19	1
1839	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (appraisals of estates), passage	(**)	27	.....	16	1
1840	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (ancillary letters), passage	(**)	27	.....	16	1
1840	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (fees of appraisers), passage	(*†)	27	.....	18	2
1841	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (surrogates' courts in N. Y.), passage	(**)	27	.....	15	1
1841	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (service of citation), passage	(**)	26	.....	14	1
1842	Bill to amend Code of Criminal Procedure (assignment of counsel), assembly amends	†*	3	18	14	1
1847	Bill to amend acts on govt. of cities, assembly amends	(**)	24	.....	10	1
1852	Bill on public buildings in county of N. Y., to pass over mayor's veto	*†	27	.....	2	11
1852	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (divorce), passage	(†*)	6	12	1	14
1853	Bill to incorporate city of Lansingburg, to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	†*	21	3	.....	20
1854	Bill on auctions, to suspend rules and pass	(†*)	9	12	.....	20
1855	Bill on Jewish Theol. Sem. Assoc., passage	(**)	26	1	20	.....
1856	Bill to amend labor laws, passage	†*	7	16	16	.....
1856	Same, to take reconsideration from table	†*	7	10	21	.....
1857	Same, to reconsider	†*	8	10	21	.....
1857	Same, passage	†*	11	11	21	.....
1859	Bill to promote commerce on seaboard waters of State, to limit time of debate	*†	23	1	5	15
1860	Same, to except N. Y. City, etc	††	5	18	16	5
1860	Same, passage	††	17	9	5	16
1861	Same, call of senate	†*	14	8	2	19
1861	Same, to lay reconsideration on table	††	15	10	5	17
1861	Same, to reconsider	††	16	8	5	16
1864	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (salary of justices of supreme court), to reconsider	**	1	22	19	2
1867	Bill to amend Penal Code (conveyance of female convicts), passage	(††)	5	18	5	13
1870	Bill to amend Penal Code (slot machines), passage	(**)	27	.....	21	1
1872	Bill to extend forest preserve, passage	(**)	25	2	22	.....
1874	Bill for certain State parks, passage	(**)	25	2	21	.....

New York State Senate, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1875	Bill to amend highway law, passage	(**)	25	1	21	.....
1880	Bill for legal expenses of sheriff of N. Y., passage	(**)	25	2	22	.....
1894	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (offensive trades), passage	(*†)	22	.....	11	5
1897	Bill to amend Penal Code (sale of potatoes, etc.), passage	(*†)	22	1	8	4
1922	Supply (Gen. approp.) bill, to disagree to conf. report	**	.....	27	19	.....

New York State Assembly, 1899.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION.

[Republicans, 87; Democrats, 63; total, 150.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
8	Vote for speaker:					
	Nixon, R	(**)	85	.....	.....	.....
	Palmer, D		.....	.....	58	.....
11	Vote for clerk:					
	A. E. Baxter, R	(**)	84	.....	.....	.....
	G. H. Kennedy, D		.....	.....	58	.....
91	Vote for Senator (U. S.):					
	Chauncey M. Depew, R	(**)	83	.....	.....	.....
	Edward Murphy, jr., D		.....	.....	60	.....
159	Res. to investigate surrogates' courts in N. Y., to recommit	**	.....	77	53	.....
160	Same, amend. striking out clauses allowing counsel	**	.....	76	49	.....
163	Same, adoption of res	**	78	.....	.....	53
204	Bill on date of city elections of Dunkirk, passage	(**)	69	.....	49	1
273	Bill for relief of "Young Woman's Settlement" in N. Y	(**)	69	1	50	.....
338	Bill on wearing of gowns by attorneys in supreme court, passage	(**)	78	1	53	1

356	Bill to change time of holding town meetings, passage	**	80			53
413	Bill to amend Code of Crim. Proc. (assignment of counsel), passage	(**)	85	1	12	
444	Bill to legalize action by fire commissioner of Brooklyn, 3 R	**	70			41
445	Bill to amend village law (payment of penalties), passage	(**)	84	1	28	1
467	Bill to amend Greater N. York charter (suppl. proceedings in courts), passage	(†*)	35	28	49	1
560	Bill for clerks to justices of supreme court	(**)	59	1	42	1
563	Bill to amend public health act on veterinary medicine, passage	(**)	59	2	45	4
569	Bill to incorporate city of Lansingburg, to make it special order for Wednesday, amend. Thursday	**		66	57	
570	Same, special order for Wednesday	**	67			56
591	Bill to legalize action of fire commissioner of Brooklyn, passage	**	80			55
629	Bill on date of elections of Dunkirk, to pass over common council's veto	**	80			50
633	Bill to incorporate city of Lansingburg, passage	**	83			54
712	Bill to amend domestic commerce law, amend. by striking out certain words	††	16	54	38	13
715	Bill to authorize board of estimate of N. York City to audit a claim, passage	*†	73	3	17	18
746	Bill on collection of taxes in county of Onondaga, passage	(**)	81		51	2
753	Bill to amend Greater N. York charter by excluding territory, passage	**	81			55
761	Bill for relief of certain former clerks of Kings County court, passage	(**)	75		56	1
762	Bill to enable police comrs. of N. Y. to rehear charges against certain policemen, passage	(**)	79		49	1
766	Bill to amend game law in relation to sale of undersized lobsters, passage	(**)	74		50	2
771	Bill to confer juris. on court of claims to hear certain claim, passage	(**)	74	2	46	
777	Bill on changing dates of holding town meetings, passage	**	79			49
827	Bill for local regulation of liquor traffic, 2 R	**	3	73	60	1
830	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (board of pharmacy), to recommit	**	2	68	58	
852	Bill to amend Penal Code (discrimination in price charged for admission to theaters), passage	(**)	78		50	2
884	Bill on capital stock of fire insurance cos., passage	(**)	79	1	47	2
889	Bill to enable city of Syracuse to levy tax for a bridge, to pass over mayor's veto	**	80			54
958	Bill for repair of city hall of Albany, to recommit	**		67	55	
959	Same, to sustain ruling of chair on point of order	**	67			46
960	Same, 3 R	**	66			48
987	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (municipal court), amend	*†	1	61	26	16
987	Bill to amend Penal Code (punishment for murder), 3 R	††	23	37	35	20
989	Bill for assessment for grading of Surf avenue, N. Y., passage	(**)	77	1	55	
994	Bill for transfer tax clerk to surrogate of Erie County, passage	(**)	76		51	1
1000	Bill to authorize board of estimate of N. Y. City to audit a claim, passage	(**)	68		49	2
1004	Bill to amend executive law relative to notarial clerks, passage	(**)	72		55	1
1006	Bill to amend an act on St. Saviour's Sanitarium, passage	(**)	80		54	1
1013	Bill on use of certain wharves, etc., on East River, passage	(††)	45	13	30	21
1027	Bill to enable Loomis Laboratory to convey property, passage	(**)	82		56	2
1058	Bill to amend domestic commerce law, passage	†*	54	21	3	48
1059	Bill to regulate sale of air guns, passage	(†*)	20	17	50	
1089	Bill to empower board of estimate of N. Y. to supply coal to poor, passage	**	3	64	60	
1094	Bill to remove lien of certain unpaid taxes, etc., in cities, passage	**	77			53
1099	Bill to amend public health act, passage	(*†)	70		45	12
1102	Bill on adult blind in cities, passage	(†*)	48	10	59	1
1108	Bill for improvement of streets, etc., in cities, passage	(**)	76		53	1
1113	Bill to amend Code of Civil Procedure (appeals), passage	(**)	79		53	1

New York State Assembly, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1131	Bill to amend laws on taxable transfers of property, passage	*†	75	.....	8	43
1136	Bill to authorize Astoria Light, etc., Co. to supply gas and electricity in N. Y., subs. bill to regulate price of gas.	*†	.....	69	37	14
1137	Same, amend. on price of gas	*†	.....	61	41	10
1138	Same, another amend	*†	.....	67	41	8
1173	Bill to relieve a hospital assoc. from taxes, to take from com. on cities and send to com. on judiciary	**	53	1	3	42
1213	Bill to amend Penal Code (punishment for murder), passage	††	16	47	33	24
1217	Bill to provide safety fenders on street cars, amend	**	3	66	54	.....
1219	Bill to amend acts on village of Seneca Falls, to recommit	**	.....	70	51	.....
1242	Bill to amend Penal Code (use of force by teachers), passage	††	32	30	23	19
1274	Bill to amend banking law, passage	**	66	5	1	52
1277	Bill on veterinarians' qualifications to practice medicine, passage	(**)	72	1	60	.....
1284	Bill on powers of county boards of supervisors over tires on vehicles, passage	(**)	77	3	59	.....
1292	Bill to prevent discrimination by street R. R. cos. against persons carrying tools, to recommit	(**)	2	40	.....	45
1302	Bill for approp. for tax clerk, passage	(**)	84	.....	28	1
1306	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (warrants of attachment), passage	**	81	.....	1	50
1307	Bill to amend laws of village of Seneca Falls, passage	(**)	78	.....	56	3
1351	Bill to authorize Astoria Light, etc., Co. to supply gas and electricity in N. Y., to recommit	*†	1	84	36	21
1352	Same, passage	*†	82	1	21	40
1358	Bill to regulate sale, etc., of air guns, passage	(†*)	40	25	53	.....
1448	Bill for bridge over East River, passage	**	83	.....	.....	59
1451	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (board of pharmacy), to recommit	**	.....	63	42	.....
1481	Bill on use of certain wharves on East River, prev. quest. on passage	*†	45	2	12	19
1482	Same, passage	*†	57	5	21	25
1586	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (construction of sewers), passage	(*†)	64	3	23	17
1589	Bill to amend public health law (commencement of actions, etc.), passage	(**)	77	.....	51	1
1590	Bill to amend R. R. law (grade crossings), passage	(**)	78	.....	51	1
1591	Bill on licensing peddlers, passage	(**)	75	1	50	2
1605	Bill on use of wharves on East River, to request gov. to return bill	*†	.....	66	32	14
1629	Bill on Albany city hall, to sustain ruling of chair that 3 R. in order	**	70	.....	1	37
1630	Same, passage	**	76	.....	1	55
1633	Bill to amend labor law (duties of factory inspector), to recommit	**	5	67	54	1
1635	Bill on taxation of municipal property, to recommit	††	57	19	10	42
1664	Bill on merger of fire insurance cos., passage	(*†)	73	2	48	6
1665	Bill to amend insurance law on certain kinds of policies, passage	(**)	74	3	55	4
1666	Bill to amend insurance law on certain other kinds of policies, passage	(*†)	77	1	40	10

1680	Bill to amend Penal Code (punishment for murder), to reconsider vote whereby lost	††	15	45	23	21
1698	Bill on highways in city of Rome, to pass over mayor's veto	(**)	84	.....	50	2
1708	Bill on police department of N. Y. City, to suspend rules and consider	**	81	1	.....	49
1711	Same, amend (comrs. to be appt. by mayor instead of governor)	**	.....	84	56	.....
1712	Same, another amend (act to apply to all cities)	**	.....	85	60	.....
1713	Same, passage	**	84	1	.....	60
1715	Bill to establish a separate dept. of elections in N. Y. City, to suspend rules and consider	**	82	.....	.....	51
1717	Same, passage	**	83	.....	.....	57
1724	Bill on offenses against election laws, passage	**	83	1	.....	58
1731	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (dept. of street cleaning), to recommit	**	.....	73	49	.....
1763	Bill to regulate price of gas in Greater N. Y., to relieve gas com from further consideration	**	4	75	56	1
1764	Bill for comr. of records for Kings County, to amend title so as to read "An act to provide a position for Walter Atterbury."	**	.....	70	37	2
1765	Same, passage	**	77	.....	3	41
1776	Bill to annex territory to Utica, passage	(**)	73	1	57	.....
1780	Bill to amend Greater N. York charter (municipal courts), to recommit	**	.....	59	49	1
1782	Same, passage	**	77	.....	.....	56
1783	Bill to prevent mistakes in handling of poison, passage	†*	31	40	50	5
1784	Same, to reconsider passage	††	40	22	7	36
1819	Bill to incorporate a park, passage	(**)	73	.....	49	2
1855	Bill on licensing of dispensaries by State board of charities, passage	(**)	73	1	52	.....
1930	Bill to provide for use of fenders on cars, passage	†*	40	23	.....	51
1931	Bill to amend tax laws, passage	†*	8	61	54	1
1932	Bill on commitments to House of Refuge for Women, to recommit	†*	8	68	56	4
1934	Same, similar motion	†*	8	71	55	2
1935	Same, passage	**	72	7	5	54
1937	Bill on transfer of captains, etc., of police force of N. Y. City, passage	†*	69	10	.....	56
1941	Bill to amend banking law (rate of interest), to recommit	†*	44	34	5	50
1942	Same, amend	††	53	25	6	48
1962	Bill on powers and duties of game protectors and foresters, passage	(**)	72	2	50	.....
1967	Approp. bill for expenses in dept. of public buildings, passage	(**)	75	.....	49	2
2011	Res for com. to inquire into enforcement of law, etc., in city of N. York, to sustain ruling of chair that res. in order.	**	84	.....	.....	56
2016	Same, amend	**	1	84	55	.....
2020	Same, prev. quest	**	81	.....	.....	61
2023	Same, to sustain ruling of chair that prev. quest., etc., in order	**	85	.....	.....	61
2024	Same, amend	**	.....	86	62	.....
2025	Same, amend	**	2	83	61	.....
2026	Same, amend	**	.....	86	62	.....
2027	Same, amend	**	.....	86	61	1
2029	Same, adoption of res	**	87	.....	.....	7
2040	Bill to authorize Rochester to raise money for school purposes, passage	**	86	.....	.....	7
2075	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (sale of lymph), passage	†*	45	29	2	54
2099	Bill to provide additional compensation for volunteer soldiers, 2 R	**	5	73	60	.....
2130	Bill to amend Penal Code (prize fighting), amend	(†*)	33	30	51	1
2138	Bill on damages from opening of public place in N. Y. City, passage	**	76	.....	2	32

New York State Assembly, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
2149	Bill on use of armories, passage	(**)	73	1	48	.....
2194	Bill on revision of accounts by comptrollers, passage	(**)	74	.....	50	1
2268	Bill on sanitary conditions in public buildings and schoolhouses, passage	(**)	80	.....	51	1
2269	Bill to exempt from tax the New York Medical School and Hospital, passage	†*	30	31	49	1
2278	Bill on sale and analysis of concentrated feeding stuffs, passage	(**)	77	1	55	.....
2320	Bill for eight-hour day for police force in cities, to discharge com. on cities from further consideration	**	1	77	59	.....
2324	Bill to amend banking law, etc. (rate of interest), passage	††	36	37	30	28
2326	Bill on charter of city of Auburn, passage	**	78	.....	.....	43
2329	Bill to exempt from taxes the Young Men's Hebrew Association, passage	(†*)	61	14	50	.....
2331	Bill to amend charter of Oswego, amend	**	.....	80	60	.....
2333	Same, passage	**	80	.....	.....	59
2360	Bill on taxation of municipal property, amend	††	48	22	20	31
2362	Bill on taxable transfers of property, amend	**	.....	74	55	.....
2366	Bill on ward boundaries of Elmira, to suspend rules and pass	**	81	.....	.....	62
2367	Same, passage	**	80	.....	.....	56
2369	Bill to amend executive law (atty. general), amend	**	.....	81	60	.....
2370	Same, passage	**	81	.....	.....	62
2410	Bill to amend an act to exempt from taxes Die Deutsche Poliklinik, passage	(**)	76	5	60	.....
2411	Bill to inquire into condition of commerce of N. Y., passage	(**)	77	1	55	1
2432	Bill on lighting passenger cars in N. Y. City, passage	(**)	80	1	55	.....
2454	Bill to incorporate Improved Order of Red Men's Home Assoc. of N. Y., to recommit for amend	†*	33	8	.....	42
2455	Same, similar motion	†*	34	17	.....	50
2456	Same, passage	(†*)	34	23	53	.....
2457	Bill for regulation of pharmacists, to recommit	(†*)	15	38	.....	51
2458	Same, passage	(†*)	46	25	55	.....
2460	Bill to regulate manufacture and sale of beer, to recommit	**	6	72	55	2
2461	Same, passage	††	72	10	8	49
2465	Bill to amend Code of Criminal Procedure (power to remit fines, etc.), passage	**	77	.....	.....	43
2467	Bill to make register of Kings County a salaried office, etc., passage	**	78	.....	1	45
2468	Bill on taxable transfers of property, passage	**	78	.....	.....	44
2469	Bill on municipal waterworks in Utica, to suspend rules and consider	*†	74	.....	6	24
2470	Same, passage	(*†)	72	4	28	4
2555	Bill for taxation of public conveyances, to strike out enacting clause	(†*)	9	17	.....	43
2557	Bill to exempt from taxes Beth Israel Hospital, passage	(†*)	45	16	48	.....
2564	Bill on condemnation of cemeteries by Genesee River Co., passage	(**)	66	.....	48	1
2569	Bill on right of suffrage upon questions of municipal improvements, passage	(*†)	61	3	37	6

2578	Bill for salaries of former janitors of municipal courts in Brooklyn, passage	(**)	84	.....	54	3
2584	Bill to exempt from taxes a Colored Home and Hospital, passage	(**)	81	5	63	.....
2613	Bill to prevent monopolies in certain articles, 2 R	**	1	72	51	.....
2615	Bill on auctions, to recommit	**	.....	70	48	.....
2616	Same, passage	**	75	.....	1	49
2619	Bill to amend an act on business of private detectives, etc., passage	(**)	82	.....	57	1
2628	Bill to provide for security of life in hotels, passage	†*	14	48	52	2
2643	Amend. to const. on exemptions from taxation, adoption of	*†	73	3	13	27
2645	Bill to regulate use of bicycles, passage	(†*)	35	15	55	.....
2654	Bill to release certain property to S. W. Rindale, passage	(**)	75	2	55	3
2675	Bill to incorporate Industrial and Commercial Exhibition Co. of N. Y., 3 R	(†*)	29	31	.....	49
2677	Bill on exemption from taxation of certain societies, etc., passage	†*	24	39	42	4
2678	Bill on extension of street R. Rs., passage	†*	29	11	2	37
2681	Bill on water supply of Rochester, passage	*†	68	5	9	36
2688	Bill to define liabilities of directors and officers of corps., passage	**	80	1	53	5
2697	Bill to make clerk of Kings County a salaried office, etc., passage	*†	80	.....	9	29
2740	Bill for disposal of sewage of Saratoga Springs, passage	(**)	83	1	61	.....
2749	Bill on inspection of gas meters, passage	(**)	82	.....	57	1
2756	Bill on inspection of gas meters in Greater New York, passage	(**)	77	1	53	2
2760	Bill to exempt from taxes the Educational Alliance, passage	(†*)	60	12	57	.....
2761	Bill to exempt from taxes certain medical societies, passage	(†*)	58	15	54	2
2767	Bill for relief of a religious corporation, passage	(**)	75	1	51	.....
2768	Bill to exempt from taxes a benevolent society, passage	(†*)	59	15	51	.....
2769	Bill to amend law of pawnbrokers, 2 R	(*†)	1	46	17	24
2770	Bill to provide medals for certain men who served in war with Spain, res. about procedure on the bill	*†	2	64	37	9
2782	Bill for a comr. of records for Kings County, passage	**	77	.....	3	44
2783	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (municipal courts), passage	*†	79	1	4	16
2792	Bill to authorize Rochester to raise money for school buildings, to pass over mayor's veto	**	79	.....	.....	51
2793	Bill to amend liquor laws, passage	**	82	.....	.....	59
2795	Bill on hours of labor, etc., passage	(**)	82	5	63	.....
2796	Bill on summary proceedings in N. Y. City, passage	(*†)	62	.....	22	17
2798	Bill on sales of real property by guardians, passage	(**)	78	4	59	3
2799	Bill to amend charter of International Bond Co., passage	(*†)	56	.....	24	19
2803	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (board of pharmacy), passage	**	75	.....	1	61
2835	Bill to promote commerce on seaboard waters of this State, passage	(**)	82	2	44	2
2846	Bill on exemptions from taxation of mortgages on agric. lands, passage	(**)	70	.....	55	1
2855	Bill on powers of boards of supervisors for improvement of highways, passage	(**)	84	.....	46	1
2922	Bill on civil service of State of N. York, substitute bill	**	.....	82	57	.....
2924	Same, passage	**	83	1	.....	58
2933	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (appeals), passage	**	78	.....	54	1
2939	Bill on engineers in N. Y. City, passage	(*†)	77	.....	47	9
2941	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (volunteer firemen), passage	(**)	81	.....	54	1
2953	Bill on reduced fares for school children, passage	(**)	79	.....	48	1
2958	Bill to amend domestic-commerce law, passage	††	64	18	14	42
2997	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (excluding territory), to pass over mayor's veto	**	83	.....	.....	45
2999	Bill for improvement of an avenue in N. York City, to pass over mayor's veto	**	79	.....	2	48

New York State Assembly, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
3000	Bill for improvement of streets in N. Y., to pass over mayor's veto	†*	49	25	1	47
3007	Bill to amend acts on transportation cos., passage	(**)	81	.....	48	2
3017	Bill to amend an act on enrollment of political parties, passage	(*†)	84	.....	27	20
3019	Bill on taking shad in Hudson River, passage	††	30	25	19	21
3022	Bill on elevators in high hotels, passage	(**)	69	3	52	1
3023	Bill to legalize certain taxes in Utica, passage	(**)	82	.....	61	1
3025	Bill relating to city of Kingston, passage	(**)	85	.....	57	1
3029	Bill to amend law of adoption, passage	(**)	80	.....	52	3
3030	Bill to provide for representation of women on boards of education, passage	(††)	39	14	20	9
3032	Bill to amend poor law, passage	(**)	81	.....	56	1
3034	Bill to incorporate N. Y. State School of Industries for Girls, passage	(**)	73	1	57	.....
3054	Res. for printing copies of a bill	(†*)	31	15	48	.....
3060	Bill to authorize a R. R. co. to supply light, etc., passage	(**)	72	.....	53	1
3091	Bill to amend laws of Seneca Falls, passage	**	80	.....	1	51
3094	Bill to amend insurance law, passage	(††)	43	30	11	40
3095	Bill to exempt from taxes the Salvation Army, passage	(**)	73	1	57	.....
3097	Bill on investments of savings banks, amend	(*†)	1	81	12	45
3099	Same, passage	(*†)	80	1	47	13
3111	Bill to amend liquor laws, passage	**	87	.....	.....	63
3114	Bill on use of voting machines, passage	(**)	83	.....	57	1
3116	Bill on actions against stockholders of banks, passage	(*†)	74	2	8	34
3162	Bill on fishing in Lakes Erie and Ontario, passage	(**)	79	3	52	1
3175	Bill to incorporate General Carriage Co., passage	(**)	75	7	59	.....
3180	Bill to pay salaries of State employees who enlisted for war with Spain, passage	(**)	77	3	57	.....
3186	Bill to amend Code of Civil Proc. (special deputies for county clerks), passage	(**)	80	1	55	1
3190	Bill to revise charter of Yonkers, passage	(**)	83	1	62	.....
3193	Bill to amend game law (waters stocked with fish), passage	(**)	73	.....	48	1
3197	Bill giving Tonawanda power to refund a debt, passage	(**)	59	6	36	1
3205	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (dept. of educ.), passage	(**)	71	1	55	.....
3208	Bill on franchises in streets granted before 1898, passage	(**)	71	.....	45	1
3212	Bill to amend tax laws, passage	(**)	71	2	47	.....
3292	Bill on powers of casualty ins. cos., passage	*†	62	4	19	30
3293	Bill on mortgages by R. R. cos., passage	(*†)	64	.....	23	19
3294	Bill to prevent monopolies in articles of common use, passage	(**)	57	2	49	.....
3304	Bill on restrictions upon deposits in banks, passage	(**)	75	.....	50	1
3336	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (to create city gas plant), 2 R	**	3	71	56	1

3337	Bill on ward boundaries of Elmira, to pass over mayor's veto	**	82	.....	.....	54
3339	Bill to amend Greater N. Y. charter (offensive trades), to pass over mayor's veto	**	80	.....	2	43
3342	Bill to regulate pharmacists, passage	†*	24	48	47	5
3343	Bill authorizing certain persons to practice medicine, passage	(††)	43	29	38	13
3345	Bill to regulate price of gas in Syracuse, passage	(†*)	45	17	50	3
3350	Bill to amend game laws, passage	†*	28	45	52	2
3352	Bill on use of sand and salt on street R. R. tracks, passage	††	51	20	32	26
3354	Bill to amend acts on transportation cos., passage	††	23	44	27	19
3355	Bill on engineers in city of N. Y., passage	(*†)	78	.....	43	10
3361	Amend. of const. on court of appeals, passage	(**)	77	2	56	.....
3365	Bill to change the name of a hospital, passage	(**)	80	1	57	1
3371	Bill to allow Nat. Conservatory of Music to charge fees to pupils, passage	(**)	83	2	58	.....
3404	Bill for fenders on street R. R. cars, 3 R	††	17	59	50	6
3406	Bill on changes in capital stock of R. Rs., passage	(**)	77	2	58	2
3407	Bill to secure rights of members of associations, passage	(†*)	8	51	.....	61
3409	Bill on impairment of capital of banks, to recommit	(†*)	44	32	49	5
3410	Bill to amend banking law, passage	(**)	73	1	47	2
3421	Com. to investigate the govt. of N. Y. City, motion to discharge on ground that it is acting without authority.	**	.....	84	62	.....
3422	Same, to substitute minority report	**	.....	84	63	.....
3423	Same, to accept maj. report	**	85	.....	.....	62
3426	Bill to amend Penal Code (crimes against public health), passage	(**)	73	.....	47	2
3427	Bill to amend act for driveway in N. Y., passage	(†*)	45	22	59	.....
3433	Bill to amend an act for a com. on condition of commerce of N. York, passage	(**)	78	.....	50	1
3434	Bill on summary proceedings in N. York City, passage	†*	26	24	3	41
3436	Bill to construct a track at State reservation at Niagara, passage	(**)	81	.....	56	2
3444	Bill on extending time for completion of certain R. Rs., passage	(†*)	73	9	55	1
3447	Bill to amend banking law, passage	(**)	77	5	59	1
3449	Bill to authorize board of estimate of N. Y. to allow expenses of sheriff, passage	(**)	73	2	50	.....
3457	Bill to amend Penal Code (conveyance of female convicts), to recommit	(††)	10	49	16	29
3458	Same, passage	(††)	67	8	39	13
3461	Bill for protection against damage by steam boilers, etc., passage	(**)	76	1	58	.....
3477	Bill on diversion of water by cities, sen. amends	(**)	77	.....	49	1
3506	Bill to regulate price of gas in N. Y. City, to discharge com. and take 2 R	†*	6	52	53	1
3507	Bill to extend liability of employers for injuries to employees, to discharge com. and take 2 R	†*	18	54	59	.....
3510	Bill to amend R. R. law (motive power), passage	(**)	75	4	51	3
3512	Bill to exempt from taxes certain real estate in N. Y., passage	(†*)	66	8	51	.....
3513	Bill for erection of a State soldiers and sailors' monument, passage	(**)	70	1	48	.....
3517	Bill on wages of laborers on public works, passage	(**)	79	2	61	.....
3519	Bill to amend insurance law to reconsider vote whereby it was lost	††	21	36	38	13
3523	Bill on enrollment of political parties, passage	(**)	68	.....	50	1
3525	Bill for comr. of records for Kings County, to pass over mayor's veto	**	76	8	2	55
3544	Bill to prohibit use of trading stamps, etc., passage	††	50	26	23	32
3555	Bill to pay expenses of officials in certain legal proceedings, passage	(**)	78	1	54	.....
3558	Bill to incorporate Amer. Bond and Mortgage Guaranty Co., passage	(††)	59	8	28	14
3561	Bill to pay fees of counsel to assist atty. gen., passage	(**)	78	.....	57	1

New York State Assembly, 1899—Continued.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND SESSION—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
3568	Bill to amend an act on transportation cos., passage	(**)	74	1	54	1
3571	Bill to pay for tuberculous cattle killed under an act and to repeal the act, passage	(**)	75	1	47	.....
3583	Bill on enrollment of political parties, etc., passage	(**)	69	.....	52	1
3585	Bill on taxation of public franchises, passage	(††)	61	23	48	12
3588	Bill to amend act creating a metropolitan elections district, passage	**	85	.....	.....	61
3598	Bill to create dept. of elections in N. Y., amend	(**)	74	.....	46	2
3600	Bill for experiments with power of Niagara River, passage	(†*)	52	21	47	3
3602	Bill to prevent substitute for hops in beer, passage	(*†)	75	.....	42	9
3603	Bill for certain storage reservoirs in Adirondacks, passage	(†*)	31	36	1	51
3604	Bill to lay out a public park, passage	(†*)	13	47	.....	53
3607	Bill to lay out certain park in N. Y., passage	(**)	74	1	38	.....
3608	Bill to acquire land in N. Y. for a park passage	(**)	73	1	54	.....
3609	Bill to amend Greater N. York charter (street franchise), passage	(*†)	86	.....	40	13
3610	Bill for a State armory at Medina, passage	(**)	73	1	53	.....
3614	Bill to amend stock corp. law (issue of debenture bond stock), passage	(††)	4	32	7	16
3617	Gen. approp. bill, passage	(**)	73	.....	51	2
3618	Bill for an avenue in Flatbush, to pass over veto of mayor	*†	86	.....	7	55
3622	Bill on water supply of city of Rochester, to pass over mayor's veto	*†	79	.....	12	33
3623	Bill on buildings in N. Y., to pass over mayor's veto	**	86	.....	.....	63

Pennsylvania Senate, 1899.[a]

[Republicans, 37; Democrats, 13; total, 50—Governor, W. A. Stone, R.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
6	Election of president pro tem.:					
	Snyder	**	33	.....	1	.....
	Haines	**	1	.....	10	.....
360	Election of U. S. Senator:					
	Quay[b]	†*	26	.....	.....	.....
	Jenks	†*	1	.....	12	.....
	Dalzell	†*	3	.....	.....	.....
	Stewart	†*	1	.....	.....	.....
	Erwin	†*	1	.....	.....	.....
	Stone	†*	1	.....	.....	.....
	Smith, C. E	†*	1	.....	.....	.....
364	Motion to susp. rules to consider nominations for sec. of state of Pa. and atty. gen., amend. omit atty. gen.	††	8	26	7	4
364	Same, to agree to motion	††	27	7	5	6
365	Same, to agree to nomination for atty. gen	††	29	5	4	8
487	Bill to prevent use of records against reformed criminals, passage	††	27	4	9	1
504	Bill to define powers of dist. atty. in empaneling juries, amend. act not to apply to existing indictments	†*	5	26	10	.....
581	Bill on liens of Commonwealth against unpatented lands, passage	(**)	31	.....	11	1
585	Bill to repeal act of Mar. 10, 1810, taxing certain offices, etc., passage	(*†)	29	.....	6	1
595	Bill to define powers of dist. atty. in empaneling juries, passage	††	26	8	2	9
670	Bill to appt. comrs. on promotion of uniform legislation, passage	††	17	3	7	8
774	Bill to provide salaries for constables in counties, passage	(*†)	27	.....	9	1
776	Bill increasing number of courts of common pleas in county of Philadelphia, passage	(††)	24	6	7	1
793	Bill to define right to challenge jurors, amend stating grounds of challenge	††	7	25	6	5
799	Same, passage	(††)	26	3	8	1
801	Bill to regulate appt. of notaries public, passage	(*†)	24	1	6	2
860	Bill to make taxes a lien on real estate, passage	(**)	20	1	10	.....
860	Bill to empower cities to improve public streets, passage	(*†)	22	.....	5	1
861	Bill for boards of trustees of almshouses in certain counties, passage	(*†)	23	1	9	1
942	Bill to lay out bridges, etc., passage	(**)	21	2	8	.....
969	Bill to empower school directors to organize as boards of health, passage	(**)	29	1	9	.....
1025	Bill for collection of damages incurred in city improvements made under invalid laws, passage	(**)	23	1	9	.....
1031	Bill for changing limited partnerships into corps., passage	(*†)	21	.....	8	1
1100	Bill authorizing formation of limited partnerships, passage	(*†)	27	.....	8	1

[a] Does not include joint ballots for U. S. Senator.

[b] Majority of senate for Quay.

Pennsylvania Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1103	Bill for masters in divorce cases, passage	(*†)	21	.....	8	1
1168	Bill to repeal act to forbid adulteration of dairy products, to agree to title	††	11	12	5	3
1177	Bill on common schools, passage	(**)	24	1	9	.....
1177	Bill to define powers of courts of common pleas, passage	(*†)	27	.....	8	1
1198	Bill regulating fees of tax collectors, passage	††	11	11	2	5
1205	Bill regulating duties of foreign trust companies, passage	(**)	20	1	8	.....
1216	Bill to provide for addl. officers of gen. assembly, passage	††	23	5	4	8
1219	Motion to adj	(†*)	11	16	.....	10
1220	Motion to adj	††	10	15	6	5
1221	Bill for digest of corp. laws, motion to adj	††	8	17	8	3
1221	Motion to adj	(††)	8	12	2	6
1222	Bill authorizing orphans' courts to decree specific performance of contracts, motion to adj	(††)	16	4	7	4
1285	Bill to prevent fraud in manuf. and sale of cheese, passage	(**)	26	1	10	.....
1288	Bill to license peddlers, etc., passage	(**)	19	1	9	.....
1335	Bill authorizing mortgage on So. West. normal school, to agree to sec. 1	(††)	5	16	1	7
1336	Bill authorizing mortgages on any State normal school, 2 R	††	10	8	3	5
1350	Bill on pleading in replevin, passage	(**)	26	1	8	.....
1351	Bill on liability of endorsers, passage	††	18	4	3	4
1360	Bill for publication of statutes in newspapers, passage	††	6	16	4	4
1362	Bill to make constables game wardens, passage	(†*)	20	4	9	.....
1369	Bill for addl. clerk to atty. gen., passage	(**)	22	1	5	.....
1370	Bill on formation of banking corps., passage	(**)	23	1	6	.....
1374	Bill on liability of endorsers, to reconsider vote on passage	(**)	26	1	11	.....
1376	Bill for assessment of land in counties, passage	*†	19	1	7	2
1387	Bill on manuf. of oleomargarine, passage	(**)	31	3	11	1
1389	Bill on salaries superintendents of schools, passage	(**)	19	1	7	.....
1407	Bill punishing pool selling, passage	††	18	10	7	5
1409	Bill to create board of exam. of accountants, passage	††	23	3	3	5
1409	Bill to give city council power to fix salaries, etc., of officers, passage	††	10	15	5	5
1474	Bill on public park at Valley Forge, passage	(**)	25	1	9	.....
1487	Bill to extend minimum school term to 7 months, passage	(††)	24	5	6	5
1497	Bill to amend act on formation of corps. to manuf. liquor, passage	(*†)	18	.....	9	1
1502	Bill on collateral loans, passage	††	13	7	3	6
1512	Bill to repeal local option for Ward 29, Philadelphia, passage	(††)	19	5	8	1
1512	Bill punishing pool selling, passage	††	21	11	6	3
1516	Bill on incorporation of building companies, passage	(**)	20	2	8	.....
1521	Bill on legal notices in counties, passage	(**)	26	2	10	1

1521	Bill requiring approval of county judges on bonds by township officers, passage	(††)	23	3	7	3
1531	Bill on sales of entire stock of goods, passage	(†*)	21	3	5	.....
1531	Bill to allow pledge, etc., of liquor licenses, passage	(*†)	24	2	8	1
1532	Bill on distribution of school approp., passage	(**)	25	1	9	.....
1533	Bill extending powers of factory inspector to hotels, etc., passage	(††)	23	5	4	3
1546	Bill on improvement of public roads, passage	(**)	21	2	6	.....
1553	Bill on pay of collectors of taxes, passage	(*†)	20	1	8	1
1616	Bill on policies of insurance, amend. 1 per cent of tax on foreign companies to be paid to cities and boroughs.	(†*)	12	19	1	11
1619	Bill for addl. officers of gen. assem., to agree to conf. report	(**)	28	1	9	.....
1620	Bill to repeal local option in Ward 15, Philadelphia, passage	(*†)	20	1	9	1
1629	Approp. bill for 2d reg. armory, passage	(*†)	22	1	7	1
1655	Bill for fees of dist. attys., passage	(*†)	18	.....	9	2
1663	Bill for tax on vendors of goods, amend. slight change in tax	(†*)	13	3	13	1
1696	Bill for mortgage of any State normal school, passage	(††)	18	5	8	5
1697	Bill on testimony of wife against husband, passage	(**)	22	1	7	.....
1707	Bill relating to negotiable instruments, passage	(†*)	23	3	7	.....
1761	Bill for mortgage on State normal school of 12th district, passage	(††)	15	5	7	1
1765	Bill to regulate sale of "boiled" or "process" butter, passage	†*	13	7	1	10
1766	Bill on sale of junk, passage	(†*)	15	6	12	.....
1769	Bill authorizing county treasurer to issue liquor licenses, passage (not a const. majority)	(††)	15	7	9	1
1795	Same, vote reconsidered, passage	(**)	21	2	19	1
1834	Motion to suspend business to introduce a res	*†	12	.....	11	15
1852	Bill to protect fish, passage	(**)	28	1	9	.....
1864	Bill for emergency fund to suppress epidemics, passage	(*†)	21	.....	6	3
1869	Bill for the improvement of public roads, passage	(**)	20	1	9	.....
1891	Bill on testimony of wife against husband, to concur in house amends	(**)	22	1	9	.....
1894	Bill on granting of patents by sec. of internal affairs, to agree to bill	(††)	15	9	5	3
1895	Bill to regulate sale of "boiled" or "process" butter, passage	(*†)	29	1	9	3
1899	Bill for gratuity to Penn. militia in Spanish war, passage	(*†)	23	.....	3	2
1909	Bill to protect sheep, passage	(**)	22	1	11	.....
1933	Res. to place on calendar bill fixing mercantile tax in certain cases	(†*)	21	3	12	.....
1934	Res. to place on calendar Keator ballot bill	†*	10	16	10	.....
2073	Bill authorizing appointment of board of trustees for the general management of almshouses, passage	†*	16	7	.....	12
2077	Bill regulating fees of justices of the peace, passage	(**)	18	1	13	.....
2078	Bill on sale of malt liquors, passage	††	7	23	6	4
2079	Bill for tax on liquors, passage	††	8	22	3	6
2097	Bill to amend election law, passage	(**)	18	1	12	.....
2113	Bill for topographical survey of State, passage	(**)	28	2	11	.....
2114	Bill for tax on liquors, passage	††	24	9	4	7
2124	Bill on election of supervisors of streets, passage	(**)	22	2	9	.....
2125	Bill to provide for addl. judge for 6th dist., passage	(**)	17	1	10	.....
2194	Res. to sue M. S. Quay and others for appropriating interest on public funds, amend. to omit name of Quay; 2d amend. to substitute res. that moneys of State have been properly treated; to lay res. and amends. on table.	††	24	4	9	2
2195	Res. to postpone final adj. of legislature	(†*)	6	25	.....	13
2203	Bill for tax on foreign corps., passage	††	14	8	9	1

Pennsylvania Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
2204	Bill fixing mercantile tax in certain cases, passage	††	11	8	4	6
2214	Bill for tax on domestic corps., passage	††	10	10	7	3
2225	Bill to allow formation of corps. for any lawful purpose, passage	††	13	8	9	1
2233	Bill to investigate diseases of animals, passage	(*†)	23	2	4	5
2239	Bill to forbid sales in secondhand bottles, passage	(††)	13	11	5	2
2260	Bill on taxation and fraudulent returns, to agree to conf. report	(*†)	21	2	5	3
2287	Bill to forbid sales in secondhand bottles reconsidered (bill had been lost, less than all the senators having voted for it), passage.	(*†)	26	2	9	1
2293	Bill for bonus on charters and increase of capital stock, to agree to conf. report	(**)	26	1	6	.....

Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1899.[a]

[Republicans, 127; Democrats, 71; Fusionists, 6; total, 204.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Fusionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
14	Election of speaker:							
	Farr	**	124	.....	1	.....	3	.....
	Creasy	**	2	.....	69	.....	3	.....
15	Election of clerk:							
	Rex	**	119	.....	1	.....	3	.....
	Shaner	**	.....	.....	66	.....	3	.....
16	Election of resident clerk:							
	Fetterolf	**	117	.....	1	.....	2	.....
	Wanbaugh	**	1	.....	68	.....	2	.....
321	Election of U. S. Senator:[b]							
	Quay		85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Jenks		.....	.....	67	.....	3	.....
	Dalzell		13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Stone		8	.....	.....	.....	1	.....

	Stewart	†*	6				2	
	Huff		4					
	Tubbs		4					
	Rice		2					
	Erwin		2					
	Grow		1					
	Markle		1					
	Smith, P. P				1			
363	Res. declaring certain persons employees of house	**	101			53		2
520	Res. inviting Pres. McKinley to come to Penn	**	65			44	1	1
553	Bill to fix fees of constables, amend. (no quorum)	(†*)	46	6	32	3	1	1
564	Bill for masters in divorce proceedings, passage	(††)	93	22	37	18	5	
566	Bill to fix fees of constables, amend. to insert "defendants, except vagrants"	(**)	102	8	54	5	6	
566	Same, amend. strike out in another place "a vagrant"	(**)	106	5	58	1	6	
567	Same, amend. on mileage and other costs	††	8	102	2	58		5
568	Same, motion to adj	(††)	47	71	35	29	6	
569	Same, amend. mileage 8 cents a mile	††	17	82	8	48	1	4
570	Same, to agree to the section, prev. quest	††	71	45	29	34		6
571	Same, to agree to the section	††	94	21	27	33	2	4
572	Same, motion to adj	(**)	50	67	41	23	6	
578	Bill for approp. by cities for National Guard, passage	(††)	108		58	1	6	
609	Bill to abolish bounties for foxes, to agree to sec. 1	††	24	66	20	39	3	3
611	Bill to fix fees of constables, to refer to com. of whole	††	44	62	45	13	4	
618	Bill on powers of dist. atty. in empaneling juries, motion to postpone	††	41	75	48	17	4	
675	Motion that next adj. be till 11 a. m. to-morrow (no quorum)	††	24	6	29	8	2	
676	Motion to adj	††	48	19	6	24		1
683	Motion to adj	††	42	72	42	13	3	
708	Member stated judicial com. improperly sitting while house in session and moved that house adj.	(††)	42	61	42	15	5	
796	Res. protesting against seating of Roberts, of Utah, in U. S. Congress, to refer to com. on law and order.	(*†)	8	67	16	32		5
841	Bill to pay school directors for attending convention to elect county superintendent, passage.	(††)	90	7	53	7	4	1
842	Bill for claims for funds in sheriff's hands, passage	(**)	24	61	7	49		4
852	Bill to forbid sales in secondhand bottles, passage	(**)	91	3	57		3	
853	Bill granting power to redeem city, etc., bonds, passage	(**)	82	1	58		5	
855	Bill to enable Pa. Canal Co. to abandon part of canal, passage	†*	114	2	57	2	5	
856	Bill on intermediate court of appeal, to refer to com. of whole	†*	14	86	61		5	
857	Same, amend. when 2 judges to be chosen voter to vote for only one, etc	†*	16	86	62		5	
912	Bill exempting soldiers from taxation on $500, to agree to sect. of bill	††	56	14		50	1	3
913	Bill on challenging jurors, to postpone	(**)	46	50	33	23	3	3
973	Bill on intermediate court of appeal, passage	††	94		52	1	4	
975	Bill to extend minimum school term to 7 months, passage	(**)	94	23	46	19	6	
986	Bill extending time for collecting taxes, passage	(**)	91	1	52	1	4	

a Does not include joint ballots for U. S. Senator.

b No one had a majority of all votes cast.

Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Fusionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
989	Bill making constables game wardens, passage	(*†)	104	2	49	11	4	.....
991	Bill on fire escapes, passage (not const. majority)	(††)	36	33	36	11	.....	1
992	Bill to extend lien of debts of decedents, passage (not const. majority)	(††)	42	36	49	14	2	1
1019	Same (reconsidered), passage	(††)	65	9	52	6	4	.....
1058	Bill on fire escapes, to reconsider	††	68	9	17	17	.....	3
1097	H. B. No. 165, to place on calendar	††	46	24	16	11	2	4
1098	Bill to relieve boards of health from marriage registration, to place on calendar	(†*)	56	18	34	3	6	.....
1115	Bill on election of supervisors of streets, passage	††	45	31	43	6	4	1
1116	Bill on salaries of county officers, passage	†*	55	23	3	46	.....	3
1117	Bill on price of admission to theaters, passage	††	80	10	38	11	.....	.....
1118	Bill on Uwchlan Township roads, passage	(**)	87	.....	51	1	5	.....
1120	Bill on holding a view of roads, passage	(**)	90	.....	50	1	5	.....
1122	Bill on maintaining order at fairs, passage	(*†)	93	.....	45	5	4	.....
1134	Bill to refund taxes erroneously paid to State, passage	(**)	84	4	40	2	2	.....
1135	Bill to require statement of name and address of mortgagees, passage	(**)	100	1	52	.....	3	.....
1137	Bill to appoint park police in cities, passage	(**)	99	.....	45	1	3	.....
1138	Bill to create board to examine accountants, passage	*†	92	4	13	29	1	4
1139	Bill on salaries of county officers (reconsidered), passage	(*†)	110	2	30	24	2	3
1142	Bill on interpleaders, passage	(**)	91	1	42	2	3	.....
1143	Bill on testimony of wife against husband, passage	(*†)	93	2	38	6	3	.....
1145	Bill to prevent pollution of water supply, to agree to report of com. of whole	††	64	16	10	41	.....	5
1184	Bill to amend liquor law, to postpone	††	58	28	20	29	3	.....
1286	Bill on better government in cities, to place on calendar, to postpone	†*	26	48	55	.....	4	.....
1287	Same, to place on calendar	†*	20	50	54	.....	4	.....
1295	Bill on weighing coal at mines, passage	(†*)	62	10	56	2	3	.....
1298	Bill to abolish bounties for foxes, passage	(**)	83	.....	55	3	5	.....
1299	Bill on pollution of water supply, 3 R	†*	73	29	5	51	.....	3
1314	Bill for collection of damages incurred in city improvements made under invalid laws, passage.	*†	101	1	25	25	1	.....
1317	Bill on fire escapes, passage (not const. majority)	††	32	41	26	12	.....	5
1337	Bill to extend benefits of soldiers' orphans' schools to children of soldiers of Spanish war, passage.	(**)	87	.....	54	1	4	.....
1338	Bill making school tax a lien on real estate, passage	(**)	73	7	52	3	3	1
1339	Bill authorizing transfers of liquor licenses, to agree to report of com. of whole	††	47	47	45	8	4	2
1341	Bill to provide for licensing of peddlers, passage	(**)	99	1	54	.....	4	.....
1354	Bill on sale of junk, passage	(†*)	77	10	49	.....	2	1
1356	Bill fixing the mercantile tax, passage	(**)	96	1	55	.....	5	.....

1357	Bill on salaries of constables, passage	††	55	30	16	28	1	2
1358	Bill to prevent lapse of legacies to relatives, passage	††	49	32	31	18	1	1
1362	Bill for uniformity of taxation, amend	††	29	52	24	25	2	3
1369	Bill for bonus on corp. bonds	(**)	75	1	39	1	3	.....
1374	Bill for taxation on beer, passage	(††)	84	11	44	11	5	.....
1391	Bill for uniformity of taxation, to agree to report of com. of whole	(†*)	72	9	55	.....	4	.....
1391	Supplementary bill on revenue by taxation, passage	(††)	21	55	12	41	.....	5
1393	Bill for legacy tax, passage	(††)	55	21	40	12	.....	5
1394	Bill to amend laws taxing capital stock, passage	(†*)	40	36	45	4	3	1
1399	Bill on qualifications of election officers, to agree to sec. 1	(†*)	46	28	53	.....	5	.....
1414	Res. to protect railroad employees	††	31	35	36	5	1	1
1456	Res. for names, pay, etc., of employees of house	††	14	59	32	8	2	.....
1458	Bill for addl. employees in assembly, amend. sen. to elect two clerks and house four	†*	26	39	34	2	2	.....
1460	Same, amend. to recommit to com. on judiciary	††	52	16	5	33	.....	2
1465	Bill to protect employees in coal mines, passage	(†*)	51	17	44	2	3	.....
1467	Bill on incorporation of savings banks, passage	*†	82	2	21	25	3	.....
1469	Bill to repeal act of Mar. 10, 1810, taxing certain offices, passage	(**)	85	1	44	.....	1	.....
1470	Bill regulating horseshoeing, passage (not const. majority)	††	68	15	22	23	.....	3
1471	Bill exempting from taxation churches and charities, passage	††	34	42	9	31	1	2
1472	Bill on assessment of expenses for municipal improvements, passage	(**)	85	.....	35	2	1	.....
1483	Bill on improvement of public roads, passage	(††)	75	13	35	10	1	.....
1484	Bill to empower pres. of board of educ. to use a rubber-stamp signature, passage	(**)	91	.....	47	5	2	.....
1486	Bill regulating horseshoeing (reconsidered), passage	(††)	74	9	24	19	.....	2
1486	Bill for borough supervisors of streets, passage	(†*)	52	26	56	4	1	.....
1487	Bill to license engineers for steam boilers, passage	(**)	93	1	47	4	.....	.....
1488	Bill to forbid liquor licenses in boroughs of Braddock, etc., passage	††	66	23	38	9	.....	2
1490	Bill to allow fishing with nets, passage	††	72	8	33	18	1	2
1491	Bill for maintenance of side paths on highways, passage	(**)	88	.....	46	5	2	.....
1492	Bill on liens of Commonwealth against unpatented lands, passage	(**)	70	4	46	1	3	.....
1512	Bill for legacy tax, to reconsider	††	66	17	27	23	.....	3
1520	Bill for license tax on vendors of goods, passage	(**)	86	.....	48	2	3	.....
1521	Bill for addl. employees in assembly, passage	(*†)	93	4	27	16	1	3
1522	Bill on taxation of corps., to postpone	††	57	41	9	53	.....	5
1523	Bill to create civil-service board for police, passage	(*†)	99	.....	37	16	4	.....
1535	Bill on taxation of corps., 3 R	†*	58	39	5	57	.....	4
1535	Same, passage	(**)	9	91	.....	60	.....	1
1537	Bill to protect employees in coal mines (reconsidered), passage	(†*)	63	12	55	1	3	.....
1539	Bill to amend laws taxing capital stock, to reconsider	††	67	25	46	10	3	1
1540	Bill regulating sale of malt liquors, passage	(**)	86	.....	57	2	4	.....
1542	Approp. bill for educ. of soldiers' orphans, passage	(**)	90	.....	57	1	3	.....
1543	Approp. bill for school for deaf, passage	(**)	99	.....	57	1	5	.....
1544	Bill for emergency fund to suppress epidemics, passage	(**)	84	.....	43	4	1	.....
1591	Bill to equip National Guard, passage	(**)	76	.....	41	1	1	.....
1592	Approp. bill for support of Natl. Guard, passage	(**)	75	.....	35	3	.....	1
1597	Approp. bill for inauguration of governor, passage	(**)	72	.....	32	1	3	.....
1608	Bill to repeal act declaring Hiners Run a navigable highway, passage	(**)	68	.....	33	3	4	.....

Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Fusionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1610	Bill to present flag to 22d Reg., passage	(**)	72	.....	42	1	5	.....
1611	Bill for relief of William District, passage	(*†)	71	.....	31	4	3	.....
1614	Bill granting a pension to Evan James, passage	(**)	67	1	36	2	3	.....
1615	Bill recognizing services of William B. Wilson during civil war, passage	(**)	71	.....	36	3	2	.....
1618	Bill to maintain fences in Hamilton Township, passage	(**)	67	2	37	4	2	.....
1619	Bill for gratuity to William S. Maxey, passage	(*†)	50	5	11	8	.....	3
1656	Bill for comrs. to prepare text-books, to place on calendar	(†*)	43	32	36	3	.....	2
1676	Bill authorizing school directors to organize as board of health, passage	††	68	8	12	25	2	2
1677	Bill to amend laws regulating nominations to public office, passage	†*	44	50	51	4	4	.....
1679	Same (reconsidered), passage	†*	41	51	54	.....	5	.....
1682	Amend. to State const., passage	(**)	66	3	45	.....	3	.....
1702	Bill for wire fences on highways, passage	(**)	89	2	55	1	3	.....
1702	Bill for county health officers, passage	††	78	15	10	41	.....	4
1707	Bill on keepers of junk shops, 3 R	††	78	9	28	18	2	2
1707	Bill on publication of public documents, passage	(*†)	102	7	34	16	3	.....
1710	Bill for safety from fire in hotels, etc., passage	††	40	31	19	27	.....	5
1725	Bill to tax wages of employees not paid in cash, passage	††	68	11	32	16	.....	.....
1730	Bill for addl. employees in assembly, to agree to conf. report	††	62	37	9	52	.....	6
1743	Bill authorizing a suit against State, passage	††	58	38	14	41	.....	6
1744	Another bill ditto, passage	††	73	28	16	42	.....	6
1745	Another bill ditto, to postpone	††	66	29	10	43	.....	6
1745	Same, to postpone indefinitely	††	26	63	6	40	4	1
1745	Same, to postpone	††	64	31	7	43	.....	6
1747	Same, passage	††	65	32	14	45	.....	5
1752	Bill to create boards of trustees of almshouses, 3 R	(*†)	74	4	25	14	4	.....
1754	Bill to authorize county comrs. to issue bonds for building roads, passage	*†	85	5	23	28	1	2
1755	Bill to empower school directors to organize as boards of health, passage	(*†)	84	.....	31	12	4	.....
1756	Bill granting a pension, passage	(**)	62	1	40	3	2	.....
1756	Another pension bill, passage	(**)	72	.....	45	1	4	.....
1761	Bill for gratuity to W. S. Maxey (fever during war), passage	††	58	8	16	22	1	1
1763	Bill to provide for collectors of taxes in cities, sen. amends	(**)	65	3	38	1	4	.....
1768	Bill on division of boroughs into wards, passage	(**)	77	1	46	2	1	1
1770	Bill on licensing of theaters, passage	(**)	73	.....	49	1	1	.....
1770	Bill to amend proceedings in trover, passage	(†*)	64	10	53	1	4	1
1774	Bill to create boards of registration in election districts, etc., passage	†*	26	67	56	4	6	.....
1775	Bill for the binding out of minor children, passage	(**)	85	1	47	.....	4	.....
1789	Exec., jud., and leg. approp. bill, amend. changing dates of certain payments	††	15	77	11	26	2	.....

1790	Same, similar amend	†*	19	71	44	1	5	.....	
1793	Bill for requiring statement of names and addresses of mortgagees, sen. amends	(*†)	71	6	34	5	4	.....	
1794	Bill on testimony of wife against husband, sen. amend	(**)	80	.....	39	1	.....	.....	
1795	Bill to repeal prohibition at Coudersport, passage	(†*)	73	9	47	.....	3	.....	
1797	Bill to repeal prohibition in Potter Co., passage	(**)	75	5	49	.....	1	.....	
1798	Bill for changing time of elections in Clearfield County, passage	(**)	74	.....	47	1	3	.....	
1799	Bill for auditing certain claims against State, passage	(*†)	67	1	35	6	2	.....	
1801	Bill on appointment of road viewers in Northampton County, passage	(**)	74	1	41	.....	5	.....	
1830	Res. that H. B. No. 425 be made special order	††	30	34	23	6	1	.....	
1831	Same (no quorum having voted, vote was taken again)	††	32	44	24	11	1	1	
1852	Bill for addl. judges in 6th district, passage	(†*)	35	21	46	5	4	.....	
1853	Bill on fees of recorders of deeds, passage	(**)	84	.....	38	4	3	.....	
1854	Bill on imprisonment, etc. of convicts in reformatory, passage	(**)	80	.....	45	1	1	.....	
1858	Bill on distribution of school approp., passage	††	72	8	26	11	2	.....	
1861	Bill to extend lien of debts of decedents, to pass over governor's veto	†*	10	65	42	4	1	1	
1864	Bill to authorize change of channels of creeks, etc., passage	(**)	91	1	57	.....	3	.....	
1866	Bill on appointment of notaries public, passage	(*†)	72	7	21	19	2	.....	
1867	Bill for addl. judges in 6th dist. (reconsidered), passage	(†*)	21	11	57	1	4	.....	
1867	Bill to maintain morgues, passage	(*†)	78	8	37	9	.....	2	
1870	Bill to amend act on distilled vinegars, passage	(**)	90	1	57	.....	5	.....	
1883	Bill for collection of costs of municipal improvements, sen. amends	(*†)	84	1	21	8	2	1	
1917	Bill for boards of registration in election districts, to consider, passage	†*	24	81	63	.....	5	.....	
1918	Same, to reconsider this vote	†*	27	82	62	.....	5	.....	
1920	Anti-trust bill, passage	(**)	79	4	55	.....	5	.....	
1940	Bill to pay recruiting agent, passage	††	47	16	15	21	1	3	
1941	Bill for annuity to C. J. Taylor, passage	(*†)	61	4	26	11	1	2	
1943	Bill on testimony of wife against husband, passage	(**)	85	.....	46	1	5	.....	
1944	Bill for record of county bridges, passage	(*†)	77	1	38	8	4	.....	
1945	Bill to prevent spread of diseases in orchards, passage	(*†)	83	1	40	10	3	.....	
1949	Bill to recognize war services of W. B. Wilson, sen. amends	††	32	35	34	5	1	.....	
1953	Bill to authorize formation of corps. for any lawful purpose, passage	**	94	9	4	49	1	4	
1954	Bill on employment of prisoners in jails, passage	(**)	105	.....	47	3	3	.....	
1955	Bill for the purchase of turnpike roads, passage	(**)	96	.....	52	2	1	1	
1977	Bill on liens of State against unpatented lands, to adopt conf. report	(**)	75	2	49	2	2	.....	
1978	Bill on fees of public officers, passage	(**)	82	1	55	.....	3	.....	
1978	Bill to prevent the pollution of water supply, passage	(*†)	86	1	45	7	3	.....	
1980	Bill to tax wages of employees not paid in cash, passage	(**)	71	3	50	3	1	.....	
1981	Bill to authorize mortgage on a State normal school, passage	††	38	30	17	29	1	3	
1984	Bill for formation of corps. to take business of dissolved corps., passage	††	53	18	9	28	1	.....	
1985	Bill to punish cruelty to animals, passage	††	71	8	12	29	2	1	
1985	Bill to allow colleges to confer diplomas in public health, passage	(*†)	81	3	36	5	4	.....	
1986	Bill for assist. dist. attys. in counties, passage	††	51	31	7	35	.....	2	
1987	Bill to amend law of corps., passage	(**)	86	1	53	.....	3	.....	
1990	Bill on willful injuries to side paths, passage	(**)	90	1	44	.....	3	.....	
1993	Res. for comrs. to Paris Exp., motion to adj	††	46	53	11	26	.....	5	
1994	Bill to repeal act for collection of debts of State on unpatented lands, motion to adj	††	44	48	8	30	.....	5	

Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Fusionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
1996	Res. on duties of resident clerk of assembly	(†*)	52	8	41	1	5	.....
2026	Bill for license tax on vendors, sen. amends	†*	49	27	.....	46	.....	3
2028	Bill for care of insane, sen. amends	(**)	71	.....	34	1	2	.....
2033	Bill for topographical survey of State, passage	(*†)	90	.....	41	6	4	.....
2046	Legacy tax bill, passage	††	88	25	8	53	.....	5
2065	Bill to build capitol building, passage	†*	26	46	48	4	5	.....
2111	Bill authorizing a suit against State, to postpone indefinitely	††	17	79	46	10	6	.....
2141	Bill for tax on liquors, passage	(**)	82	.....	46	3	4	.....
2142	Bill authorizing a suit against State, passage	††	53	25	8	48	.....	4
2152	Bill to amend sec. 2 of the act on formation, etc., of corps., passage	(*†)	90	1	34	8	3	.....
2159	Bill for erection of a capitol building, passage	†*	35	58	61	.....	6	.....
2169	Approp. bill for the Phila. Society for Wayfarers' Lodges, passage (not const. majority)	(**)	72	4	48	.....	5	.....
2186	Bill on liens of State against unpatented lands, to agree to conf. report	(**)	81	3	54	.....	6	.....
2187	Approp. bill for State normal schools, passage	(**)	78	1	51	.....	6	.....
2188	Approp. bill for Phila. Commercial Museum, passage	(**)	89	1	44	3	4	.....
2202	Bill to forbid sales in secondhand bottles, etc., to pass over governor's veto	**	5	70	42	4	2	1
2206	Approp. bill for Phila. Society for Wayfarers' Lodges (reconsidered), passage	(**)	93	1	56	.....	4	.....
2207	Bill granting pension to Evan James, to pass over governor's veto	(*†)	4	68	12	27	.....	3
2209	Approp. bill for State hospital for injured miners, to concur in senate amends	††	41	20	42	5	3	.....
2211	Bill for bureau of building inspection, passage	(**)	77	1	42	3	6	.....
2213	Bill to increase courts of common pleas in Phila., passage	††	30	39	8	38	.....	6
2215	Bill to amend law on making roads and bridges, passage	(*†)	53	2	27	6	6	.....
2222	Bill to pay D. B. Hughes for cold in head during war, passage	(**)	94	.....	50	2	3	.....
2226	Approp. bill for W. F. Powell for injuries in service, passage	(**)	96	.....	48	1	5	.....
2231	Approp. bill for C. N. Robinson for injuries in service, passage	(**)	101	.....	43	2	3	1
2233	Approp. bill for Adrian Hospital Assoc., passage	(**)	91	2	50	1	6	.....
2237	Approp. bill for State hospital for injured miners, to concur in sen. amends. (lost before and reconsidered).	(**)	58	5	44	.....	4	.....
2239	Bill to forbid sales in secondhand bottles, passage	(**)	73	1	28	3	2	.....
2240	Bill to amend law on making roads and bridges, passage	(**)	90	.....	37	4	3	.....
2244	Bill to provide for organization of gas companies (reconsidered), passage	††	57	10	30	4	4	.....
2286	Bill increasing the number of courts of common pleas in Phila., to reconsider	††	40	37	5	31	.....	4
2290	Bill for erection of State capitol building, 3 R	†*	70	25	4	49	.....	6
2291	Bill to supplement the rev. laws, to concur in senate amends	(*†)	102	2	28	19	2	2
2297	Bill for State board of dental examiners, to agree to sec. 1	†*	47	41	4	42	.....	3
2308	Bill to maintain fences in town of Hamilton, passage	(**)	82	1	55	.....	4	.....
2309	Bill for withholding county fees as offset to fines, etc., passage	(**)	85	7	51	2	4	1

2310	Bill to authorize a suit against the Commonwealth, passage	††	86	17	14	47		6
2314	Bill to maintain morgues, to adopt conf. report	(**)	84		33	3		
2315	Approp. bill for Phoenixville hospital, passage	(**)	86	1	47		5	
2320	Bill to amend act to create bureaus of health in cities, passage	(**)	84		39	1	2	
2322	Bill to provide clerks for county comrs., passage	(*†)	73	8	31	15		
2324	Bill to prevent use of their records against reformed criminals, passage	††	78	12	13	35		3
2326	Bill to make local taxes a lien on real estate, passage	(*†)	75	3	44	7	2	
2327	Bill to create State forest reservation, passage	(**)	80	4	41	3	1	
2328	Bill on manuf. and sale of oleomargarine, passage	(**)	98		55	2	5	
2341	Bill on distribution of public documents, to concur in sen. amends	(*†)	92	4	25	14	3	
2342	Approp. bill for State hospital at Mercer, to concur in sen. amends	(**)	72	4	47	1	4	
2343	Approp. bill for Medico-Chirurgical Hospital in Phila, sen. amends	(*†)	107	4	50	6	6	
2348	Approp. bill for Univ. of Pa., to concur in sen. amends	(**)	91	4	45	3	5	1
2350	Approp. bill for board of public charities, to concur in sen. amend. (lost, not const. maj.)	††	64	11	19	9	2	2
2351	Bill to amend act creating State board of agric., passage	(*†)	76	4	27	20	3	1
2352	Bill to apply foreign attachment to injuries by vessels, passage	(**)	76	1	37	3	2	
2353	Bill requiring notice of proposed new roads, passage	(**)	72		46	1	5	
2354	Bill to extend law on laying out of streets, passage	††	67	12	34	7	4	
2370	Com. on election of U. S. Senator, maj. report in favor of prosecution for bribery, min. rep. that issue of fact raised go to a court, substitute res. to appoint com. to prosecute, to adopt both reports and res. as a whole.	(†*)	61	49	52	5	6	
2372	Approp. bill for Women's Homeopathic Association, to concur in sen. amends	††	66	24	29	10	2	
2375	Bill for borough supervisors for repairing streets, to concur in sen. amends	(†*)	62	12	47	1	3	
2376	Bill on employment of prisoners in jails, to concur in sen. amends	(**)	78	1	41	2	5	
2380	Bill to grade public streets in cities, passage	(*†)	85	6	24	13		2
2381	Bill to amend act to punish pool selling, passage (lost, not const. maj.)	(††)	46	41	31	11		5
2382	Same (reconsidered), to postpone	††	57	33	33	9		5
2386	Bill to regulate National Guard, passage	(*†)	105	1	50	7	5	
2388	Bill on division of boroughs into wards, to adopt conf. rep	††	35	30	35	12		
2389	Bill to amend act to punish pool selling, passage	††	48	46	24	20		6
2399	Bill to prevent use of their records against reformed criminals, passage	††	70	23	14	35		6
2427	Bill for license tax on venders, to adopt conf. report	(*†)	101	3	31	18	1	
2429	Bill to collect debts to Commonwealth for unpatented lands, passage	(**)	80		36	1	5	
2430	Approp. bill for board of public charity, to concur in sen. amends	(**)	85		36	2	3	
2432	Bill for publication of Pa. archives, passage	(*†)	83		36	7	3	
2434	Bill for safety of coal miners, passage	(**)	91		50	1	3	
2436	Approp. bill for Jefferson Medical College, to concur in sen. amends	(**)	94	2	46	4	3	
2437	Bill to amend act for security of titles to real estate, passage	(**)	68	1	48		4	
2438	Approp. bill for McKeesport Hospital, to concur in sen. amend	(**)	89	1	49		5	
2444	Approp. bill for Altoona Hospital, to concur in sen. amend	(**)	96	1	56		5	
2445	Approp. bill for St. Francis Hospital, to concur in sen. amend	(**)	100		54	1	4	
2455	Bill to supplement act for trial of contested elections, passage	(**)	68	1	43			
2457	Bill on where interpleaders are to be tried, passage	(*†)	63	1	28	10	3	
2458	Bill to empower orphans' courts to decree specific performance of contracts, passage	(**)	84		39	1	4	
2459	Bill to refund taxes erroneously paid to State, passage	(**)	84	1	40	2	1	
2460	Bill to amend laws on fees of public officers, passage	(*†)	82	2	30	10	4	

Pennsylvania House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Fusionists.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
2461	Bill on sales of entire stocks, passage	††	59	24	13	38	3	2
2461	Bill to classify townships, passage	††	82	11	28	25	2	2
2463	Bill on formation of limited-liability partnerships, passage	(*†)	85	3	38	7	2	.....
2465	Bill for purchase of bridges by counties, passage	(**)	75	1	50	.....	2	.....
2465	Bill for addl. law clerk in atty. gen.'s dept., passage	*†	88	6	21	25	.....	2
2467	Bill on investment of surplus funds of companies, passage	(*†)	96	1	28	7	.....	.....
2468	Bill for improvement of public roads, passage	††	59	32	11	42	.....	4
2469	Bill to exempt hired pianos from distraint for rent, passage	(*†)	78	4	24	15	2	.....
2469	Bill for incorporation of motor-power companies, passage	(**)	72	4	41	2	4	.....
2471	Bill for annexations by boroughs, passage	(*†)	81	3	31	6	3	.....
2472	Bill to repeal local option in Ward 29, Phila., passage	(††)	51	18	22	12	.....	4
2473	Bill to amend act for government of cities of the 3d class, passage	(*†)	80	3	23	12	2	.....
2474	Bill for committees of societies to visit prisons, passage	(††)	61	28	42	10	.....	3
2477	Bill for collection of dower, passage	(*†)	98	1	42	14	1	.....
2478	Bill to forbid hospitals, etc., in built-up portions of cities, passage	(**)	86	3	49	3	3	.....
2479	Bill to pay to counties the railroad bonus for right of way, passage	(**)	82	.....	40	4	2	2
2480	Bill to empower Rouse trustees to receive gifts for support of poor, passage	(**)	87	1	45	1	3	.....
2481	Bill to exempt soldiers from license fee to practice medicine, passage	††	24	46	7	31	.....	3
2482	Bill on salaries of superintendents of schools, passage	††	71	8	39	7	3	.....
2483	Bill to amend classes and trials of contested elections, passage	(**)	78	4	42	2	1	.....
2484	Res. on amend. to const. (elections to be by secret ballot), adoption	††	46	35	39	6	.....	.....
2485	Bill for salaries of constables for visiting liquor saloons in Phila., passage	††	62	26	21	19	.....	4
2486	Bill for payment of costs of prosecutions in court of sessions, passage	††	34	27	18	23	1	1
2487	Bill to punish false advertisement as a lawyer, passage	(*†)	80	2	33	9	4	.....
2488	Bill on entering of liens for taxes, passage	(*†)	90	6	28	9	1	.....
2489	Bill to repeal local option in Ward 15, Phila., passage	††	61	23	21	24	.....	4
2490	Bill for a free-library commission, passage	*†	88	7	21	22	3	.....
2491	Bill on directors of the poor of Carbondale, passage	(**)	96	.....	37	4	4	.....
2492	Bill to authorize pledging, etc., of liquor licenses, passage	††	38	39	7	36	.....	4
2494	Bill for enrollment of the militia, passage (not const. maj.)	*†	42	4	11	21	2	.....
2494	Same, passage	*†	80	3	11	32	1	.....
2499	Bill for count at certain elections by judges appointed by the courts, passage	(**)	80	3	43	.....	4	.....
2500	Bill for borough boards of health, passage	(††)	44	24	25	10	2	1
2502	Bill to take land for State normal schools, passage	††	28	29	12	34	.....	.....
2502	Bill for entering mechanics' liens, passage	(**)	72	4	36	3	2	.....
2503	Bill to limit inmates of prisons employed in manufacturing, etc., passage	(*†)	77	1	34	5	1	.....
2505	Bill to amend law on recording plans of building lots, passage	(*†)	79	1	27	4	2	1

2506	Bill to repeal act on roads in Lawrenceville, passage	(**)	78	1	37	.....	3	.....
2507	Bill on transfer of judgments, passage	(††)	71	11	37	6	1	1
2507	Bill for enrollment of militia (reconsidered), passage	(*†)	84	4	21	15	.....	1
2509	Bill for bonus on charters of corps., to adopt conf. report	*†	94	8	15	44	1	3
2515	Bill to repeal liability of district for children in house of refuge, passage	(*†)	89	1	37	7	2	.....
2516	Res. for amend. to the const. (elections to be by secret ballot) (reconsidered), passage	(††)	63	25	42	6	3	.....
2517	Bill to authorize pledging, etc., liquor licenses, to reconsider	(†*)	40	43	3	52	.....	5

Ohio Senate, 1900.

[Republicans, 20; Democrats, 11; total, 31—Governor, George K. Nash, R.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
4	Election of president pro tem.:					
	Sheppard	**	19	.....	1	.....
	Borein		1	.....	11	.....
4	Election of other senate officers (ten in all) resulted as follows (in each case):					
	Republicans	**	20	.....	.....	.....
	Democrats		.....	.....	11	.....
14	Bill to amend. Rev. Stats., sec. 1284 (salaries of State officers), motion to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now.	(*†)	18	1	9	1
15	Same, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	(*†)	18	1	8	1
15	Same, passage	(*†)	16	1	9	1
53	Res. on printing copies of bill No. 26	(**)	17	1	10	.....
54	Bill to authorize cities of 2d class to issue bonds, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	(*†)	18	1	7	3
59	Res to employ Stivers as addl. page in Sen	(†*)	13	5	10	.....
60	Bill to authorize cities of 1st class, 3d grade, to issue bonds, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now.	*†	18	.....	3	8
64	Res to elect addl. clerk	(†*)	10	7	11	.....
76	Res on addl. senate officers, amend. addl. porters only on request of serg. at arms	††	11	4	5	5
76	Same, adoption of res	(*†)	13	1	7	1
78	Const. rule, motion to dispense with, so that 2 R. of bills be by title	(**)	16	1	8	.....
81	Res to elect addl. porter	(*†)	16	.....	4	3
81	Res. for appt. of Noble as addl. porter, to postpone indefinitely	(††)	16	2	7	1
95	Bill to create a school district, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now	(*†)	17	.....	8	1
95	Same, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	(*†)	18	.....	8	1
95	Same, passage	(*†)	18	.....	9	1
96	Res. to allow stenographer in smoking room	†*	8	10	11	.....

Ohio Senate, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
104	Res. on purchase of St. Clair papers, to make it a special order	*†	17	.....	1	6
123	Res. to publish Howe's Hist. Collections, to agree to conf. report	(†*)	15	3	10	.....
123	Res. on purchase of St. Clair papers	††	14	4	2	8
127	Bill to amend. Rev. Stats., §§ 4691–96 (appeal from laying out of roads), passage	††	4	10	8	1
127	Bill to pay for lands sold to State, passage	(*†)	18	.....	8	1
137	Bill to authorize city of Delaware to issue bridge bonds, motion to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now.	(†*)	15	2	8	.....
145	Bill to amend. Rev. Stats., § 4735 (township trustees to furnish plows and scrapers), passage	(†*)	14	2	8	.....
151	Const. rule, motion to dispense with, so that 2 R. of bills be by title	(**)	18	1	8	.....
174	Local-option bill, motion to refer to com. on judiciary	††	11	6	6	4
179	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 7076b and 7076c (defrauding innkeepers), passage	(**)	15	1	9	.....
179	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 621 (salaries, etc., justices of the peace), passage	(*†)	15	.....	7	1
183	Res. to print joint res. 15	(**)	13	1	10	.....
186	Bill on wages of female employees, passage	†*	3	10	6	.....
187	Bill to abolish contract prison labor, to refer to com. on finance	†*	15	3	.....	10
189	Bill to create board of public service in cities of Class I, to refer to com. with instr. to make board elective.	†*	2	18	11	.....
189	Same, passage	†*	17	2	.....	11
211	Bill to repeal act authorizing a city to issue bonds, passage	*†	18	.....	1	3
219	Res. to petition Congress to improve Miami Canal	(*†)	14	1	9	1
219	Bill to provide certfs. of teachers in cities, passage (not const. maj.)	††	10	4	4	5
225	Bill to create board of pardon advisers, passage	(*†)	15	.....	5	4
231	Bill to provide certfs. of teachers in cities, passage	(†*)	13	2	11	.....
232	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 6857 (horse stealing), passage	(**)	16	.....	10	1
234	Bill to repeal act to authorize a city to issue bonds (see p. 211), to reconsider passage	(**)	15	1	10	.....
234	Same, passage	(†*)	3	12	.....	10
248	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., 4691–96 (appeal from laying out of roads), passage	(†*)	11	3	11	.....
253	Bill regulating work on highways, passage	(††)	6	8	1	8
268	Bill to amend sec. 7246, Rev. Stats. (payment of counsel in cases of felony), passage	††	12	2	5	4
288	Res. appointing engrossing clerk	††	13	3	2	5
300	Bill to amend sec. 620, Rev. Stats. (justice of peace acting as coroner), passage	(*†)	16	.....	7	1
308	Bill on duties of officers of Erie County, passage	(**)	12	1	7	.....
311	Bill to amend act on removal of the dead, passage	(††)	2	10	1	7
316	Bill on improvement of highways, passage	††	12	5	4	3
317	Bill to authorize township trustees to appoint constables, passage	(*†)	13	.....	9	1
319	Joint res. granting right of way to street railroads	(**)	12	1	10	.....
325	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2817 (county auditor to make abstract of land for taxation), passage	††	13	5	1	8
328	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1494 (notice to township officers of need of poor relief), passage	(*†)	15	1	9	1

332	Local-option bill, passage	††	11	9	4	7
339	Bill punishing astrologers, passage	(**)	12	1	10	.....
340	Bill punishing mediums, passage	††	10	6	8	2
340	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 443–2 (salary stenographer circuit court), passage	(*†)	13	.....	3	2
345	Bill for improvement of highways, to reconsider passage	††	6	10	7	3
345	Bill to protect skunks, passage	(†*)	12	4	9	.....
346	Bill to authorize cities to annex territory, passage	(*†)	18	.....	9	1
349	Res. appointing addl. stenographer	††	5	8	3	3
357	Bill to authorize cities to annex territory, to reconsider passage	(*†)	18	.....	5	4
371	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2817 (county auditor to make abstract of land for taxation), passage	(†*)	8	9	.....	8
389	Bill for addl. levy in school districts, passage	(**)	15	1	9	.....
425	Bill to provide board of park comrs., to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	(†*)	9	4	8	.....
425	Same, to postpone bill till to-morrow	(†*)	7	2	8	.....
434	Bill to create office of fire marshal, passage	(†*)	16	2	10	.....
450	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6713 (proceedings on writs of error), passage	(†*)	1	8	.....	2
451	Bill to amend act on weather bureau, passage	(**)	11	1	6	.....
494	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 167 (remission of taxes), passage	(**)	11	1	5	.....
500	Bill for exhibit of products of State at Ohio Exposition, amend. to change title and increase commission from 3 to 9.	†*	15	5	.....	11
500	Same, amend. to reduce approp. from $1,000,000 to $500,000, etc	†*	13	6	.....	11
501	Same, amend. to reduce approp. to $600,000	†*	13	7	.....	9
501	Same, amend. $700,000, etc	††	16	4	1	9
502	Same, amend. commission to be 11 instead of 3	†*	18	2	.....	11
502	Same, passage	†*	18	2	.....	11
503	Bill on conduct of primary elections, amend. to insert in cities Class I, grades 1 and 2	(†*)	4	9	.....	9
503	Same, passage	(†*)	15	2	9	.....
508	Bill to create board of park commissioners, passage	**	16	1	.....	4
511	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1718b (assessors in cities), passage	(**)	11	1	5	.....
511	Bill to allow pros. atty. of Cuyahoga County a clerk, passage	(**)	12	1	6	.....
515	Bill to authorize board of educ. of Batesville to issue bonds, passage	(**)	10	1	6	.....
523	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2122 (local boards of health), passage	(†*)	9	4	7	.....
540	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 218–225, etc. (canal lands not needed for actual use), passage	(**)	12	1	7	.....
541	Res. on adj. of assembly, to postpone	††	7	12	5	4
541	Same, to concur in house amends	††	12	6	4	5
544	New sec. Rev. Stats., 584–1 (jurisdiction of justices of peace), passage	†*	12	5	4	.....
546	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., 6986 (employment of children, etc.), passage	††	9	6	1	2
550	Finance bill with amends., passage	(**)	18	1	6	.....
552	Same (reconsidered and referred to select com.), to reconsider vote to refer	†*	14	4	.....	9
569	Bill to authorize township trustees to issue bonds, etc., to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now	(**)	14	1	10	.....
572	Bill fixing salaries, etc., of county officers of Fayette County, passage	(**)	14	1	10	.....
586	Bill to amend sec. 6968–1 of Rev. Stats. (use of nets or seines in waters of State), to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now.	(*†)	15	.....	9	1
588	Bill to create teachers' pension fund, to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	(**)	13	1	9	.....
590	Bill to supplement sec. 6986 of Rev. Stats. (forbidding employment of minosr, etc.), passage	(†*)	15	.....	9	1
607	Bill to amend sec. 2680 of Rev. Stats. (approp. of certain fines in police court to use of libraries), passage	(††)	9	.....	7	1

Ohio Senate, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
628	Bill to revise stats. of Ohio relating to municipal corps., amend. same territory not to be assessed for making two different streets within five years, above maximum provided.	(†*)	8	10	.....	10
628	Same, motion to adj	†*	10	7	.....	10
629	Same, passage	††	7	10	9	1
644	Appointment of Wright as member of State board of veterinary examiners	**	1	10	6	.....
644	Appointment of Brice as trustee of Miami Univ	**	.....	13	7	.....
644	Appointment of Powell as trustee of Toledo State Hospital	**	1	11	7	.....
644	Appointment of Hankey as trustee of Institution for Blind	**	.....	10	7	.....
645	Appointment of Stamat as trustee of Girls' Industrial Home	**	.....	9	7	.....
645	Bill to revise stats. of Ohio relating to municipal corps, to reconsider, passage	*†	16	.....	1	1
647	Bill to promote public health by prohibiting adulteration of certain food products, to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now.	(*†)	16	1	6	2
657	Bill to amend sec. 4364-15, Rev. Stats. (collection of tax on liquor business), passage	(*†)	11	1	9	1
673	Bill to supplement sec. 2669 of Rev. Stats. (general licensing powers of city councils), passage	††	3	8	4	4
673	Bill to prohibit the manufacture, etc., of cigarettes, passage	(†*)	6	4	8	.....
673	Bill to correct Rev. Stats., Title I, part 3 (procedure in courts), to refer to select com	(†*)	2	8	.....	10
674	Bill to prohibit insurance on life of person under 12 years old, passage	(**)	1	15	.....	9
676	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 2670, so as to give cities of 2 class, 3d grade, power to license owners of dogs, bicycles, etc.	(†*)	3	4	.....	5
677	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, passage	(*†)	11	.....	6	1
681	Bill authorizing auditor of State to issue a duplicate warrant on State treasury, passage	(**)	10	1	9	.....
687	Bill for boards of review in cities of grade 2, Class I, to reconsider amends	††	6	7	7	1
687	Same, to postpone	††	6	6	9	1
689	Bill to supplement act on board of park comrs., etc., to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now	*†	11	1	1	4
708	Motion to allow each senator to submit report on one local bill only in calling for reports from committees.	(†*)	8	4	7	.....
709	Motion to dispense with regular order and consider reports on local bills	†*	7	8	7	.....
714	Joint res. ordering printing of sen. bill No. 89 (to amend stats. relating to municipal corps), to dispense with further action under call of sen.	††	9	5	1	8
714	Same, adoption of res	††	4	9	8	2
715	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 1546-1552 (classification of municipal corps.), to refer to select com	††	4	9	1	9
716	Bill to authorize certain villages to borrow money, to dispense with const. rule and take 3 R. now	**	10	1	.....	7
717	Bill to provide for construction of sewers in cities of grade 1, passage	(†*)	10	5	10	.....
719	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2926b (board of elections), passage	*†	13	.....	4	5
720	Bill to forbid adulteration of food products, to dispense with const. rule and take 2 R. now	(**)	15	1	8	.....
729	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6968-1 (use of nets or seines in waters of State), passage	††	11	2	2	7
738	Bill for exhibit of products of State, to agree to report of conf. com	**	14	1	.....	11
738	Same, motion to lay on table	†*	9	7	1	10

739	Same, motion to insist on former amends	(†*)	10	5	11	.....
744	Deficiency approp. bill, to go into com. of whole	††	4	9	4	1
753	Adjournment till Monday	(†*)	2	13	.....	8
757	Bill on boards of review in cities, to reconsider passage	††	8	8	2	6
772	Bill to amend act to abandon Hocking Canal, passage	(*†)	13	.....	4	1
773	Res. to appoint centennial commission	**	16	.....	.....	10
773	Bill to regulate practice of osteopathy, to relieve com. from further consideration of	††	12	2	3	3
781	Same, to suspend rule and take 3 R. now	(††)	9	3	6	3
782	Adjournment till Monday	(†*)	2	10	.....	7
787	Bill to prevent sale of liquor near Scio College, to take from com. on judiciary	(††)	4	1	2	1
791	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6961 (game law), to amend dates of closed season	(†*)	12	3	9	.....
792	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6966 (police jur. on game law), passage	(†*)	7	1	8	.....
795	Same, to reconsider passage	(*†)	12	1	8	1
795	Motion to adj	(††)	10	4	6	3
795	Res. to publish Manual of Leg. Practice	(**)	18	1	10	.....
808	Bill to authorize board of health to regulate sale of ice, 3 R	(*†)	17	.....	5	3
812	Bill to create board of claims, passage	(†*)	3	7	.....	8

Ohio House of Representatives, 1900.

[Republicans, 65; Democrats, 45; total, 110.]

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
5	Election of speaker:					
	Reynolds	**	64	.....	1	.....
	Swain		2	.....	41	.....
6	Election of speaker pro tem.:					
	Snyder	**	63	.....	1	.....
	Goard		1	.....	42	.....
7	Election of clerk:					
	McElroy	**	65	.....	.....	.....
	Taylor		.....	.....	43	.....
8	Election of journal clerk:					
	Thomas	**	65	.....	.....	.....
	Huffnagle		.....	.....	43	.....
8	Election of message clerk:					
	Dutton	**	65	.....	.....	.....
	Rentz		.....	.....	43	.....

Ohio House of Representatives, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
8	Election of engrossing clerk:					
	Jones	**	64			
	Albers				42	
9	Election of enrolling clerk:					
	Jackson	**	65			
	Negley				43	
10	Election for recording clerk:					
	Scott	**	65			
	Sohn				43	
10	Election for sergeant-at-arms:					
	Jackson	**	65			
	Mahaffey				43	
11	Election of 1st asst. sergeant-at-arms:					
	Steinkamp	**	65			
	Gagau				43	
12	Election of 2d asst. sergeant-at-arms:					
	Yarnell	**	65			
	Frauty				43	
23	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1284 (salaries of State officers), to suspend const. rule and take 2 R. by title now	(†*)	12	38		35
25	Res. for appointment of addl. stenographers	(*†)	52	2	31	4
27	Res. adj. till Jan. 8, to suspend rules and consider res	(*†)	50	1	26	4
27	Same, adoption of res	(**)	46		29	2
34	Res. to print 500 copies of H. bill 26	(**)	44	2	37	2
35	Res. to print 500 copies of H. bill 5	(**)	45		30	3
36	Bill to empower city of Lorain to transfer lands, to suspend const. rule and take 3 R. now	(*†)	54		21	5
38	Res. to appt. auditing clerk, to suspend rules and consider	(††)	42	11	21	14
43	Res. to appoint porters of house	(**)	55		38	1
44	Res. to allow 10 days' pay to old officers of house	(**)	53	4	45	
44	Bill to authorize certain cities to issue bonds, passage	(**)	55		41	1
47	Bill to make sundry appropriations, passage	(†*)	41	18	37	3
47	Res. expressing sympathy for Boers, to postpone indefinitely	**	63			43
49	Res. adj. till Monday	(††)	35	28	34	5
57	Howe's Hist. Collections, res. to distribute certain copies	(**)	52		33	1
58	Same, to publish an edition	(†*)	41	5	38	2
59	Joint res. to print 2,000 copies of roster, sen. amend. 4,000 copies	(††)	43	10	29	5
72	Bill to authorize trustees of Falls Township to transfer funds, passage	(**)	52	1	35	
74	Bill to authorize certain cities to require conductors on cars, to recommit	(††)	11	50	5	29

75	Res. to print copies of S. bill 36	(**)	43	1	30	.....
77	Bill to authorize judges-elect to practice law, passage	†*	34	20	2	33
83	Res. for telephone connection between engineer and smoking room	(**)	53	.....	21	1
93	Amend. to State const. for popular initiative, to refer to com. on judiciary	**	58	1	.....	40
106	Bill to amend act on removal of dead, passage	(†*)	41	6	38	.....
107	Res. on violation of anti-trust act, to reconsider reference to com. on judiciary	*†	.....	62	28	14
109	Bill to authorize certain suits against State, passage	(††)	22	30	4	31
109	Bill to amend act requiring railroads to have automatic couplers, passage	(*†)	50	5	16	8
110	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3181 (legal rate of interest), passage	(††)	41	16	24	8
111	Res. to print 1,000 copies of schedule of com. meetings	(*†)	48	.....	26	3
112	Bill on wages of women employees, passage	(†*)	26	22	32	1
143	Res. on abandonment of State canals	(††)	13	43	10	30
145	Bill to license engineers of steam boilers of more than 20 horsepower, to refer to com. of one to amend (35 horsepower).	††	30	15	17	19
145	Same, passage	††	41	19	19	22
146	Bill to protect skunks, passage	(*†)	49	2	28	6
147	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4427 (liability of innkeepers), passage	(**)	49	5	35	.....
148	Bill to repeal an act for licenses on trades in certain cities, passage	(**)	50	1	30	.....
150	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4733, on construction of sidewalks in townships, passage	(**)	45	.....	28	3
150	Bill on duties of county officers in Erie County, passage	(**)	49	.....	34	1
151	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 7076b and 7076c (obtaining property by false pretenses), passage	(**)	49	6	36	.....
152	Res. to publish Howe's Hist. Collections, to agree to conf. report	(**)	54	1	33	.....
153	Bill for addl. judge of common pleas, passage	(**)	54	.....	35	1
163	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 620 (justice of peace to act as coroner), passage	(††)	40	14	19	17
173	Bill to empower county comrs. to preserve hist. data, passage	(**)	44	2	23	1
174	Bill to provide for purchase of paper for State, passage	(†*)	23	28	.....	26
182	Res. to summon State oil inspectors before com	†*	7	34	34	.....
187	Bill to punish desecration of flag, passage	(††)	40	9	31	5
190	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1284 (salaries of State officers), amend. to change $500 to $600	(††)	30	29	5	37
190	Same, passage	††	39	21	8	34
191	Bill to forbid payment of wages except in money, passage	††	36	22	27	8
198	Local-option bill, prev. ques. on reference to Jud. Com	(†*)	36	23	38	2
198	Same to refer to Jud. Com	††	20	43	29	13
198	Same, passage	††	46	12	13	28
203	Bill to provide State normal schools, passage (failed to receive maj. of whole house)	(††)	32	27	20	17
207	Res. adj. of general assembly	(†*)	34	12	34	1
207	Bill to abolish contract prison labor, passage	†*	28	30	40	3
220	Bill to provide State normal schools, to reconsider vote on passage	(††)	29	26	20	13
238	Res. to purchase St. Clair papers	(**)	1	41	.....	37
240	Res. to investigate certain corps, chair ruled consideration out of order, to sustain ruling	*†	47	.....	7	10
241	Bill to extend jur. of probate courts, passage	(†*)	32	7	33	2
241	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 5107 (affidavit in pleading), passage	(**)	36	2	27	1
243	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4215 (damages to sheep by dogs), passage	(**)	34	3	27	1
256	Res. adj. of general assembly	(††)	32	18	17	10
260	Bill to provide for guarding machinery, passage	(**)	37	2	29	.....
260	Bill to empower Tuscarawas Township to construct buildings, passage	(**)	41	3	31	.....

Ohio House of Representatives, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
264	Bill on sale of municipal property, passage	(†*)	27	15	37	.....
265	Bill to detach territory from Perry Township, passage	(**)	42	.....	31	1
281	Res. to print copies of Sen. Bill 89	(**)	43	.....	31	1
282	Bill to authorize Mercer County to rebuild buildings destroyed by fire, passage	(**)	39	.....	31	1
283	Bill to require pop. vote for street railway franchises, to postpone indefinitely	††	32	25	10	24
287	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2795 (pay of assessors), passage	(**)	42	1	28	.....
289	Bill on division of funds of school districts, passage	(**)	48	.....	20	1
300	Bill on pay of assessors in Franklin County, passage	(*†)	48	5	28	4
306	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 633–15 (board of county visitors), passage	(†*)	33	10	30	1
307	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4735 (township trustees to furnish plows for roads), passage	††	19	32	30	5
310	Amend. of State const., submitting woman suffrage to popular vote, passage	(††)	32	26	22	21
312	Bill to appoint com. on fees of county officials, passage	(*†)	51	3	24	9
337	Bill to create boards of public service in cities of Class I, amend. boards to be chosen in 1900 (instead of next municipal election).	†*	34	28	.....	45
337	Same, amend. boards to be appointed by governor till next municipal election	(†*)	31	32	.....	44
338	Same, amend. boards not to be appointed at all, and powers to be lodged with mayor instead of governor.	**	60	2	1	39
338	Same, passage	**	60	3	.....	45
356	Bill for prisons in townships, passage	(††)	15	24	8	29
357	Bill to require county surveyors to keep plats of land, passage	††	36	14	11	16
360	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3634 (fire insurance companies), passage	††	24	18	7	16
362	Bill to empower boards of health to regulate sales of ice, passage	(**)	47	2	28	1
364	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 917 (county comrs. to report to court), passage	(††)	13	31	4	22
367	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1284 (salaries of State officers), passage	(††)	46	10	21	11
368	Bill to preserve papers in probate courts, passage	(**)	42	2	25	.....
368	Bill to amend act on weather bureau, passage	(*†)	47	3	27	6
369	Bill to compel nurserymen to deliver true goods, passage	(**)	45	2	31	.....
370	Bill for relief of former landowners in Virginia mil. dist., passage	††	41	13	15	17
370	Bill to require county surveyors to keep plats of land (failed of const. maj. and reconsidered), passage	††	37	15	17	18
371	Bill for special school district in Walhonding, passage	(**)	48	.....	33	1
372	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4029–31 (equivalent of attendance on day school), passage	(**)	44	1	26	1
376	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 957 (infirmary director), passage	††	9	35	12	12
394	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4889 (certain townships made road districts), passage	(**)	43	.....	32	1
397	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1533 (supervisors' fees), passage	(†*)	28	12	30	2
399	Bill for levy in school districts, passage	(**)	48	.....	32	1
402	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2795 (pay of assessors in Hamilton County), passage	(†*)	19	16	37	2
406	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 5573 (granting of injunctions), passage	(*†)	41	.....	23	4
442	Res. on weekly adjournment	(††)	30	27	22	12

460	Bill to repeal secs. 123–132 of Rev. Stats. enacted April 8, 1896, passage	††	24	36	27	12
462	Bill on practice of medicine, amend. bill not to prevent osteopathy	††	11	34	16	14
463	Same, passage	(††)	45	12	24	16
464	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3365–22 (defining "fellow-servant" on railroad), passage	††	13	31	24	10
466	Res. for comrs. to Paris Exposition	(**)	49	1	36	.....
467	Bill for exhibit of products of State of Ohio, to adopt report of com	††	33	28	18	27
467	Same, passage	(††)	32	24	28	16
474	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 2669 (licenses of shows, etc.), passage	(**)	41	1	36	.....
477	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 5134 (order in which cases to be tried), passage	(**)	28	2	32	.....
478	Bill to limit hours of public work, amend. to omit local authorities	(††)	18	25	9	23
478	Same, passage	(††)	32	17	26	6
479	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3365–22 (to define fellow-servant on railroads), passage	(††)	27	13	22	10
480	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., 4405 (who may retail drugs), passage	(**)	42	1	25	.....
483	Bills to regulate trusts, to refer to special com	††	39	9	15	20
484	Bill authorizing University of Cincinnati to convey property, passage	(**)	37	1	23	.....
485	Bill to increase salary of township trustees of Madison, passage	(**)	31	.....	28	1
488	Res. for special com. on anti-trust bills, to reconsider	††	19	33	28	5
488	Same, to postpone further consideration of res	††	23	22	5	24
502	Bill on duties of certain county officers, passage	(**)	39	3	32	.....
505	Bill giving villages power to license vehicles, etc., passage	††	33	11	10	26
505	Bill to amend act on burial of soldiers, passage	(††)	16	21	9	25
506	Bill for sale of canal at Massillon, passage	(**)	49	.....	29	1
507	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2818 (State board of equalization), passage	*†	47	5	17	22
509	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 16, 594, and 613 (docket, etc., of justice of peace), passage	(†*)	43	5	27	2
534	Bill on board of park comrs., passage	(**)	38	2	35	1
549	Bill to require pop. vote on street railway franchises, passage	††	13	42	23	13
559	Bill to regulate trusts, passage (failed of const. maj.)	††	15	42	33	5
560	Same, to reconsider	††	11	47	32	9
560	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4413 (secondhand stores), passage	††	14	13	5	16
560	Approp. bill for buildings of Ohio State Univ., passage	(**)	47	.....	21	2
561	Amend. to State const. for pop. initiative, to agree to report of com	**	46	3	.....	33
569	Bill to authorize cities to license stationary engineers, to refer to com. on labor	(††)	20	28	15	21
571	Bill to provide for cleaning ditches, passage	(††)	30	8	26	6
576	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 7435 (township trustees to furnish plows for roads), passage	(†*)	40	10	29	2
577	Bill to authorize trustees of univ. to refund certfs. of debt, passage	(**)	51	.....	30	1
577	Bill for relief of Priscilla Tibbetts, passage	(**)	48	.....	30	1
577	Bill for relief of J. H. Karshner, passage	(**)	46	.....	32	1
577	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 4413 (secondhand stores), passage	(††)	40	6	20	9
578	Approp. bill for Westbrook Still, passage	(**)	47	2	35	.....
578	Bill for relief of Jane Sleffell, passage	(**)	45	.....	30	2
579	Bill for improvement of roads, passage	(†*)	31	7	32	1
588	Bill for life certfs. of city teachers, passage	(**)	36	1	25	2
592	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2468 (officers and salaries in Cleveland), passage	(**)	43	1	28	.....
594	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3697 (agric. society Cuyahoga County), passage	(††)	34	6	24	4
659	Bill to amend govt. of cities having population of 12,122, to reconsider vote on passage	††	28	14	13	17

Ohio House of Representatives, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
609	Bill to amend secs. 4364–69 Rev. Stats. (tax on liquor business), to reconsider vote relieving com. on taxation from consideration of).	(†*)	25	23	33	.....
611	Bill to create State board of elections, passage	(††)	6	31	9	17
612	Bill to repeal act of 1896 on conduct of elections, passage	**	3	50	38	.....
614	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6968 (seining fish), passage	(**)	40	1	21	1
616	Bill to amend act of Apr. 12, 1898 (building of district roads), passage	(††)	23	13	27	3
622	Res. for payment of certain bills	(**)	41	2	32	.....
626	Bill to authorize cities to construct viaducts, passage	(**)	40	1	21	2
628	Bill to provide stenographer for county of Monroe, passage	(**)	39	1	26	.....
628	Bill for relief of E. O. Bathgate, passage	(**)	37	1	25	.....
629	Bill to provide depository for local school districts, passage	††	30	16	6	28
631	Bill to provide State normal schools, passage	(††)	27	25	23	12
632	Bill to authorize township trustees to improve roads, passage	(††)	36	17	28	5
632	Res. extending time for approp. at Newark	††	12	32	19	5
633	Res. on adj. of general assembly	(††)	33	19	25	4
633	Bill to provide against spread of contagious diseases by barbers, passage	(††)	26	14	21	11
634	To amend. Rev. Stats., sec. 3634 (fire insurance companies), passage	(*†)	42	1	15	11
635	Bill to provide funds for Ohio agric. experiment station, passage	††	8	27	13	10
661	Bill to authorize cities to license stationary engineers, to refer to com. on judiciary	††	18	18	6	16
670	Bill to create pension fund for city teachers, passage	(††)	48	6	25	11
670	Bill to create board of pardon advisers, passage	††	35	4	3	19
673	Res. on adj. of general assembly	(††)	29	7	13	8
673	Bill to prevent spread of San Jose scale, passage	(*†)	48	.....	27	3
674	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1529 (township officer's records), passage	(†*)	32	5	27	2
675	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4730 (destruction of briers, etc., on highways), passage	(**)	40	1	27	.....
677	Res. adj. general assembly	(†*)	34	9	25	2
681	Bill to improve fair grounds for use of agric. assocs., passage	(**)	34	2	25	.....
683	Bill to fix duties, etc., of officers in Delaware County, passage	(**)	37	.....	25	1
684	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3886 (cities of first class to be school districts), passage	(**)	38	.....	27	1
700	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3821d (savings assocs.), passage	(†*)	33	5	23	.....
715	Bill on industrial dept. of Wilberforce Univ., passage	(*†)	42	.....	17	7
718	Bill on improvement of public roads, passage	(**)	35	1	28	.....
718	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6961 (game law), passage	(**)	40	.....	36	2
720	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2813 (county board of equalization), passage	(†*)	30	5	34	1
721	Bill on schools for the deaf, passage	(*†)	42	4	17	7
722	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 2754–55 and 2833 (dog licenses), passage	(††)	13	21	4	26
723	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4364–15 (liquor taxes), amend to strike out "wholesale dealers"	†*	27	17	3	33

723	Same, passage	(††)	26	24	34	4
725	Res. petitioning Congress to improve Miami Canal	(**)	37	1	22	.....
725	Amend. to State const. striking out detailed provisions on taxation and substituting provision that local taxes shall be raised as provided by majority of electors, passage.	*†	3	43	26	6
729	Bill to Supp. Rev. Stats., sec. 1545–24 (removal of officers), passage	(**)	31	1	26	.....
730	Bill to allow cities to annex territory, passage	(**)	36	2	28	1
740	Bill to amend act for board of park comrs., sen. amend. on appt. of comrs	(*†)	42	.....	28	4
747	Bill for exhibit of products of State, sen. amend. (11 comrs. and reducing approps.)	†*	45	10	.....	39
748	Bill to repeal Rev. Stats., sec. 1491a (relief of blind), passage	(*†)	37	2	17	10
748	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2926t (salaries, board of elections), passage	(**)	33	1	27	.....
749	Res. for election of U. S. Senators by popular vote, to refer to com. on federal relations	†*	39	5	.....	39
749	Same, adoption	†*	14	25	39	.....
750	Res. to authorize a suit against State	(††)	31	12	16	9
750	Res. to authorize a suit against trustees of feeble-minded youth	(††)	16	20	11	15
751	Res. on printing catalogue of law library	(*†)	44	2	20	10
793	Gen. approp. bill, to make it a special order	(*†)	43	4	13	10
795	Bill to authorize certain townships to improve roads, passage	(**)	41	1	32	.....
802	Bill to amend Rev Stats., secs. 2759, 2762, 2765 (listing personal property for taxation), passage	(**)	37	2	25	2
803	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2732–3 (exempting certain societies from taxation), passage	(**)	37	2	30	1
803	Bill for relief of G. Van Atta, passage	(**)	46	1	30	1
804	Bill for relief of Mrs. Landerbaugh, passage	(**)	49	.....	34	1
805	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 563 (disbarment), passage	(**)	30	2	27	1
805	Bill on duties of official stenographers, passage	(†*)	30	8	27	1
806	Bill to create county judicial funds, passage	(**)	32	1	30	.....
808	Bill to investigate convict labor, to concur in senate substitute	(**)	42	2	34	1
814	Bill for official stenographer for county of Ottawa, to concur in senate amend	(**)	35	1	33	.....
816	Bill for exhibit of products of State, passage	(†*)	18	17	38	.....
819	Bill to amend govt. of cities having pop. of 12,122, passage	††	26	10	9	14
820	Bill to create board of licensers of plumbers, passage	(**)	42	3	28	2
825	Bill to fix salaries of mayors of Ashtabula, etc., passage	†*	4	30	26	.....
830	Bill to license trades in cities, passage	(**)	37	.....	28	1
834	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4013 (non-resident pupils in public school districts), passage	(**)	43	.....	23	1
834	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 1277 (pros. atty. to restrain misapplication of public moneys), passage	(**)	35	1	28	.....
835	Bill on making Licking Reservoir a public park, passage	††	14	25	26	6
835	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3337–18 (height of bridges over railroad), passage	(**)	40	1	30	.....
839	Bill to revise game laws, passage	††	21	19	9	24
870	Bill for board of review in cities, senate amend. appt. to be by probate judge	††	26	16	4	22
878	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 1292 (salaries judges, court of common pleas, Cuyahoga), passage	(**)	40	1	36	.....
880	Bill to pension policemen in cities, passage	(**)	43	1	38	.....
883	Bill to supplement act on sale of liquor near Scio College, passage	††	38	1	21	2
894	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3437–3440 (street railroads), to postpone indefinitely	(*†)	14	29	22	5
901	Bill for comrs. on building at Pan Amer. Exposition, passage	(**)	48	2	28	4
901	Bill to create board of claims, passage	††	37	1	25	1
906	Bill to prevent liquor selling on Memorial Day, to postpone indefinitely	(*†)	6	27	15	10
906	Same, passage	(†*)	44	1	14	3
910	Bill to authorize voting machines, passage		28	10	29	1

Ohio House of Representatives, 1900—Continued.

Page of Journal.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
915	Bill to regulate practice of osteopathy, passage	(**)	35	2	26	1
918	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 664 (pay of employees Deaf and Dumb Asylum), passage	(**)	48	1	36	.....
921	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 3107-3115 (rights of husband and wife), passage	(**)	35	.....	31	1
923	Bill to repeal act authorizing cities to issue bonds to anticipate improvement assessments, passage	(**)	33	1	29	.....
935	Bill to require in the schools teaching of effect of alcohol, passage	(**)	51	.....	27	2
941	Bill to Supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 2735 (place where personal property to be listed for taxation), to concur in sen. amends.	(†*)	6	32	.....	32
943	Bill to amend act to improve public highways, passage	(†*)	31	16	29	2
945	Bill to protect persons dealing with investment companies, passage	(**)	46	1	31	1
952	Bill to empower cities to regulate boilers, etc., passage. (Names of noes not recorded; there were 4 of them).	[a](**)	40	.....	27	.....
954	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2926 (election precincts), passage	(**)	40	.....	28	1
955	Bill to require certain corps. to file annual returns, amend. carriers with power of eminent domain to pay to State excess above 8 per cent profits.	**	1	58	34	2
956	Same, passage	*†	60	.....	4	27
957	Bill to amend game law, passage	(††)	31	7	26	4
957	Bill to amend liquor law, passage	(**)	44	.....	25	1
957	Bill to Supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 2824 (levy of taxes for roads and bridges), passage	(*†)	50	5	19	6
959	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 5302 (exceptions in trials), passage	(**)	36	.....	24	1
960	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 148c (fees of sec. of state), passage	(**)	43	1	24	1
961	Bill to exhibit products of State, to agree to conf. report	†*	50	9	.....	39
962	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, sen. amend. (act not to apply to osteopathy)	(**)	45	.....	27	1
964	Bill on duties of officers of Lucas County, passage	(††)	36	6	20	5
965	Bill for relief of W. W. Robinson, passage	(**)	31	3	23	1
966	Res. to pay for a picture of members of assembly	(**)	51	.....	31	2
968	Bill to create office of State fire marshal, passage	(*†)	46	1	12	9
968	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 5094 (defenses in suits for libel), passage	(†*)	33	4	26	.....
969	Bill for State board of arbitration, passage	(†*)	29	11	24	.....
969	Bill to revise laws of trust companies, passage	††	30	7	9	13
972	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2920t (salaries of election comrs.), sen. amend. changing salaries	(**)	38	1	20	.....
976	Bill for sale of canal lands in Dayton, passage	(††)	12	22	10	14
976	Bill to make sundry approps., passage	(**)	52	.....	30	1
978	Bill for abandonment of Hocking Canal, passage	(††)	33	22	24	11
983	Bill to construe acts on salaries of county officers, passage	(*†)	50	2	25	3
984	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3376 (penalties on railroads for unlawful freight charges), passage	(**)	37	3	25	1
985	Bill for relief of W. W. Robinson, passage	(**)	52	1	36	.....
987	General approp. bill, sen. amends., increasing certain approps	(**)	52	1	29	3

989	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4155-3 (vendor in conditional sales), passage	††	28	11	11	17
991	Bill for low water alarm on steam boilers, passage	(**)	43	.....	31	1
992	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2485 (gas companies not to have monopoly), passage	(**)	40	2	27	1
996	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6161 (private sales by executors), passage	(**)	39	1	31	1
998	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3080 (payments to militia), passage	(**)	47	.....	29	1
998	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 3605 (deposits by life insurance companies), passage	(††)	12	24	11	16
999	Bill for giving commissions to teachers of military drill, passage	††	24	11	11	16
999	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 6501 (garnishment proceedings), passage	(*†)	37	2	22	9
999	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2409 (salaries of trustees of waterworks), passage	(††)	27	6	19	11
1000	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 218-225 (power to lease unused canal lands), passage	*†	41	1	11	15
1002	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 4017 (powers of boards of education), passage	(*†)	37	2	23	4
1004	Bill to pay expenses of 5th regiment, passage	(**)	40	2	37	1
1008	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2926t (salaries of election commission), sen. amend. changing salaries	(††)	14	22	7	16
1012	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 3751 (boards of trustees of colleges), passage	(**)	34	1	30	.....
1013	Bill to supplement Rev. Stats., sec. 2723 (payment of interest on sinking fund), passage	(**)	34	1	27	1
1013	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2804 (county boards of equalization), passage	(**)	31	.....	30	2
1015	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., sec. 2745a (insurance policies not to be placed by agency outside the State), passage.	(**)	40	1	21	.....
1016	Bill to punish astrologers, passage	(**)	34	3	23	2
1022	Bill to amend Rev. Stats., secs. 218-225, etc. (power to lease unused canal lands), passage	(**)	36	3	31	3
1023	Bill to amend liquor law, to reconsider passage	(††)	6	34	18	10
1025	Bill to print Taylor's "Statesmen," passage	(**)	46	2	33	2
1035	Res. on Ohio Exposition, to suspend rules and consider	(*†)	3	48	4	35

[a] Page 953. Nays, 4. Names not given in journal.

Illinois Senate, 1899.

[Republicans, 34; Democrats, 16; Peoples, 1; total, 51—Governor, John R. Tanner, R.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		People's.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
3	Elect. of prest., pro tem.:							
	Warder	**	26	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
	Mahoney	**	1	.....	15	.....	1	.....
4	Res. that certain Republicans be officers of sen., amend. to substitute Dem. list of names.	**	.....	33	16	.....	1	.....
64	Res. naming standing committees, amend. to change Dems. named for others	*†	.....	27	10	3	1	.....
64	Same, adoption of res	*†	27	.....	3	10	.....	1
69	Res. for detailed statement of expenditures by State institutions, to suspend rules and consider.	**	28	.....	.....	12	.....	1

Illinois Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		People's.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
92	Bill to amend law on warehousing of grain, etc., to lay on table reconsideration of reference to com. on warehouses.	††	26	3	5	7	.....	.....
140	Bill for bounty on crows killed, passage	(*†)	28	3	10	2	.....	.....
152	Bill to amend law on attorneys at law, passage	(**)	32	1	14	1	1	.....
153	Approp. bill to pay awards of commission of claims, passage	(*†)	29	.....	4	2	.....	.....
154	Bill to amend law of justices of the peace, passage	(*†)	31	.....	7	4	1	.....
154	Bill to amend law of conveyances, passage	(†*)	13	9	14	.....	1	.....
162	Bill to amend law on dept. of agric., passage	(*†)	23	2	4	2	.....	.....
162	Bill to regulate building of bridges, passage	(*†)	24	.....	5	1	.....	.....
163	Approp. bill for expenses of gen. assembly, etc., passage	(*†)	28	.....	6	2	.....	.....
163	Bill to prevent danger from steam engines on highways, passage	(†*)	25	3	6	.....	.....	.....
172	Bill to amend law on local improvements, to reconsider	(**)	28	1	9	.....	.....	.....
206	Bill for statue to Miss Willard, passage	(**)	25	1	10	.....	.....	.....
212	Bill to repeal act to empower towns to protect themselves from inundation, passage	(**)	22	1	11	.....	.....	.....
215	Bill on the conveyance of burial lots in cemeteries, passage	(**)	27	.....	11	1	1	.....
215	Bill to regulate the profession of public accountants, passage	†*	12	10	1	12	.....	1
230	Bill on organization of districts where cattle may run at large, passage	††	3	19	9	5	.....	.....
243	Bill to amend law on fencing railroads, passage	††	25	5	8	3	1	.....
244	Bill to amend act on local improvements, passage	*†	29	.....	5	6	.....	1
244	Bill on telephones, to take from com. and place on calendar, to lay this on table	(*†)	29	1	8	6	.....	1
245	Bill to amend laws for assessment of property, passage	(**)	30	.....	11	1	.....	.....
246	Res. for taxing gross receipts of R. Rs., etc., to lay on table	*†	25	.....	1	8	.....	1
246	Bill on camping on public highways, passage	††	25	4	8	4	1	.....
271	Bill for truant schools, passage	(*†)	22	.....	7	2	.....	.....
272	Bill on river landings, passage	††	8	11	9	2	.....	.....
272	Bill to amend law on counties, passage	(**)	26	1	11	.....	1	.....
274	Bill to amend law on Ill. and Mich. Canal, passage	*†	29	.....	4	6	1	.....
274	Bill to amend law of admr. of estates, passage	(**)	24	1	11	.....	1	.....
284	Bill on authority of county judges to perform each others' duties, passage	(*†)	27	.....	5	3	.....	.....
284	Bill to amend law of weights and measures, passage	(**)	24	2	12	1	.....	.....
286	Bill to amend law of mortgages, to lay on table amend. on acknowledgments	(††)	13	14	3	10	.....	.....
289	Bill to amend law of coroners, passage	††	9	11	11	2	.....	.....
299	Bill to amend law of mortgages, passage	(*†)	27	1	9	1	1	.....
301	Bill to amend the criminal law, passage	(††)	10	14	1	3	.....	.....
303	Bill on salaries, etc., of State attorneys in counties	(*†)	2	23	1	6	.....	.....
305	Bill on time of holding circuit courts in counties, passage	(**)	27	1	6	.....	.....	.....
314	Bill for free public libraries, passage	(**)	25	1	8	.....	.....	.....
314	Bill on manufactures of gold and silver, passage	(**)	27	1	8	.....	1	.....

316	Bill for stenographers for appellate courts, passage	(*†)	26		4	2		
329	Appropriation bill for Univ. of Ill., amend. officers to render itemized accounts	†*	26	5	1	11		1
331	Bill on licensing dramshops, passage	††	13	11	2	2		
341	Bill on fees, etc., of public officials, passage	(††)	25	5	4	1		
344	Bill to protect trade rights in cans, etc., to suspend rules and take up	(††)	14	16	4	8		1
	Same, to make bill a special order	(††)	19	13	7	5	1	
347	Approp. bill for Ill. Dairymen's Assoc., passage	(*†)	29		9	1		
348	Approp. bill for Ill. Live Stock Breeders Assoc., passage	(**)	28		10	1		1
349	Approp. bill for monuments at Chickamauga, etc., passage	(**)	24	1	5			1
349	Approp. bill for Ill. and Mich. Canal, passage	*†	27		2	6		1
353	Bill on licensing dramshops, to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	(*†)	23	1	5	2		
	Same, passage	(*†)	23		6	2		1
356	Bill to amend sec. 5 of the corporation act (restrictions as to real estate), passage	(**)	26	1	4			
358	Bill to protect trade rights in cans, etc., to make it special order	††	14	15	6	2		
359	Res. for publication of accounts of State char. institutions, to lay on table instr. to com. to report by Mar. 28.	†*	24	7		13		1
359	Bill to allow R. R. cos. to have lien for use of cars, passage	††	25	4	2	7		1
365	Bill to amend act creating ins. dept., passage	(*†)	27		7	1		
366	Bill to authorize transfer of R. Rs. to foreign corps., passage	(*†)	26	2	7	3		1
336	Bill for care of neglected, etc., children, passage	(**)	27		5	1		
370	Bill for propagation of game, to lay on table amend. striking out enacting clause	*†	18	1	4	5		1
371	Bill on redemption, etc., of land from tax sales, passage	*†	26		4	5		1
381	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, passage	*†	26		1	5		1
389	Bill for consolidation of townships, passage	**	26	2		2		
389	Bill on practice of dentistry, passage	(*†)	23		4	2		
401	Bill for teaching agric. science in schools, passage	*†	24	1	2	9		1
401	Bill on propagation of game, to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	(*†)	25	1	4	3		1
402	Bill on Ill. Poultry Assoc., passage	(**)	24		7	1	1	
403	Approp. bill for State reformatory, passage	(*†)	29		4	1		
403	Bill to suppress foul brood among bees, passage	**	27	1		10		1
405	Bill on State char. institutions, to agree to conf. report	(**)	25		10			1
410	Bill on practice of opticians, passage	*†	24	2	2	9		1
421	Bill to amend law on appellate courts, to lay amends. on table	*†	20	1	2	10		1
423	Approp. bill to pay for binding, passage	(**)	25		11	1		
435	Bill on warehousing of grain, to suspend rules and read at once, to lay this on table	††	18	11	2	12		1
	Same, to suspend rules and read	††	10	21	12	3	1	
	Same, to lay on table motion to refer to com. on agric	††	8	22	7	7	1	
	Same, com. to report by Apr. 7	††	11	20	5	8	1	
439	Bill on salaries of State attorneys in counties, to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	(†*)	13	5	12	1	1	
440	Bill to punish deception in procuring State employees, to lay on table motion for special order.	(†*)	12	13		15		
443	Bill for a State food comr., passage	(*†)	20	1	9	2		
449	Approp. bill for State char. institutions, passage	(*†)	27		7	2		
449	Bill to pay H. W. Rokker for printing, passage	(*†)	21		9	2		
450	Bill for monument at Shiloh, passage	(**)	25		12	1		
450	Bill to provide travelling libraries, passage	(*†)	25		6	4		1

Illinois Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		People's.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
451	Approp. bill for State board of agric., passage	(†*)	19	3	13			
453	Bill to forbid proxy voting in mut. life ins. cos., passage	†*	7	15	12	1	1	
453	Bill to amend law on State contracts, passage	(*†)	23		9	2		
465	Bill for propagation of game, to lay amend. on table	*†	24	1	8	9		1
469	Bill on admr. of trusts by trust cos., passage	(†*)	24	2	9	2	1	
470	Bill to protect sidewalks, passage	*†	27	1	6	6		1
471	Bill to amend sec. 2 of the corp. act (formation of corps.), passage	(*†)	24		3	2		1
472	Bill on mut. burglary ins. cos., passage	†*	14	9	1	10		1
472	Bill on election of town officers under township organization, passage	(†*)	18	3	13		1	
473	Bill on practice of vet. medicine, passage	**	29			3		
478	Bill to pay Alfred Russell for advances, passage	(*†)	25		9	1		
478	Bill on holding of elections in cities, passage	**	29			1		
479	Approp. bill for State educ. institutions, passage	(*†)	25		5	2		
490	Bill for free employment offices in cities, passage	*†	22	2	4	4		
491	Bill for criminal appeals by the Govt., passage	††	15	9	2	4		
493	Bill on protection of game, passage	(*†)	21		8	3	1	
493	Bill on primary elections for party conventions, passage	††	19	9	3	4		
494	Approp. bill for rosters of Ill. troops in civil and Spanish wars, passage	(*†)	27		6	1		
495	Bill for display of products of State at Ohio Exposition, passage	(*†)	29		10	2		
498	Bill ceding lands to U. S., passage	(*†)	27		9	1		
504	Bill to disconnect territory from cities, etc., passage	††	12	3	3	7		1
520	Bill for parks in cities, passage	(**)	21	1	9		1	
521	Bill on primary elections to party conventions, to reconsider vote whereby lost	††	6	14	2	7		
532	Bill to amend act to establish appellate courts, to suspend rules in order to amend	†*	11	17	14		1	
	Same, amend. to substitute "Mt. Vernon" for "East St. Louis," to lay this on table	†*	13	11		14		1
534	Bill to amend law on county roads and bridges, passage	(**)	21	1	11		1	
535	Bill to give cities control of schools in annexed territory, passage	*†	25		1	3	1	
535	Bill to disconnect territory from cities, to reconsider vote whereby lost	(†*)	18	2	9		1	
536	Bill to amend elect. laws, to lay on table motion to refer to com. on elections	††	8	24	9	5	1	
541	Bill to create State board of health, passage	*†	33		1	7		1
542	Bill to forbid sale of liquor near Nat. Soldiers' Homes, passage	(**)	28	1	6		1	
542	Bill to amend act creating State board of arbitration, passage	(**)	27	2	13		1	
548	Approp. bill for State reformatory, amend. to strike out item for trade school	††	22	8	2	14		1
549	Bill to pay B. M. Shaffer for advances, passage	(*†)	26		10	2		
549	Bill for bounty on beet sugar, passage	††	23	8	3	11		1
552	Bill on garnishment process, passage	(**)	18	1	8		1	
552	Bill to forbid employees of sheriff or clerk from acting as receivers, etc., passage	(**)	19	1	10		1	
554	Bill on trade of the State, passage	(†*)	19	3	9			

556	Bill for woman suffrage in towns, passage	††	14	8	1			
556	Bill for woman suffrage on certain questions, passage	††	16	5	1	6		1
556	Bill to punish theft of locomotive fixtures, etc., passage	††	18	2	9	1		
557	Bill for organization of road districts, passage	(*††)	23		8	1	1	
571	Bill on fishing in Lake Michigan, passage	(*††)	21		9	2	1	
571	Bill to amend free-school law, passage	††	7	11	1	8		
571	Bill to punish deception in procuring State employees, passage	††	17	9	13	2	1	
579	Bill to amend Australian ballot law, passage	(*††)	20	1	8	3		
580	Bill to amend free-school law, passage	(*††)	20		5	1	1	
585	Bill for stenographers for appellate courts, to concur in house amends	(*††)	24	1	6	2		1
588	Bill to amend election law, to make it a special order	††	10	18	5	7	1	
590	Bill to protect trade rights in cans, etc., passage	††	14	11	1	8		1
591	Res. that com. be directed to report in favor of warehouse bill, to consider	††	11	16	7	7	1	
592	Bill for a State supervising architect, passage	(*††)	24		11	3	1	
593	Bill to amend law transferring submerged lands to parks, passage	(*††)	19	1	7	1	1	
594	Approp. bill for heating an appellate court, passage	(**)	25	1	13		1	
594	Approp. bill for parade ground and armory in Chicago, passage	(*††)	23		9	2		1
594	Gen. approp. bill, passage	(**)	19		11	1		
595	Bill for bounty on beet sugar, to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	(†*)	14	13	13	1	1	
599	Bill for State colony for epileptics, passage	(*††)	22		5	1		1
607	Bill to amend law on partition of land, passage	††	4	16	6	6	1	
607	Bill to amend law on appellate courts, passage	(†*)	9	14		12		1
608	Bill on sale of produce, etc., passage	(*††)	24		10	5	1	
611	Bill to punish seduction, to lay on table motion to refer to com. on judiciary	††	15	12	6	6	1	
613	Approp. bill for injuries to R. T. Hill, passage	(*††)	24		5	2		
615	Bill on primary elections to party conventions, passage	††	22	3	5	2	1	
714	Bill for bounty on beet sugar, passage	††	20	11	6	8		1
715	Bill to amend law on supreme court passage	(**)	29	1	14		1	
725	Approp. bill for rosters of troops in civil and Spanish wars, passage	(*††)	26		10	2		1
728	Bill to encourage use of indian corn abroad, passage	(*††)	23	2	6	3		1
731	Bill for protection of game, to concur in house amends	(*††)	21		5	1		
737	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, to concur in house amends	(*††)	26		3	1		1
756	Approp. bill for State char. institutions, to agree to conf. report	(**)	24	1	7			
764	Bill to forbid exhibition of criminals and deformed persons, passage	(**)	20	1	12	1	1	
770	Bill to authorize use of Bolcher voting machines, to lay on table motion to amend	(*††)	21	2	7	4		1
771	Same, passage	††	22	7	8	5		1
773	Bill for drainage canals, passage	(††)	9	14	1	9		1
775	Bill for tax on gross receipts of ins. cos., passage	(**)	22	2	10		1	
776	Bill for truant schools, passage	(*††)	21		5	2	1	
779	Bill for a State normal school, passage	††	17	9	10	3		1
780	Bill to amend sec. 30 of election act (polling precincts), passage	**	30			9		1
780	Bill for an insurance dept., to concur in house amend	(*††)	24		2	1		
783	Bill to amend election law, passage	††	14	15	10	4	1	
787	Bill to forbid sale of liquor near Nat. Soldiers' Homes, passage	(**)	28	2	11		1	
788	Bill to amend sec. 2 of the corporation act (see 471 supra), to concur in house amends	(*††)	26	2	4	3		1
789	Bill to amend free-school law, passage	(*††)	25		5	1		

Illinois Senate, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		People's.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
791	Bill to license architects, passage	(*†)	25		6	2		
791	Same, passage	(*†)	25		6	2		
791	Bill to forbid proxy voting in mut. life ins. cos., passage	††	9	7	6	4		
792	Bill to authorize towns to build waterworks, passage	(*†)	19	2	7	1	1	
793	Bill to amend sec. 96 of election act (courts to decide elections of judges), passage	(*†)	20	1	7	1		
793	Bill to amend free-school law, passage	††	6	19	9	1	1	
793	Approp. bill to pay debt to W. Z. Partello, passage	††	4	17	2	6		1
793	Bill to amend free-school law, to lay on table motion to reconsider vote whereby bill lost	†*	19	6	1	11		1
812	Bill on injury to sheep by dogs, to concur in house amend	(*†)	26		5	1	1	
813	Res. on acquiring submerged lands for parks, to lay on table	††	16	3	7	4	1	

Illinois House of Representatives, 1899.

[Republicans, 81; Democrats, 71; Prohibitionist, 1; total, 153.]

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Prohibitionist.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
5	Election of temp. speaker:							
	Guffin, R.	**	80		1			
	Hurst, D	**	1		70			
9	Election of speaker:							
	Sherman, R.	**	80					
	McGoorty, D	**			70			
102	Bill to pay employees of gen. assembly, passage	(**)	80		60	1		
111	Res. of thanks to Sisters of Charity in Cuban war (it reflected on Pres. McKinley), to refer to com. on fed. rel., to lay on table.	**		71	64			
119	Same, subs. from com. thanking Sisters, etc., but praising McKinley, subs. leaving out McKinley, to lay latter on table.	**	69			51		
159	Bill for expenses of assembly, etc., passage	(*†)	76		39	6		
196	Bill to revise law of attys. at law, passage	(**)	73		66	1	1	
203	Approp. bill for volunteers in the war, to lay motion to postpone on table	**	66		2	56		1
212	A protest ruled out of order, to sustain ruling	**	76			62		

220	Bill to amend law of street R. Rs., passage	(**)	75	1	69		1	
221	Bill for statue of Miss Willard, passage	(*†)	73	3	43	23	1	
239	Bill on fees and salaries of officials, passage	††	48	28	11	47	1	
284	Approp. bill for transport, etc., of volunteers, passage	(**)	57		21	2		
324	Res. to adj. sine die on Apr. 14	††	35	25	21	23	1	
347	Bill to punish deception in procuring State employees, passage	(**)	50	4	44			
347	Bill to protect miners, 3 R	(†*)	50	8	44	2		
350	Bill to organize park districts, etc., passage	(**)	66		28	1		
350	Same, failed for lack of two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emergency cl. struck out, passage.	(**)	63		25	1		
351	Bill on killing of Eng. sparrows, passage	(††)	60	9	32	6		1
355	Bill to regulate pawn societies, to strike out enacting clause	†*	7	59	41	2	1	
375	Bill to prevent spread of San Jose scale, passage	**	74	1	4	40	1	
409	Same, failed for lack of two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg. cl. struck out, passage.	*†	69		12	39	1	
411	Bill on the dept. of agric., to lay on table motion to strike out enacting clause	††	52	19	12	45	1	
413	Bill to regulate pawn societies, passage	(*†)	62	4	23	17	1	
428	Approp. bill for State Poultry Assoc., passage	(*†)	70	1	35	10	1	
430	Approp. bill to pay contract for binding, passage	(**)	70		48	5	1	
430	Approp. bill for barn for exec. mansion, passage	*†	76		23	27	1	
445	Bill for free employment offices in cities, passage	*†	76	1	27	29	1	
488	Bill to maintain parks, passage	(**)	63	1	42			
490	Bill to authorize towns, etc., to own electric plants, etc., passage	(**)	62	2	49	2		
493	Approp. bill for Ill. Dairyman's Assoc., passage	(**)	55		25	2		
499	Bill for annexations to cities, passage	*†	73	1	11	32	1	
499	Same, failed for lack of two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg. cl. struck out, passage.	(**)	68		51	4	1	
502	Bill to form life ins. cos. on premium plan, passage	††	30	24	9	50		1
504	Bill to license barbers, to strike out enacting clause	(††)	19	39	31	32		1
508	Bill to revise law on Ill. and Mich. Canal, passage	†*	43	16	5	58	1	
511	Bill on warehousing of grain, passage	(**)	55	4	58	4	1	
511	Res. amending privileges of a yacht club	†*	24	23	1	63		1
514	Bill for display of products of State at Ohio Exposition, passage	(*†)	63		42	16	1	
524	Bill for educ. in agric., 3 R	(**)	64	1	54		1	
527	Bill for filling vacancies in elect. offices, etc., to lay on table amend. to strike out enacting clause.	**	74			69		1
528	Same, amend. to strike out cl. I, to lay this on table	**	71			68		1
529	Gen. approp. bill, passage	*†	67		1	6		
545	Bill to prevent spread of San Jose scale, to agree to conf. report	*†	63		15	31	1	
546	Bill for truant schools, passage	(**)	51	2	39	4	1	
546	Bill on roads in counties under township organization, passage	(††)	48	6	30	16	1	
547	Bill to amend township organization, passage	(**)	58		50	1	1	
548	Bill to amend law on free schools, passage	(**)	54		40	2	1	
568	Bill to fix pay of members of ass., passage	††	19	44	17	32		1
571	Bill for parade ground and armory in Chicago, passage	(*†)	66		33	4	1	
572	Bill for approp. to aid State Hort. Soc., passage	(**)	64		35	1	1	

Illinois House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Prohibitionist.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
573	Approp. bill for uniforms of Naval Militia, passage	*†	57	2	11	33	1	.....
577	Bill to encourage use of indian corn abroad, passage	(**)	55	.....	31	2	1	.....
579	Gen. approp. bill, passage	*†	76	.....	1	4	1	.....
585	Legacy, etc., tax bill, passage	(**)	56	1	51	.....	1	.....
586	Bill to aid in construction of drainage canals, passage	(*†)	58	4	23	11	1	.....
586	Another bill to amend law on free schools, passage	**	75	1	5	53	1	.....
587	Bill on shipping and sale of produce, etc., passage	(**)	60	.....	50	1	1	.....
588	Bill on partition of land, passage	(**)	60	.....	40	1	1	.....
589	Bill to amend law on fencing R. Rs., passage	††	50	27	29	38	1	.....
591	Another bill to amend law on free schools, passage	(††)	42	15	34	13	.....	1
592	Bill to amend law of counties, passage	(††)	21	7	11	37	.....	.....
593	Bill on manuf. and sale of oleomargarine, passage	††	23	53	17	45	.....	.....
594	Bill on trade rights in cans, etc., passage	††	37	33	17	46	.....	1
606	Bill to create office of State supervising architect, passage	(*†)	48	2	33	13	1	.....
608	Bill to create State colony for epileptics, passage	(**)	61	.....	40	2	1	.....
608	Approp. bill for uniforms of Naval Militia (vote whereby it failed reconsidered), passage	*†	58	3	22	29	1	.....
610	Bill that certain buildings must be fireproof, passage	††	43	19	17	30	.....	1
610	Bill to pay sums awarded by comrs. of claims, passage	(*†)	56	1	24	7	1	.....
611	Approp. bill for Ill. Live Stock Assoc., passage	(*†)	62	4	32	13	1	.....
613	Bill on trade rights in cans, etc., passage	††	37	26	20	41	.....	1
618	Bill to teach agric. science in schools, passage	††	54	7	11	40	1	.....
619	Bill to amend laws on supreme court, passage	(*†)	61	.....	48	7	1	.....
619	Bill for a police pension fund in cities, passage	(*†)	63	1	18	8	.....	.....
620	Bill on fishing in Lake Michigan, passage	(**)	65	.....	46	2	.....	.....
620	Bill to amend law of paupers, passage	††	46	10	6	29	.....	.....
621	Bill to amend law of coroners, passage	†*	35	11	2	43	1	.....
672	Approp. bill, plants, etc., for capitol, passage	(**)	69	.....	42	1	1	.....
678	Bill for relief of R. T. Hill, passage	(*†)	54	2	27	3	1	.....
679	Bill for relief of T. Crawford, passage	(**)	52	2	27	1	1	.....
689	Bill to suppress mobs, passage	†*	9	9	2	19	.....	.....
695	Bill for primary elections to party conventions, passage	*†	62	.....	17	29	1	.....
697	Approp. bill for foundation of ship for Naval Militia, passage	*†	74	1	15	26	1	.....
697	Same, failed for lack of two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emergency cl. struck out, passage.	*†	66	1	18	18	.....	1
698	Approp. bill for improvement of rifle ranges, passage	(**)	64	.....	29	3	1	.....
704	Bill for Ill. State Normal School, passage	††	39	25	49	10	.....	1
705	Bill to pay debt to W. Z. Partello, passage	(*†)	59	3	25	4	1	.....
705	Bill for a monument to Lincoln, passage	(**)	59	1	39	1	1	.....

711	Approp. bill for the practice commission, passage	(*†)	58	4	17	13	1	.....
711	Bill to create an industrial institute, passage	††	39	5	10	33	1	.....
712	Approp. bill for balance due on Lovejoy monument, passage	(*†)	63	.....	24	4	1	.....
713	Same, failed for lack of two-thirds members elect., reconsidered and emergency cl. struck out, passage.	(**)	72	.....	21	2	1	.....
716	Bill on dept. of agric. societies, passage	††	38	29	7	50	1	.....
719	Bill for publication of const. amends., etc., which require a pop. vote, passage	*†	64	1	14	15	1	.....
720	Bill to authorize use of Bolcher voting machines, passage	*†	67	1	21	35	1	.....
721	Bill to fill vacancies in elect. offices, etc., passage	*†	74	.....	6	2	1	.....
723	Res. to consolidate Chicago with Cook County, amend. to strike out "so as to include all the county of Cook."	†*	15	25	57	2	.....	.....
734	Bill to forbid exhibition of criminal and deformed persons, passage	(**)	65	1	56	.....	1	.....
735	Bill to fix pay of members of ass., passage	††	31	34	26	28	.....	1
736	Bill for tax on receipts of ins. cos., passage	(**)	51	3	27	2	.....	1
745	Approp. bill for Univ. of Ill., passage	(**)	73	.....	35	2	1	.....
746	Approp. bill for ann. report of Ill. Live Stock Breeders' Assoc., passage	(*†)	63	1	33	6	1	.....
746	Approp. bill for State board of agric., passage	(**)	61	1	37	3	.....	.....
747	Bill to provide travelling libraries, passage	††	43	22	9	38	.....	.....
750	Bill for stenographers for appellate courts, passage	(**)	60	1	43	1	1	.....
751	Bill for extension of parks over public waters, passage	*†	61	2	13	32	.....	.....
751	Bill to form life ins. cos. on the premium plan, passage	††	38	10	8	49	.....	1
755	Bill for a reporter in the appellate court, passage	(*†)	67	.....	37	6	1	.....
756	Bill to amend law on incorporation of cities, etc., passage	(**)	57	.....	19	1	.....	.....
759	Res. to consolidate Chicago with Cook County, adoption of res	††	35	18	20	27	1	.....
759	Amend. to const. to enable maj. of voters of any town. etc., to give up township organization (failed of two-thirds maj.)	**	72	.....	3	58	1	.....
761	Bill to form mutual burglary ins. cos., passage	(*†)	57	.....	33	6	.....	.....
762	Bill to license architects, passage	*†	65	1	12	33	1	.....
762	Same, failed to get two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg. cl. struck out, passage.	*†	67	1	12	17	1	.....
763	Bill to regulate barbers, passage	††	44	10	23	23	.....	.....
768	Bill to enable counties to erect soldiers' monuments, passage	(**)	66	.....	28	2	.....	.....
769	Bill on reserves of life ins. cos., passage	(*†)	55	1	25	12	.....	.....
772	Bill to prevent removal of submerged land, passage	*†	29	.....	4	29	.....	.....
775	Gen. approp. bill, sen. amends	(*†)	71	.....	19	5	1	.....
778	Bill to amend free-school law, passage	(**)	60	2	53	.....	1	.....
779	Bill to provide appeals from appellate courts, etc., passage	††	48	17	30	29	.....	.....
780	Bill to forbid proxy voting in mut. life ins. cos., passage	(*†)	55	3	28	8	1	.....
781	Bill to punish seduction, passage	(*†)	54	1	31	8	1	.....
782	Bill on improvement of highways, passage	††	20	38	28	33	.....	1
798	Approp. bill for State reformatory, sen. amend. to strike out item for trade school	(**)	62	1	22	2	1	.....
800	Approp. bill for Ill. and Mich. Canal, passage	(*†)	69	.....	18	3	.....	.....
800	Bill for monument to Ill. troops at Shiloh, passage	(**)	73	.....	37	2	1	.....
802	Approp. bill for State educ. institutions, passage	(**)	79	.....	42	1	1	.....
804	Bill to amend free-school laws, passage	††	43	23	39	21	1	.....
805	Bill for a State food comr., passage	(*†)	67	.....	35	31	1	.....

Illinois House of Representatives, 1899—Continued.

Page.	Question.	Party divisions.	Republicans.		Democrats.		Prohibitionist.	
			Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.	Aye.	No.
806	Bill to amend act on local improvements, passage	(**)	57	1	46	2	.....	.....
807	Bill to amend laws on fraternal beneficiary societies, passage	(**)	32	3	45	3	.....	.....
808	Bill to authorize sale of R. Rs. to corps. of another State, etc., passage	(††)	53	9	59	1	1	.....
809	Bill to amend game law, passage	(*†)	69	3	39	14	.....	.....
815	Bill on fire escapes, passage	(**)	65	1	40	4	1	.....
815	Bill to amend election law in cities and towns, passage	**	80	.....	1	32	.....	.....
816	Bill to amend Australian ballot law, passage	**	76	.....	1	16	1	.....
817	Same, failed to get two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg. cl. struck out, passage.	**	76	.....	.....	4	1	.....
817	Bill to amend act to create State board of health, passage	**	78	.....	.....	64	.....	.....
818	Same, failed to get two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg. cl. struck out, passage.	**	78	.....	.....	61	.....	.....
819	Bill to grant to Chicago land under Lake Mich. for pumping station, passage	(*†)	70	.....	45	11	1	.....
822	Bill on fees and salaries in the counties, passage	(*†)	62	6	44	7	.....	.....
823	Bill to regulate practice of medicine, passage	(**)	71	.....	56	1	1	.....
824	Bill to amend act on Ill. and Mich. Canal, passage	*†	73	.....	22	37	1	.....
826	Bill for organization, etc., of surety cos., passage	(**)	68	.....	37	3	1	.....
837	Bill to suppress foul brood among bees, passage	††	13	33	8	23	.....	1
837	Approp. bill for dedication of monuments on battlefields of Ga. and Tenn., passage	(*†)	71	.....	21	7	1	.....
838	Approp. bill for elec. light plant in capitol, passage	(*†)	75	.....	18	2	1	.....
839	Approp. bill for the practice commission, passage	(**)	69	.....	22	2	1	.....
840	Approp. bill for State board of agric., etc., passage	(*†)	63	2	32	7	1	.....
841	Bill to pay H. W. Rokker for printing, passage	††	18	40	30	22	.....	1
843	Bill to pay Alfred Russell for advances to Nat. Guard, passage	(**)	66	.....	30	1	1	.....
844	Bill to pay B. M. Shaffner for advances to Naval Militia, passage	(*†)	44	4	8	6	.....	.....
845	Bill on State reformatory, passage	(**)	59	.....	34	1	.....	.....
850	Bill to amend law on State contracts, passage	(**)	61	.....	18	1	1	.....
851	Bill on ins. dept., etc., passage	†*	66	11	4	43	.....	.....
856	Bill to regulate the practice of dentistry, passage	(**)	66	.....	19	2	.....	.....
857	Bill on negotiable instruments, passage	††	58	19	7	53	.....	.....
864	Bill on administration of trusts by trust cos., passage	(*†)	66	1	38	6	1	.....
865	Bill on courts of record in cities, passage	(**)	68	.....	43	1	1	.....
867	Bill to forbid sale of liquor near Nat. Soldiers' Homes, passage	(**)	71	2	51	4	1	.....
874	Bill on ins. dept., etc., passage	††	58	12	21	33	.....	1
876	Bill to pay bounty on beet sugar, passage	††	53	15	25	36	.....	1
879	Bill to erect monument to Lincoln, sen. substitute to repair existing monument	(**)	75	1	49	4	1	.....
881	Approp. bill for State board of agric., to agree to conf. report	(*†)	59	4	35	5	1	.....
883	Bill to incorporate, etc., casualty ins. cos., passage	(**)	52	.....	35	2	1	.....

892	Bill to repeal act authorizing towns to protect themselves from inundation, passage	(**)	70	1	47	1	1	.....
893	Bill to enable certain cities to maintain parks, passage	(**)	67	1	57	.....	1	.....
895	Bill to authorize county and probate judges to act for one another, passage	(**)	59	.....	50	1	1	.....
896	Bill to authorize cities to construct sewers, passage	(**)	71	.....	43	3	1	.....
897	Bill to amend law on agric. societies, etc., passage	(**)	63	.....	37	3	1	.....
898	Bill on manuf. and sale of articles of gold and silver, passage	††	44	26	40	17	1	.....
898	Same, failed of two-thirds of members elect., reconsidered and emerg.cl. struck out, passage.	††	45	16	37	10	1	.....
900	Bill for consolidation of townships, passage	††	64	8	41	6	1	.....
900	Bill on construction of bridges, passage	(**)	71	1	47	.....	1	.....
901	Bill for redemption, etc., of land from tax sales, passage	(††)	26	43	26	28	.....	1
902	Bill on fees for incorporation, etc., of cos., passage	(*†)	64	.....	34	12	1	.....
903	Bill for tax to rebuild city buildings, passage	(**)	67	7	47	2	1	.....
904	Bill to amend law on ins. cos., passage	(*†)	71	.....	40	7	1	.....
905	Another bill to amend law of ins. cos., passage	(*†)	66	1	20	16	1	.....
907	Bill to pay Shaffner for advances to Naval Militia (vote whereby lost reconsidered), passage.	††	57	9	35	21	1	.....
908	Bill to amend law on assessment of property, passage	††	35	13	13	17	.....	.....
908	Bill to amend law on roads in counties under township organization, passage	(**)	51	1	38	1	1	.....
910	Bill on camping on highways, passage	(*†)	65	1	22	23	1	.....
911	Bill to amend law on free schools, passage	(*†)	51	1	32	6	1	.....
911	Another bill to amend law on assessment of property, passage	(**)	72	1	40	4	1	.....
912	Bill to regulate the practice of vet. medicine, passage	(*†)	52	5	24	3	1	.....
913	Bill to amend law of mortgages, passage	††	16	39	16	25	.....	1
914	Bill to indemnify for damage to sheep by dogs, passage	(**)	74	.....	53	4	1	.....
915	Another bill to amend Australian ballot law, etc., passage	(*†)	53	.....	25	8	1	.....
916	Bill on times for holding circuit courts, passage	(**)	62	.....	29	1	1	.....
916	Bill to protect sidewalks, passage	(**)	61	2	34	3	1	.....
917	Bill to amend act on primary elections to party conventions, passage	*†	29	1	13	14	1	.....
917	Bill to amend law on counties, passage	(**)	66	3	24	1	1	.....

Summary of votes.[a]

	Year.	**	(**)	*†	†*	(*†)	(†*)	††	Total.
House of Commons.									
Conservatives and Reformers	1836	41	5	25	21	36	11	47	186
Protectionists and Liberals with Radicals (Peelites and Repealers not counted)	1850	51	7	41	45	53	22	109	328
Conservatives and Liberals	1860	16	3	16	34	47	15	129	260
Conservatives and Liberals	1871	90	7	36	42	30	10	48	263
Conservatives and Liberals (Irish Home Rulers not counted)	1881	93	212	12	18	37	21	18	411
Unionists and Liberals (with Irish Home Rulers)	1894	184	4	10	9	27	2	10	246
Unionists and Liberals (Irish Home Rulers not counted)	1899	242	6	64	14	13	10	8	357
Twenty-ninth Congress.									
Senate:									
First session (Whigs and Democrats)		30	3	69	12	16	3	63	196
Second session (Whigs and Democrats)		18	2	48	7	5	4	26	110
Both sessions		48	5	117	19	21	7	89	306

House of Representatives:								
First session (Whigs and Democrats) (Native Americans not counted)	36	5	179	20	16	14	191	461
Second session (the same)	31	8	49	16	14	11	49	177
Both sessions	67	13	228	36	30	25	240	638

[a] The following figures, like those at the heads of the tables of votes, are inserted merely to give an idea of the relative strength of parties. Owing to changes in membership they are not, of course, accurate throughout the session or period covered.

House of Commons: 1836, Conservatives 260, Reformers 395; 1850, Protectionists 217, Peelites 104, Liberals 297, Radicals 21, Repealers 18; 1860, Conservatives 305, Liberals 348; 1871, Conservatives 263, Liberals 385; 1881, Conservatives 242, Liberals 337, Home Rulers 60; 1894, Conservatives 268, Liberal Unionists 49, Liberals 272, Anti-Parnellites 72, Parnellites 9; 1899, Conservatives 337, Liberal Unionists 66, Liberals 185, Anti-Parnellites 71, Parnellites 11.

Twenty-ninth Congress: President, James K. Polk, D. Senate, Whigs 25, Democrats 29. House, Whigs 77, Democrats 141, Native American 6.

Thirty-eighth Congress: President, Abraham Lincoln, R. Senate, Republicans 36, Democrats 9, Conditional Unionists 5. House, Republicans 102, Democrats 75, Border State 9.

Fiftieth Congress: President, Grover Cleveland, D. Senate, Republicans 39, Democrats 37. House, Republicans 152, Democrats 169, Labor 2, Independent 2.

Fifty-fifth Congress: President, William McKinley, R. Senate, Republicans 47, Democrats 35, Populists 5, Independent 1, Silverites 2. House, Republicans 204, Democrats 124, Populists 13, Fusionists 15, Silverites 2.

Fifty-sixth Congress: President, William McKinley, R. Senate, Republicans 52, Democrats 26, Silverites 4, Populists 5. House, Republicans 187, Democrats 161, Populists 7, Silverites 2.

Massachusetts, 1899: Governor, Roger Wolcott, R. Senate, Republicans 33, Democrats 7. House, Republicans 167, Democrats 70, Independents 2, Prohibitionist 1.

New York, 1894: Governor, Roswell P. Flower, D. Senate, Republicans 18, Democrats 14. Assembly, Republicans 71, Democrats 56.

New York, 1899: Governor, Theodore Roosevelt, R. Senate, Republicans 27, Democrats 23. Assembly, Republicans 87, Democrats 63.

Pennsylvania, 1895: Governor, D. H. Hastings, R. Senate, Republicans 43, Democrats 7. House, Republicans 177, Democrats 27.

Pennsylvania, 1899: Governor, William A. Stone, R. Senate, Republicans 37, Democrats 13. House, Republicans 127, Democrats 71, Fusionists 6.

Ohio, 1900: Governor, George K. Nash, R. Senate, Republicans 20, Democrats 11. House, Republicans 65, Democrats 45.

Illinois, 1899: Governor, John R. Tanner, R. Senate, Republicans 34, Democrats 16, Populist 1. House, Republicans 81, Democrats 71, Prohibitionist 1.

Summary of votes—Continued.

	**	(**)	*†	†*	(*†)	(†*)	††	Total.
Thirty-eighth Congress.								
Senate:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Conditional Unionists not counted)	27	2	33	119	4	56	148	389
Second session (all members classed as Republicans or Democrats)	5	2	8	25	4	24	92	160
Special session						1	5	6
All sessions	32	4	41	144	8	81	245	555
House of Representatives:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Border State men not counted)	150	13	34	92	14	19	102	424
Second session (all members classed as Republicans or Democrats)	24	3	21	48	3	10	60	169
Both sessions	174	16	55	140	17	29	162	593
Fiftieth Congress.								
Senate:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats)	33	1	38	11	10	9	40	142
Second session (the same)	111		15	8	7	4	22	167

Special session (the same)	1							1
All sessions	145	1	53	19	17	13	62	310
House of Representatives:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Independents and Labor not counted)	18	31	44	7	33	2	45	180
Second session (the same)	14	13	30	8	9	1	25	100
Both sessions	32	44	74	15	42	3	70	280
Fifty-fifth Congress.								
Senate:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Populists, Silverites, and Independents not counted)	116	1	18	10	4	5	14	168
Second session (the same)	12	7	45	16	12	3	24	119
Third session (the same)		2	8	1	10	6	19	46
All sessions	128	10	71	27	26	14	57	335
House of Representatives:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Populists, Fusionists, and Silverites not counted)	30	1	3		1	1		36
Second session (the same)	47	11	20	15	3	2	8	106
Third session (the same)	7	1	5	5	2	1	15	36
All sessions	84	13	28	20	6	4	23	178

Summary of votes—Continued.

	**	(**)	*†	†*	(*†)	(†*)	††	Total.
Fifty-sixth Congress.								
Senate:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Silverites, Populists, and Independent not counted)	22	.....	12	14	2	.....	16	66
Second session (the same)	26	.....	14	4	6	.....	24	74
Both sessions	48	.....	26	18	8	.....	40	140
House of Representatives:								
First session (Republicans and Democrats) (Silverites and Populists not counted)	48	6	11	3	3	2	12	85
Second session (the same)	21	.....	16	4	4	2	14	61
Both sessions	69	6	27	7	7	4	26	146
Massachusetts, 1899.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	1	.....	1	22	1	6	64	95
House (Republicans and Democrats) (Independents and Prohibitionist not counted)	3	1	4	15	.....	3	24	50
New York, 1894.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	73	41	13	43	42	39	28	279
Assembly (Republicans and Democrats)	115	90	17	17	31	18	30	318

New York, 1899.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	50	53	18	44	26	37	47	275
Assembly (Republicans and Democrats)	93	111	21	21	17	26	27	316
Pennsylvania, 1895.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	12	57	27	17	48	33	50	244
House (Republicans and Democrats)	6	213	22	30	114	25	325	735
Pennsylvania, 1899.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	1	33	2	5	21	9	42	113
House (Republicans and Democrats) (Fusionists not counted)	7	114	9	22	50	19	104	325
Ohio, 1900.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats)	20	25	6	15	26	30	35	157
House (Republicans and Democrats)	18	116	6	10	26	29	88	293
Illinois, 1899.								
Senate (Republicans and Democrats) (Populist not counted)	8	33	17	8	58	11	45	180
House (Republicans and Democrats) (Prohibitionist not counted)	16	67	21	7	41	2	40	194

Summary of classes of votes, with percentages.

	Year.	**	%	*† †*	%	(*†) (†*)	%	††	%	Total.
Divisions in House of Commons	1836	41	22.65	46	24.86	47	25.97	47	25.97	181
	1850	51	15.89	86	26.79	75	23.36	109	33.96	321
	1860	16	6.22	50	19.46	62	24.12	129	50.19	257
	1871	90	35.16	78	30.47	40	15.63	48	18.75	256
	1881	93	46.73	30	15.88	58	29.15	18	9.05	199
	1894	184	76.03	19	7.85	29	11.98	10	4.13	242
	1899	242	68.95	78	22.22	23	6.55	8	2.28	351
Twenty-ninth Congress.										
Senate:										
First session		30	15.54	81	41.97	19	9.84	63	32.64	193
Second session		18	16.66	55	50.92	9	8.33	26	24.07	108
Both sessions		48	15.95	136	45.18	28	9.30	89	29.57	301
House:										
First session		36	7.89	199	43.64	30	6.58	191	41.89	456
Second session		31	18.34	65	38.46	25	14.80	48	28.40	169
Both sessions		67	10.72	264	42.24	55	8.80	239	38.24	625

Thirty-eighth Congress.									
Senate:									
First session	27	6.98	152	39.28	60	15.50	148	38.24	387
Second session	5	3.16	33	20.88	28	17.72	92	58.23	158
Special session	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	16.66	5	83.33	6
All sessions	32	5.81	185	33.58	89	16.15	245	44.46	551
House:									
First session	150	36.49	126	30.67	33	8.03	102	24.82	411
Second session	24	14.46	69	41.57	13	7.83	60	36.14	166
Both sessions	174	30.15	195	33.79	46	7.97	162	28.08	577
Fiftieth Congress.									
Senate:									
First session	33	23.41	49	34.75	19	13.47	40	28.37	141
Second session	111	66.48	23	13.77	11	6.59	22	13.70	167
Special session	1	100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
All sessions	145	46.93	72	23.30	30	9.71	62	20.06	309
House:									
First session	18	12.08	51	34.22	35	23.49	45	30.20	149
Second session	14	16.09	38	43.67	10	11.49	25	28.73	87
Both sessions	32	13.55	89	37.71	45	19.06	70	29.66	236

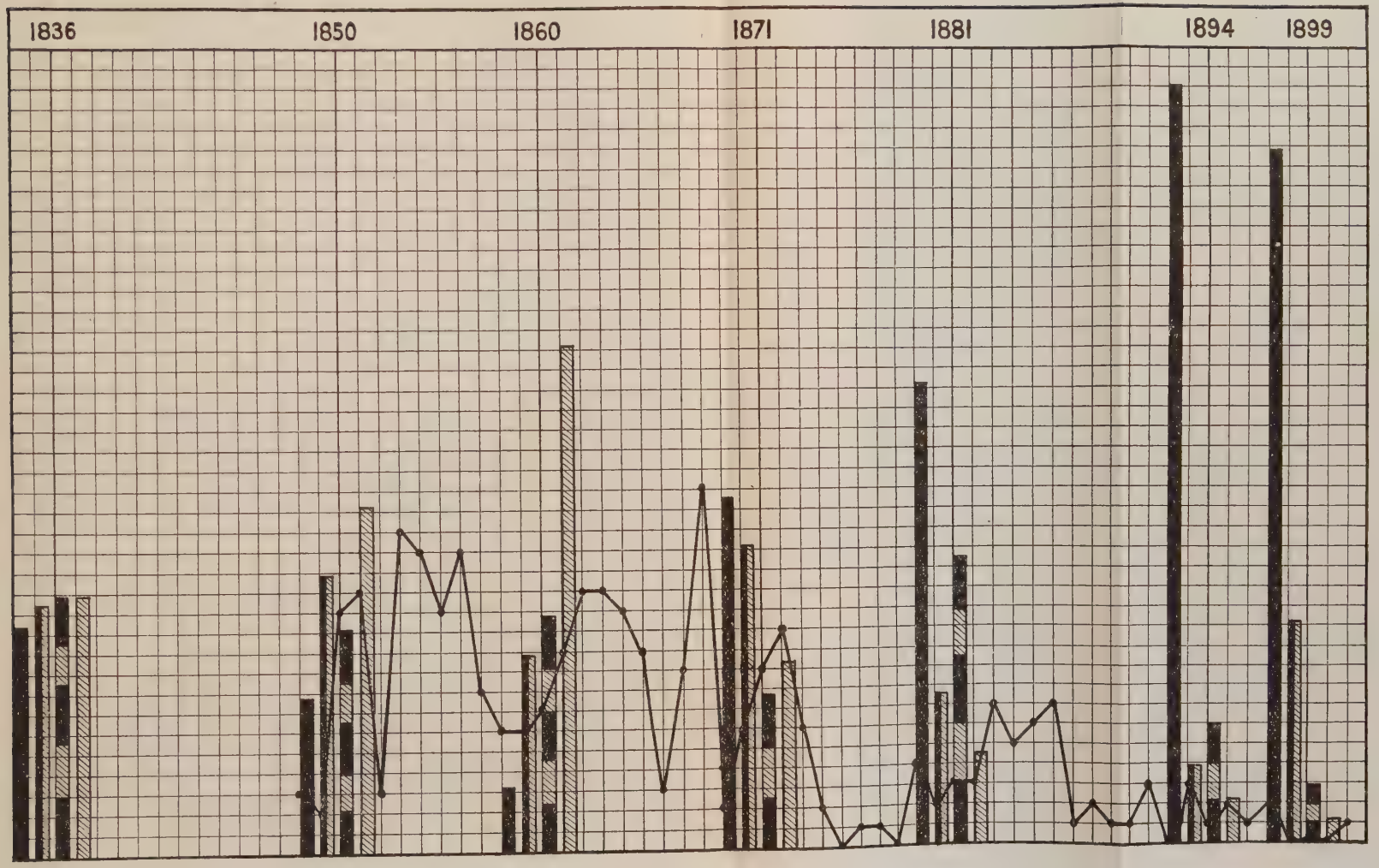
Summary of classes of votes, with percentages—Continued.

	**	%	*† †*	%	(*†) (†*)	%	††	%	Total.
Fifty-fifth Congress.									
Senate:									
First session	116	69.47	28	16.77	9	5.39	14	8.38	167
Second session	12	10.71	61	54.46	15	13.39	24	21.43	112
Third session	.....	.....	9	20.45	16	36.36	19	43.18	44
All sessions	128	39.63	98	30.35	40	12.38	57	17.65	323
House:									
First session	30	85.71	3	8.57	2	5.71	.....	.....	35
Second session	47	49.47	35	36.85	5	5.26	8	8.42	95
Third session	7	20.00	10	28.57	3	8.57	15	42.86	35
All sessions	84	50.91	48	29.09	10	6.06	23	13.94	165
Fifty-sixth Congress.									
Senate:									
First session	22	33.33	26	39.39	2	3.03	16	24.24	66
Second session	26	35.14	18	24.32	6	8.11	24	32.43	74
Both sessions	48	34.29	44	31.43	8	5.71	40	28.57	140
House:									
First session	48	60.76	14	17.72	5	6.32	12	15.19	79

Second session	21	34.42	20	32.78	6	9.83	14	22.95	61
Both sessions	69	49.28	34	24.28	11	7.85	26	18.57	140
Massachusetts, 1899.									
Senate	1	1.05	23	24.21	7	7.37	64	67.37	95
House	3	6.12	19	38.78	3	6.12	24	48.98	49
New York, 1894.									
Senate	73	30.67	56	23.53	81	34.03	28	11.76	238
Assembly	115	50.44	34	14.91	49	21.49	30	13.16	228
New York, 1899.									
Senate	50	22.52	62	27.93	63	28.38	47	21.17	222
Assembly	93	45.36	42	20.48	43	20.97	27	13.17	205
Pennsylvania, 1895.									
Senate	12	6.42	44	23.53	81	43.53	50	26.74	187
House	6	1.15	52	9.96	139	26.63	325	62.26	522
Pennsylvania, 1899.									
Senate	1	1.25	7	8.75	30	37.50	42	52.50	80
House	7	3.32	31	14.69	69	32.70	104	49.29	211
Ohio, 1900.									
Senate	20	15.15	21	15.91	56	42.42	35	26.52	132
House	18	10.17	16	9.04	55	31.07	88	49.72	177
Illinois, 1899.									
Senate	8	5.44	25	17.01	69	46.94	45	30.61	147
House	16	12.59	28	22.05	43	33.85	40	31.49	127

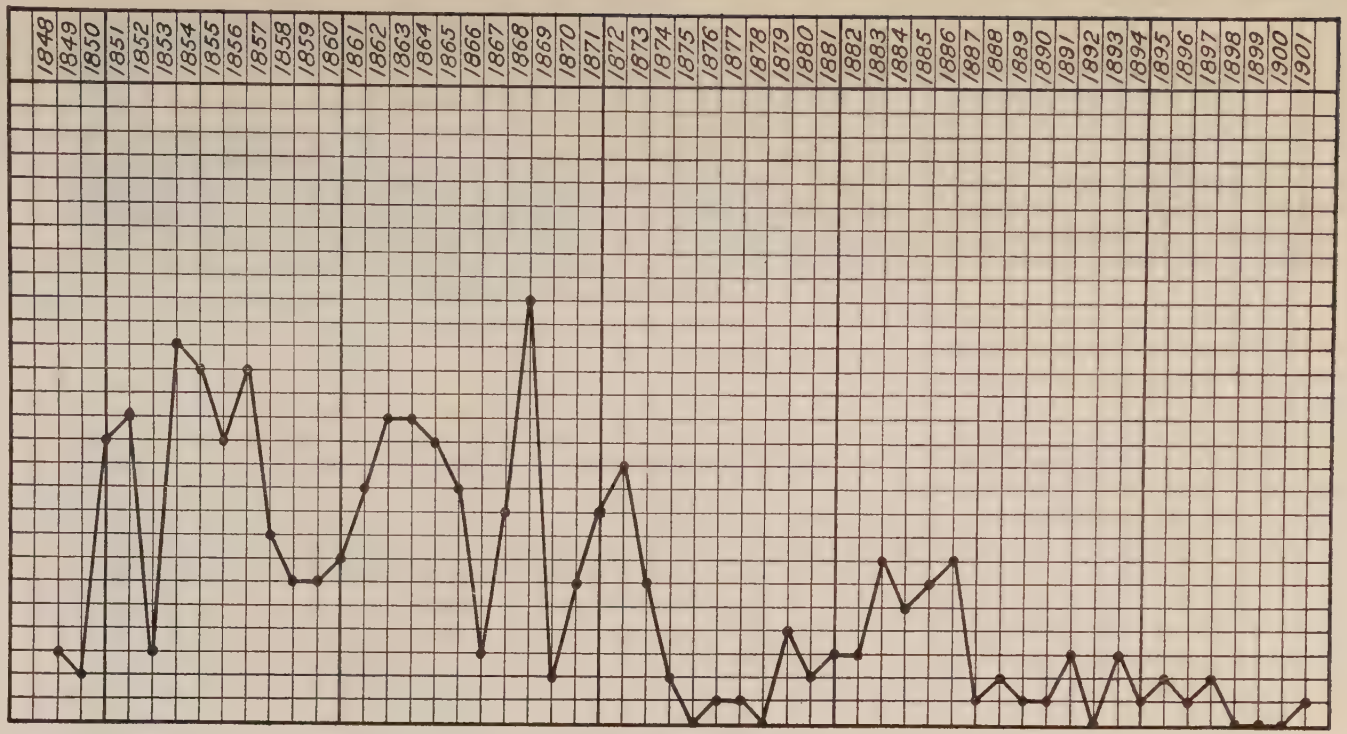
Number of divisions in which the Government whips were defeated in different sessions of Parliament, 1836–1901.

Session.	Government defeats.
1836	1
1847–48	3
1849	2
1850	12
1851	13
1852:	
Before Lord Derby came in	1
After Lord Derby came in	2
1852–53:	
Before Lord Aberdeen came in	1
After Lord Aberdeen came in	15
1854	15
1854–55	12
1856	15
1857:	
First session	1
Second session	7
1857–58:	
Before Lord Derby came in	1
After Lord Derby came in	5
1859:	
First session	4
Second session	2
1860	7
1861–62	10
1862–63	13
1863	13
1864–65	12
1865	10
1866	3
1867	9
1868	18
1869	2
1870	6
1871	7
1872	11
1873	6
1874	2
1875	0
1876	1
1877	1
1878	0
1878–79	4
1880:	
First session	0
Second session	2
1881	3
1882	3
1883	7
1884	5
1885:	
Before Lord Salisbury came in	5
After Lord Salisbury came in	1
1886:	
First session	7
Second session	0
1887	1
1888	2
1889	1
1890	1
1891	3
1892	0
1893	3
1894	1
1895	2
1896	1
1897	2
1898	0
1899	0
1900	0
1901	1



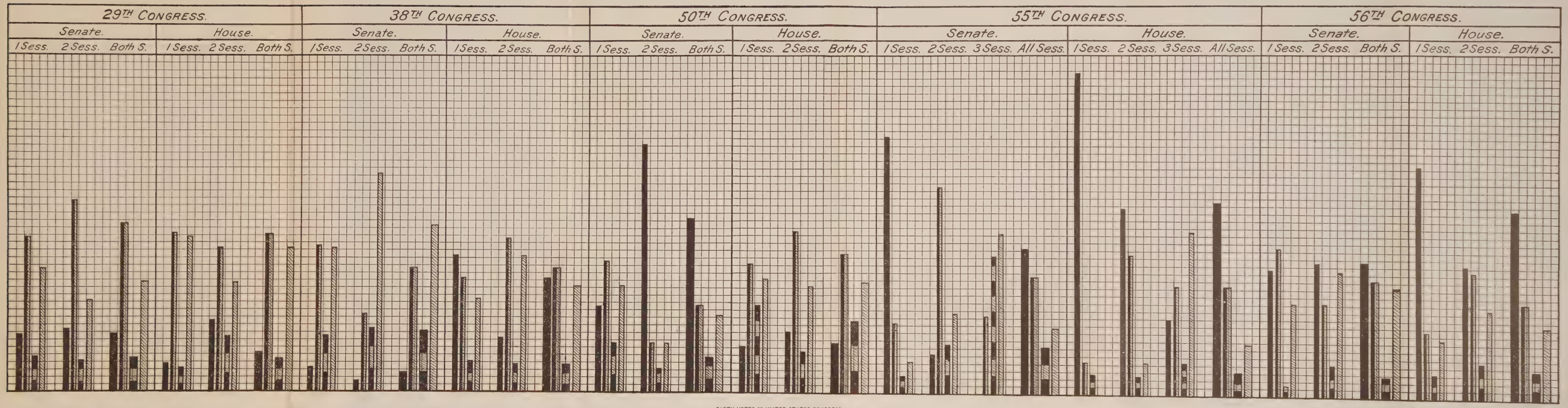
PARTY VOTES IN ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

Black column, both parties cast party votes; narrow black and shaded column side by side, party vote of one party only, majority of the other party on the opposite side; alternate black and shaded column, party vote of one party only, majority of the other party on the same side; shaded column, neither party cast a party vote; jagged line indicates government defeats. (See page 825.)



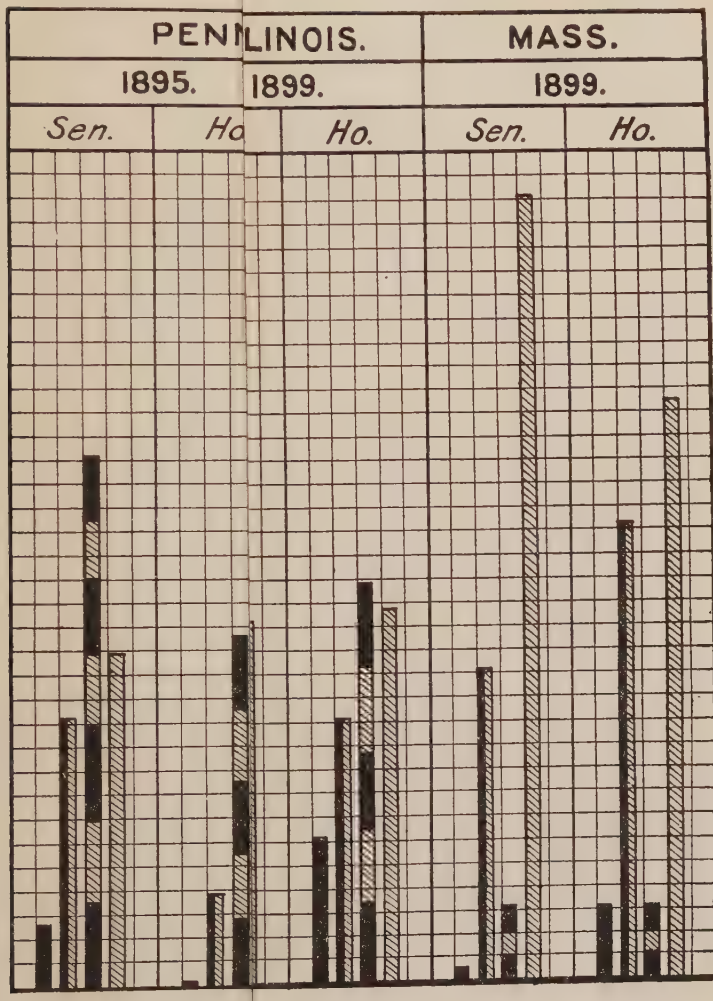
PARTY VOTES IN ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

Jagged line indicates government defeats, the line being for each year as many eighths of an inch above the base as there were defeats during the session. (See page 328.)



PARTY VOTES IN UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

Black column, both parties cast party votes; narrow black and shaded column side by side, party vote of one party only, majority of the other party on the opposite side; alternate black and shaded column, party vote of one party only, majority of the other party on the same side; shaded column, neither party cast a party vote. (See page 325.)



Black column, both parte black and shaded column, party vote or one party

XVI. —LONDON COMPANY RECORDS.

By LYON G. TYLER,
PRESIDENT OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

LONDON COMPANY RECORDS.

By President Lyon G. Tyler.

In noticing the movement to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement at Jamestown, the Chicago Tribune says that "Virginia has much to offer which is of interest as illustrating American history." "In its way," adds the Tribune, "the Virginia Tercentenary will be quite as suggestive as the discovery of America celebrated at Chicago, and the centennial of the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, and still more so than the first exportation of cotton celebrated at New Orleans seventeen years ago, or the Louisiana Purchase, which St. Louis will celebrate two years hence."

"These comments," says the Richmond Dispatch in its issue on Christmas Day, "are in consonance with a treatment of the subject we have noticed in a number of our Northern exchanges. The proposed Jamestown Tercentenary is certainly exciting widespread interest from the historical and sentimental point of view. There is a growing recognition of the great importance of the event it will commemorate and of the relations of that event to the development of Anglo-Saxon institutions on this continent to the genesis of the United States."

By those who, occupied with the busy matters of every-day life, have little time to give to the study of past events, the difference between the greater Virginia of early American history and the modern Virginia, a State of glorious history but of comparatively limited area, is not always recognized. The name Virginia was once the name of nearly all that vast country now occupied by the United States of America. The first permanent English settlement in Virginia is, of course, the first permanent English settlement in the United States.

The Tercentenary, therefore, of the settlement at Jamestown is an event in which not only Virginians but the people

of the United States in general are interested. It is not only a great State event, but a great national event.

From these premises the conclusion is reached mathematically that every circumstance attending the settlement at Jamestown must be of paramount value to Americans. To members of this society, who are banded together for the purpose of promoting historical studies, the simple fact that there are preserved in the Library of Congress two volumes still unpublished, being original attested copies of the records of the original of the body politic of this nation, should have especial interest. The company of English merchants and gentlemen who sent out the colony to Jamestown, and maintained it there at heavy financial cost to themselves, were known as the Virginia Company of London, and the records referred to recount the proceedings of their courts and assemblies while about the Virginia business in London. In full view of a tercentennary celebration of so much importance and comprehensiveness, the following account of their history is given in the hope that it may lead this society to make what would be deemed, by many at least, a signal contribution to the success of the celebration in 1907, the publication in full, carefully annotated, of what the great historian, Dr. Alexander Brown, has characterized "the most precious volumes preserved in the Republic." The account I give has no claims to originality, but is merely a synopsis of what has been written by others, and especially by Dr. Alexander Brown, of Nelson County, Va.

After King James resolved to destroy the charter of the company an attempt was made by him to obtain possession of the records of the corporation for the purpose of their suppression. He had for years been accustomed to look upon the meetings of the company as "a seminary for a seditious parliament." He continued to confiscate at every opportunity the company's evidences, under various pretensions, until the Virginia charter was overthrown on June 26, 1624, by a quo warranto issued by Sir James Ley, lord chief justice of the King's bench. On July 4, 1624, he appointed a special commission to aid him in the premises, composed of 16 members, the large majority being Crown officials or members of the court party; and one of their first acts was to order Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, the deputy

of the Virginia corporation, to bring to them many of the company's evidences. On July 25 the King enlarged this commission by the addition of 40 new members, and gave them especial royal orders "to take into their hands and keep all books, orders, letters, advices, and other writings and things in any wise concerning the colony and plantation of Virginia, in whose hands soever the same may be." In this way all the numerous books of the company passed into the hands of the Crown, and the only evidences handed down from this source consist of extracts made in the interest of the royal purposes from documents which have not been found and probably were deliberately destroyed.

While the court party had every advantage in being able to destroy evidences unfavorable to their purposes, the patriot party were not idle. The only way they could act was by stealth, and, fortunately for the truth which is essential to history, they made determined efforts to preserve their records in this way. There were two members of the company who were conspicuous for their devotion to the interests of Virginia. Sir John Danvers, who had been long one of the auditors, and deputy-treasurer Nicholas Ferrar. The former had a copy made, duly authenticated by the clerk, Edward Collingwood, of the journal of the company for the last five years, covering the administrations of Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton. The latter had a copy made of "all the court books and all other writings belonging to the company." Both the Danvers and Ferrar copies were delivered by Danvers and Ferrar, respectively, to the safe-keeping of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the last treasurer of the company.

As soon as the royal commissioners learned of these copies they called on the Earl for them, but, regardless of the royal order, he replied "that he would as soon part with the evidences of his land as with the said copies, being the evidence of his honor in that service."

Southampton soon went to the Netherlands, where he died, and James I himself died not long after.

The MSS. in the Library of Congress are evidently the Danvers copy which had been sent by Southampton to his house at Titchfield for preservation, in the autumn of 1624. His son Thomas, the fourth Earl of Southampton, inherited

the volumes. He left no male heir, and his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, Lady Noel, inherited Titchfield. Her son was Wriothesley, second Baron Noel of Titchfield. He died in 1690 without male issue, and it may be that the library at Titchfield was not sold until his death.

However, William Stith, the president of William and Mary College, says they were purchased for 60 guineas by William Byrd, of Virginia, in 1667, soon after the death of the fourth Earl of Southampton, from his executors, but the date may well be doubted, as at that time the first William Byrd was only fifteen years old. Mr. R. A. Brock, who has given much attention to this subject, thinks the real date was 1687, since William Byrd was in London during that year. Mr. Stith had the use of them from the second William Byrd, about 1747, in compiling his history of Virginia.

Some time after 1747 Col. William Byrd, the third (1728–1777), lent these records to Col. Richard Bland, who had also copies of some of the documents in Virginia collected by Sir John Randolph and Mr. Richard Hickman, clerk of the council; and these books furnished Bland with some of the material on which he based his pamphlet, An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, published in 1766, which won for him the title of "The American Antiquary." Col. Richard Bland died October 26, 1776, and his library was sold in January following and purchased by Thomas Jefferson. These two volumes came to the Library of Congress, where they now are, from Mr. Jefferson's library not with the mass of his books in 1815, but after his death, between the years 1826 and 1830.

In 1722 Sir John Randolph, who intended writing a history of Virginia, and was a brother-in-law of William Stith, the historian, had Richard Hickman, clerk of the council, employed in copying into a book some of the ancient papers in the clerk's office, and besides this work Hickman made a full copy for Sir John of the Danvers copy of the Virginia Company's records. These books, three in number, passed to the library of John Randolph of Roanoke, nephew of Sir John, in whose library they were found after his death in 1833. They next passed to the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, and were deposited with the late Conway Robinson as chairman of its standing committee. While in his possession Mr. Robinson

made copious extracts from the two containing the proceedings of the Virginia Company of London, which were edited and published by Mr. R. A. Brock, secretary of the society, in 1888. The Hickman records are still in the possession of the society, and a year ago a movement was inaugurated to publish them, but on comparison it was found that the copyist had not always followed the originals, and that it would never do to rely on these books as long as the more authentic books in the Library of Congress were in existence.

The desirability of the publication of the full records of the Virginia Company was first publicly urged by the accomplished scholar, the late John Wingate Thornton, in a paper in the Historical Magazine, February, 1858, then edited by the veteran antiquarian, John Ward Dean, and in a pamphlet entitled The First Records of Anglo-American Colonies, Boston, 1859. In May, 1868, Rev. Edward D. Neill, D. D., who had used these records while working on his Terra Mariæ, memorialized Congress, explaining their value, and offering, without compensation, to edit the manuscripts, under the direction of the Librarian of Congress. Being thwarted in his purpose, Dr. Neill made the records the basis of a history of the Virginia Company of London, 1869, which, somewhat changed, appeared in an English edition as English Colonization in America in the Seventeenth Century. Two unavailing efforts have been made with Congress by the Virginia Historical Society for the publication of the records. The first contemplated a publication to be made at the cost of the Government, and the second a publication to be made under the auspices and at the cost of the society.

Besides the proceedings of the company, there are also in the Library of Congress a large folio manuscript volume containing papers of the company and the colony from the year 1621 to 1625, and a smaller folio, also in manuscript, but prepared at a later period by Richard Hickman, it is believed, containing copies of early papers.

The publication of all these manuscripts falls peculiarly within the province of the American Historical Association. In character and application they are eminently American manuscripts, and now is the time that steps should be taken for giving them to the public, when, as is hoped, the power and might of the nation shall soon be displayed in a great

civil celebration and naval demonstration to be held at the famous island of Jamestown. The peculiar historic value of the island has already been recognized by the country at large through two appropriations from Congress aggregating $25,000, the purpose of which has been to save the memorable site of the first landing from the encroachment of the waters of James River by the erection of a breakwater at the western end of the island.

XVII.—THE RELATION BETWEEN THE VIRGINIA PLANTER AND THE LONDON MERCHANT.

By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT,
PROFESSOR, TRINITY COLLEGE.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE VIRGINIA PLANTER AND THE LONDON MERCHANT.

By John Spencer Bassett.

The London Company, which projected the settlement of Virginia, was at bottom a trading company. Although it had certain creditable notions of serving the Fatherland and the Church of England, it never would have made the various attempts to plant and sustain the colony if there had not been behind its efforts the notion that the company would reap financial reward in return for its expensive outlays. As a trading company it had before its eyes for an example the success of the Muscovy and East India companies, and it not unnaturally sought to reach its gains in much the same ways as those employed by those companies. It was natural for it to think that a vineyard planted with so much pains and cultivated at so much expense ought to be reserved for its private advantage. It accordingly sought to monopolize the trade of the colony. It established a regulation by which all persons who traded with the colony in an independent relation were to be arrested and fined 2½ per cent of the amount traded for if they were Englishmen and 5 per cent of the same if they were foreigners. As for the trade of the company itself, each member wrote opposite his name the amount which he adventured in the enterprise, and the profits were to be divided in the same proportion. The goods sent by the company were to be in the hands of the Cape Merchant and his two clerical assistants. He was not a trader so far as the colonists were concerned, for all things were owned in common. It was not till private property was allowed that there appeared a modification of this relation. Studley was the first Cape Merchant of the company, and after his death in the first summer of the colony's existence he was succeeded by Smith.[a]

[a] Bruce: Economic History of Virginia, II. 261-263.

There were three classes of persons who violated this monopoly: The seamen on the ships which came to the colony, the officials of the company in the colony, and independent traders.

Of the first class it may be said with great show of truth that they were the first to violate the regulation. This breach certainly appeared as early as 1608, when there came to the colony the "second supply" of provisions for the people. At that time dire want had held the people for some months. There sprang up, as soon as the ships arrived, an illicit trade between the sailors and the inhabitants. The latter were in such a state of want that they could not be satisfied with the slow, and in some other senses unsatisfactory, manner of distribution adopted by the officials. They began with the recklessness of hungry men to barter their furniture, their articles of luxury which they had brought from England with them, and their very implements for the food which the seamen smuggled ashore from the ships. It was only through the most rigorous measures that this trade could be checked.

The violation of the monopoly by the officials of the company resident in Virginia was not of so frequent occurrence as that by the seamen, but it sometimes happened. The most notable instance of it was in the governorship of Argall. That shameless officer stopped at no measure to line his nest at the expense of both company and inhabitants; but his favorite method in regard to the trade was to wink at the violations of the monopoly by captains of ships and by independent traders. The Cape Merchant himself was not above suspicion in regard to this kind of wrongdoing.[a]

As to the introduction of the independent traders, there is but little direct evidence. The monopoly as first established was to expire in 1616. So little profit had been realized out of the enterprise at that time, however, that the company was loath to surrender its advantage. It accordingly created a private corporation known as "The Society of Particular Adventurers for Traffic with the People of Virginia in Joint Stock," and in this corporation the company and its members took shares. It attempted, moreover, to restrict the trade of the colony to the new association, but in this it was not successful. The people of Virginia were not willing to have their

[a] Bruce: Economic History of Virginia, II, 282-286.

commerce bound in such narrow lines. The company tried to retain the full monopoly while it seemed to relinquish it. Thus it provided that independent traders should be allowed to buy freely of the inhabitants everything but tobacco and sassafras.[a] This grant, which may seem on the surface to be a considerable concession, was in fact not much of a concession, for there was but little produced in the colony that was worth bringing away besides tobacco and sassafras. About the same time the strictness of this regulation was relaxed so much as to allow persons to send, on their own account, provisions to the colony if the members of the company refused to subscribe to the stock of the corporation which had the monopoly. So fast did the independent trader get a foothold that in 1621 the entire crop of tobacco was marketed to him and and sent out of the colony before the arrival of the somewhat tardy ships of the company.[b] From that time till the end of the company's rule in 1624 there was no improvement in these conditions. The trade had become practically open to the world. The repeal of the charter brought a complete removal of restrictions. From that time the independent dealer went up and down the Virginia rivers in full confidence in his mastery of the situation.

The independent trader appeared first in the colony as a ship captain. With his ship loaded with such goods as he thought the people would need, he came into the rivers with offers to trade. As between him and the company's agents there was the usual advantage of him who enters competition with a clear head and with the incentive to quick turns and shrewd dealings against a sedate and rather clumsy agent of government. He undersold the agent. He was in the first instance frequently the owner of his ship and of his cargo. But sometimes he was merely agent for the owner. He established a warm and familiar relation with the inhabitants along the James, and his periodic trips to the colony were looked forward to with something more than the interest one felt in the arrival of one's supply of winter clothing. He was an emissary from that world of happy memory which all the people, except the children, had once lived in. He brought the news of friends in England, or at least he brought information about political happenings. In the dreariness of the

[a] Bruce: Economic History of Virginia, II, 280–282. [b] Ibid. 291.

forest life he was a messenger of light. He was well received by the people. He was really a man of parts, if he was a successful merchant. He held an influential position among the people.

How such a man might prosper is seen from the career of Col. Thomas Stegg. He was, perhaps, from London originally. He was in command of a ship that traded in the James at least as early as 1637; how much earlier there is no means of knowing. He soon appeared as a landowner at Westover. Here, too, he had a store. He did not give up his seafaring life, however. He was a loyal Parliament man in the troubles which broke out between the people and the King. With a commission from the Parliamentary leaders, he sailed northward on the lookout for Royalist ships. Meeting one of them in Boston Harbor, he did not hesitate to make her his prize. This proceeding the Puritans of Boston did not relish, the reason, as we may infer, being that there were some of their own goods on board. He was soon back in Virginia, where he was at different times both member of the house of burgesses and councilor. He had the good will of both factions in Virginia, and in 1650 Charles II, then holding a shadowy court at Breda, give him a commission to be a member of the council of Virginia. In the following year, however, he was in England and was appointed one of the three commissioners to reduce to the subjection of the Parliament the colonies which bordered on the Chesapeake Bay. He returned to America, discharged this duty, and set sail for England, evidently to make report of the fact, but he was lost at sea.[a] He brought his son, Thomas Stegg, jr., to the colony and left to him his property at Westover. This son eventually sold the property his father left him, and in 1661 took up land on the south side of the river at the Falls of the James, perhaps just a little to the east of the site of present town of Manchester. This place he probably fancied because, being at the headwaters of navigation, it was a convenient place from which to send his Indian traders southward to the Sauras, Catawbas, and Cherokees. It was also convenient for the trade of the western region; but at that time this could have had but little weight with him, for there were but few whites settled at that time to the west of the falls, and the Indians to be reached in

[a] See Neil: Virginia Carolorum, pp. 135, 136, 167, 179, 218, 219; also the author's edition of the Writings of Col. William Byrd (1901), pp. xiv, xv.

that direction were many a long mile away. Thomas Stegg, jr., traded at his place on the south side of the James and lived in honor. Like his father, he was a member of the council, and he had other important offices. He died rich in goods and in the esteem of his neighbors. He had no children, and was thus persuaded to send to England for William Byrd, the eldest son of his sister, Grace, by her husband, John Byrd. This John Byrd was an honest but not a distinguished goldsmith of London, and his son inherited from him habits of thrift and business sagacity of no mean order. William Byrd came, it seems, to Virginia either before the death of his uncle, in 1670 or 1671, or very soon afterwards. He took position with the best people of the colony. His uncle had enjoyed the respect of the very best of the Cavalier influence. Byrd married as early as 1673 a daughter of a fine Cavalier family, and had a career in the business and political life of the day which is rendered inconspicuous by nothing less than the brilliant career of his cultured and highly educated son of the same name. He carried on the trade which his uncle Stegg had established before him. When he died in 1704, his son, fine gentleman as he was, did not hesitate to carry on the same trade, sending, as he himself says, his traders to the Cherokees and the Catawbas, till the encroachments of the South Carolina traders rendered the trade no longer profitable. Such was the history of one family influence in the trade of the colony. It was not dissimilar to the history of other families.[a]

It will be seen that Stegg, the elder, came as a ship captain, and that he developed into a trader. This was a common occurrence. On the other hand, many who appeared at first as trading captains came at last to stay in England and to send their goods to the colony in the hands of agents. These agents were frequently supercargoes; but as the commercial conditions became more settled the London merchant came to trust the goods more and more to the ship captains. In such cases he found it necessary to have agents in Virginia.[b] These

[a] See the author's edition of the Writings of Colonel Byrd, pp. xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii.

[b] In 1683 Fitzhugh wrote as follows to some New England correspondents who had an idea of opening a trade with the colony: "At the instance of Mr. Jackson, though unacquainted, this comes to acquaint you that I apprehend you are mistaken in carrying on any trade in our Parts, by your sending your goods to purchase her own Loading which puts a necessity upon your Dealer to sell for the speed of his market great deal cheaper than you need if you could afford a stock before hand, to lie in some factor's hands in

agents were necessary, in the first instance, to collect the debts due to the Londoner. In this capacity they were little more than representatives with powers of attorneys. They were frequently lawyers. But as the Londoner was continually dealing with many people whose reliability he could know nothing about, he came at length to take frequent advice from his agent about matters of a general nature, and thus his attorney became a confidential adviser. It also happened that there were frequently cargoes sent to the colony which could not, for one reason or another, be sold immediately. These were left in the hands of the agents, to be disposed of to the best advantage. Thus the agent gained the function of a commission merchant. Such an agent might build up a reputation for honest dealings and find that many merchants outside of the colony would desire his services. All of these experiences came to William Fitzhugh. He was a lawyer, and a man of great honesty and sagacity. He carried on trade on his own account, as well as on the accounts of other people. He acquired a great fortune in lands and in slaves, and he kept copies of his correspondence with an attention to detail which has made posterity many times his debtor.

From what has been said about the development of the merchant out of the trader it must not be supposed that this merchant became a great trader, as happened in the case of such men as John Hull and the Faneuils of Massachusetts. The Virginia traders, for reasons which I shall take up later in this sketch, never got beyond the stage of neighborhood storekeepers. They lived along the greater rivers, buying large quantities of goods for their own estates and somewhat more for the neighbors who lived on smaller plantations, and in the fall, if there seemed to be any chance to make money by the speculation, they bought tobacco in the country and

this Country and who would then take the opportunity of his Market and could reduce the whole loading to lie in some certain places to be immediately taken in upon the Arrival of your vessel, which those that come to purchase their Loading are forced to go from place to place for, so that the profit of the voyage if you purchase very cheap (which is uncertain) is eaten up by the length of Stay necessarily occasioned by going from place to Place to fetch the several parcels of wheat, besides the uncertainty of the Market; those things would be taken away by settling a constant factoridge here and whatever commodity you had a mind to, or gave advice of, might be reasonably and certainly every year purchased and the vessel that comes for it quickly dispatched so that the first Stock of money being dead about five or six months gives these advantages a certain and sure market, an cassie change and a quick Dispatch, which is the life and profit of every Trade. What I have said is not to Court your Employ but to satisfy Mr. Jackson."—Va. Histl. Mag. I., 108.

sent it to England in the ships which came in the winter. They were traders and planters, and not seldom they added to these activities that of one of the learned professions. Thus the colony merchants, so far as they existed at all, were not a distinct feature of colonial life.

The trade, on the other hand, was immediately from the hands of the Londoner to those of the planter. Into the rivers the ships came early in the winter, loaded with goods which had been ordered the preceding spring by either the large planters or by these scattered smaller traders whom I have described. These goods were slowly disembarked as the ships moved leisurely from wharf to wharf. The captains, in the meantime, were making engagements for tobacco with which to make their return loads. They proceeded about their business leisurely enough, and in the course of some weeks returned for the tobacco which they had agreed to take.

About this trade there was much indirection. The London merchant was not a merchant in the sense that a merchant is one who buys and sells commodities. He was more of a commission merchant than a dealer. The only article he handled directly was tobacco. This he disposed of to the best advantage when it was received in England, deducted from the receipts the necessary expenses of the transaction, and placed the balance to the credit of the planter. This balance was rarely remitted to the colony, but it was laid out in goods of one kind or another to be sent to the planter by the ships which returned in the following season. Each ship which brought tobacco brought also orders for goods. These goods were bought from various shopkeepers in the city by the Londoner to whom the tobacco was consigned. If there were complaints, and such there frequently were, there was no easy redress for the person who bought the goods. The shopkeepers were so far away that it was a difficult matter to reach them. Frequently the orders sent over with the tobacco amounted to more than the crop realized. The result was debts were contracted by the planter. How much irritation came of these debts one may easily imagine. They served to produce some harsh feeling on each side of the water. The Londoner was apt to feel that his debtor was a little anxious to escape from his obligations; the planter was often led to think that his creditor was a Shylock. Each may have been

to a certain extent right, but the fact that such feelings existed was unfortunate in its effect on the state of commerce.

This form of trade was expensive. The commissions of the London factor had to be paid in the first instance. Although he may not have charged anything for his services in buying the articles which the planter ordered, it is reasonable to think that he did not fail to include in his commissions enough to repay him for this trouble. Moreover, he was not enough interested in his purchases to buy with the same care for prices and for quality of goods as the planter would have done in person. It is evident, too, that there was opportunity for corrupt collusion between the factor and the shopkeeper; and it is not very improbable that it did sometimes occur. The item of freight was somewhat more expensive when goods had to be put ashore at the various landings than if they had been sent in bulk to one place.

The most permanent social result of this was that it prevented the development of a strong trading class. It served to turn the commerce of the colony away from the normal channel in other colonies of a trade through one or more strong trading centers, and it scattered the commerce in a thousand smaller parts among the richer planters themselves. Such a state of trade was a social disadvantage. It gave, no doubt, a certain modishness to colony manners, because it put the wealthy people into close touch with the best London shops; but it deprived the people of the more compact society which exists when it is centered around strong centers. Such centers bring to society a more intellectual life. They are usually accompanied by more of a turn to scientific method. Such, undoubtedly, was true of such colonies as Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, where a strong trading class built up cities whose influences have been felt in the nation long after the influence of the Virginia planters has passed into decay.

It is natural to ask ourselves why there did not develop trading cities in Virginia. The people who settled there were in no material sense different from those who settled in Massachusetts. Why, then, did they not build towns? It was not, as some have said, on account of a social prejudice against trade. Such a prejudice, which may have existed after the Revolution, did not exist in the formative period of Virginia

life. There was no more influential family in Virginia than that of the Byrds; and I have already shown that they not only originated from a family of traders, but that they were engaged in trade themselves. William Fitzhugh was also a trader, and his social position was the best. In fact, there was hardly a family of social and political importance in the first century of the colony which did not have some kind of a connection with commerce.

Neither could the existing system have grown up because it was cheaper than a trade through the usual channels. It is probable that large dealers, buying in quantities in England, could have undersold the traders following the usual method. This view is supported by the strong opposition of the Londoners to the attempts which were made to establish towns in Virginia. They feared that such a move would lessen the profitableness of their trade. The planters, it is true, believed that they would pay more for their goods if they were to lose the direct trade with England, but they could hardly have realized how much they would have gained in cheaper freights for their tobacco, which would probably have offset all the loss in this other way. This condition refers only to the very rich planters. The smaller and less influential planters, who were not themselves buyers of tobacco, could have had no advantage in the existing system as compared with the trade through towns.

A more probable reason for the existing system was the extreme profitableness of tobacco planting in connection with slave labor. How great this was we have seldom realized. In the early days of colony planting it was possible for a man of ordinary means to take up a large tract of land at the rate of 5 shillings for 100 acres. Let us fancy to ourselves the condition of a man who arrived in Virginia as early as 1650. At that time the most desirable land on the James had been pre-empted, and the frontier was on the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Let us say that he had £100 with which to begin life. At that time the council had not definitely begun to sell land at the rate I have mentioned,[a] but the custom

[a] It was in 1699 that the council decided to sell importation rights at 5 shillings each (Council Minutes, June 21, 1699); but in 1697 testimony was offered to the board of trade showing that they had been sold from half a crown to 4 shillings each. An importation right gave 50 acres. (See Sainsbury Papers in State library at Richmond, volume for 1691–1697, p. 335.)

of the community had brought it practically to the same thing by establishing 5 shillings or less, as the price of an importation right. Suppose such a person had taken up 1,000 acres of land. It would have cost him £2½. The next problem which was presented to him would have been labor. How should he get it? He could have relied on indented servants or on negro slaves. The supply of rich land at very low rates was abundant. There was but one thing to prevent him from growing immensely rich; that was the scarcity of labor. He could not make much progress with indented servants. In the first place it was hard to get them at all. The supply was limited. In the second place they were not very satisfactory, for they would not go to make up a permanent laboring class.[a] As soon as they came to be freemen they became landowners themselves. They either moved to the frontier of Virginia or they went on farther still till they came into North Carolina. That colony had many of its settlers in the first half century of existence from this class in Virginia. The prospecting small landholder in Virginia in 1650 would have concluded that white labor was almost an impossibility. He would have turned to slave labor. Now there were certain disadvantages in slave labor, and the settlers were quite conscious of them. They were an unlovable and an uncouth people as they first appeared to the people. They were barbarous, intractable, and so unmanageable that they were not very profitable. The Virginians took them for their laborers very reluctantly. It was not till near the end of the seventeenth century that they came to be the chief source of labor in a colony which had at that time been settled for three-quarters of a century. They came into use largely when these northern rivers began to be settled. It is probable that our settler on the Potomac would have bought slaves. He may well have bought a man and a woman and two boys of 12 years each for £70.[b] This would have left him £27½ to spend in the purchase of implements and supplies for the first year. An able-bodied man, it was estimated, could cultivate 10,000 plants of tobacco, which would yield 15 hundredweight of cured tobacco. This, according to Commissary Blair, was worth, in 1697, 40 shillings a

[a] On the disadvantages of white servants see Bruce: Econ. Hist., II, 58–61.

[b] The price of a sound man slave in 1670 was £20; a woman brought nearly as much, and youths something less still. (See Bruce: Econ. Hist. of Va., II, 88–89.)

hundredweight.[a] Thus from each man he would receive £30. Others placed the return for each man, estimating it at other times in the seventeenth century, at from £16⅔ to £25.[b] All this was over and above the support which the slaves made for themselves. If we take for an average £22½, we shall not overestimate the yield of the plantation if we say that our hypothetical farmer could realize from his plantation £75 the first year. This would be quite enough to pay for the necessary English supplies and to allow him to buy one other slave to increase his labor supply. Such an increase could go on indefinitely.[c] After he had gone on in this way till he was an old man he might, if he were reasonably industrious, expect to have from purchases and from the natural increase by births nearly 100 negroes. In the meantime he could have bought or taken up from the King large tracts of land. He would at that time be a rich man, a leader in his community, and he would have achieved it all without very great hardship. It is doubtful if ever a surer road was opened to the man of industry to go on to wealth and respectable influence. So strongly did it attract men that it was never possible for commerce to take a firm foothold in the colony. How strongly it drew the people is seen from the fact that there were the fewest people of other professions than farming who did not combine farming with those other callings. Physicians, lawyers, and clergymen frequently were planters as well, and not infrequently the professional life was allowed to dwindle into insignificance, while the plantation was made more and more the chief support of the family.

The disadvantages which the colony suffered from lack of towns were not unknown at the time. In 1662, 1680, and 1691 acts were passed to establish towns, but it was too late. The rural system was so well established that it was impossible to overcome its influence. The last of the laws may furnish us an illustration of how the conditions of town building presented themselves to the people of the day. By it a large number of towns were created as ports of entry. They were given privileges and the people were commanded to trade in

[a] See abstracts of Virginia papers in the public-rolls office, preserved in the State library at Richmond under the title Sainsbury Papers, volume for 1691–1697, pp. 334, 335.

[b] Bruce, Econ. Hist. of Va., I, 337, 343.

[c] William Bullock, who wrote about life in Virginia in 1649, declared that an industrious planter could invest £50 in his business and in two years make it yield an estate worth £600. (See Bruce: Econ. Hist. of Va., I, 342–343.)

them. The law was passed at the instance of Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson. It aroused the opposition of the London merchants, who saw that their trade would be seriously injured. It aroused also a strong opposition in the colony; first, from the large planters, who foresaw that their own plantation trade would be interfered with, and secondly, from the people at large, who, as Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair said, knew nothing of the advantages of town life and considered the restriction which sought to bring the trade into the proposed towns a hardship. So strong was the opposition that the law was repealed a few months after it was sought to put it into operation.[a]

One of the most serious features of colony trade was transportation. It was especially serious in Virginia. The system which came into use was slow and expensive. The ships which were sent to take the tobacco crop to England usually arrived late in the fall or early in the winter. The slow method of collecting freight, which has already been noted, delayed their return till late in the spring. The long period in the colony was a source of heavy expense to the planter. In 1659 it cost £7 to send a ton of tobacco to England. This was 17.9 per cent of the gross sales. At the same time the planter received, after paying the expenses of customs, commissions, freights, and other charges, 35.1 per cent of the gross sales. Thus he paid for his freight half as much as his crop netted him. In 1691 freight was £15 a ton, but this was during the war with France, and the danger of capture doubtless made the charges higher. In 1737, as we may see from the letters of Col. William Byrd, 2d, freight was considered low at £7 a ton.[b] For all this the merchants complained that they made nothing out of them. There seems to be no good reason to doubt their statement. The expenses were sufficient to account for very high freights.

High as these freights were, there was continued and general complaint about the difficulty of getting opportunities of shipping. There often was a dearth of ships. The fault was

[a] For the stories of these laws to establish towns see Bruce: Econ. Hist. of Va., II, 540–560.

[b] From copies of Byrd's letters, which the author examined, in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society. Since he has seen them these copies have been withdrawn from the custody of the society. In 1683 William Fitzhugh paid £5 10s. a ton for freight. (See Va. Histl. Mag., I, 121.)

usually charged, in Virginia, to the merchant. What the merchant would have said about it we do not know, for his evidence is not at hand. It seems probable that each side was partly responsible. The planter sent home in late spring or in summer reports of what kind of crops would be made. It was natural for him not to overestimate the yield, for that would mean low prices. The merchant was careful not to send more ships than would accommodate the crop. It was for his interest to send too few ships rather than too many. Moreover, the ships which came were chartered, frequently by the merchants, and if they did not take enough tobacco to repay the outlay the loss was the merchant's. Thus the normal condition was one of scarcity of ships.

How greatly a planter might suffer from this state of affairs may be seen from the letters of William Fitzhugh. In 1682 he was writing to his London correspondent, "I was intended to have sent you ten thousand Pipe Staves and four hundred feet of two-inch black walnut Plank, but could not get freight for them." He explained that his long absence from home and his remoteness from shipping facilities had prevented his getting freight when there was an opportunity.[a] In 1687 he wrote that "there was this year such plenty of Tob° and scarcity of ships that freight was hardly to be procured on any terms."[b] William Byrd, the first of the name, had the same kind of experience.[c] From a letter of William Byrd, the second of the name, we may see something of the same state of affairs a generation later. The letter is written to Mr. Hansbury, an English merchant, and the date is evidently 1736. To a former complaint of the writer Hansbury had replied that the merchants made nothing out of the Virginia trade. The reason of this, said Byrd, was that when the merchant sent out the ships they gave them instructions to take no tobacco except what was consigned to the merchants themselves. This caused long delays in Virginia, during which the ships were compelled to send sloops hither and thither collecting their cargoes. If a ship of 500 tons, he added, were to come to the colony with instructions to take

[a] Va. Histl. Mag., I, 107.

[b] Ibid., II, 133.

[c] MSS. letters in possession of the Virginia Historical Society, Letter to Perry and Lane, July 21, 1690.

freight as it was offered, she could load at once and make money with freight at £7 a ton.[a]

The ordinary method of securing freight was for the planter to authorize some merchant in London, or elsewhere in England, to engage freight in the ships they sent from England. The planter could do this by the late ships, which usually left Virginia rivers in the summer. This was the only sure way of getting one's tobacco shipped. Tobacco left in Virginia for want of shipment was, said Fitzhugh, as good as lost. This deterioration in tobacco must have been due to imperfect methods of storage, since age is thought in these days to improve the quality of it. If it was to be stored it was necessary to examine it often to see that it was undergoing no damage.[b] Sometimes the planters, in order to be sure of freight, made up a "charter party." How this was done does not appear, but it was probably arranged by some one in London, who took the names of the persons who entered into the affair and the amounts for which they were entered and made the contract with the ship captain, who went at the appointed time to the appointed place and took on board the specified tobacco.

The inconveniences of this trade induced Fitzhugh to make a proposition to his London factor, John Cooper, by which he hoped to remedy the inconveniences mentioned. He proposed that Cooper should send to Virginia a small vessel carrying from 200 to 250 hogsheads of tobacco. He offered to load her in thirty days after her arrival, and that within a distance of 20 miles from his plantation. The ship must not arrive before "some time in December," and he must have notice of her coming by some of the early ships which were sent to the colony. The tobacco for her loading he seems to have expected to collect from the neighborhood, either storing it himself or holding it in readiness at the homes of his neighbors. So far his proposition related to freight only. He also made other proposals which related to the sale of the tobacco. It was that the tobacco to be sent to England by this scheme was to be paid for at the rate of 10 shillings a hundred, the goods to be valued as goods were valued which were bought for cash, and the tobacco to be delivered without

[a] This was taken by the author from a copy of the letter to Hansbury in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

[b] Va. Histl. Mag., III, 165, 259.

charges for collecting or otherwise handling it. If these terms of sale were not acceptable to Cooper, he offered to sell the tobacco at the regular market price when the ships arrived and to charge 21 pounds of tobacco in the hundred weight for his services in collecting the cargo. The advantages to be expected by Cooper through this form of trade Fitzhugh summed up as follows:

> By this trade here will be a great charge Saved in the long stay ships generally make here, being often times forced to run from one end of the Country to the other almost, which eats out the profit of a good market, besides Sloop hire, the allowance to your factor, and merchants, the uncertainty of purchasing Tob° and if purchased many times lying out and behind, and some bad debts never to be recovered; on the other side, as soon as your Ship Arrive She may be taking Tob°, her whole Loading certain, the Distance the Tob° lies at small, so two or three flatts will presently load her and by that means save Sloop hire.[a]

This scheme was not accepted by Cooper, but for what reason does not appear.

In 1687 Fitzhugh was coming back to the same basis, and was making a somewhat similar proposition to Thomas Clayton, another merchant. He referred to a letter from Clayton in which the latter said that he approved of the element of dispatch in the proposed scheme, but that he could not enter into it unless tobacco were to be bought in Virginia at very low prices. To this Fitzhugh replied that he well knew this to be true as long as he, Clayton, was forced to pay the expensive charges of loading the tobacco in Virginia. He then reiterated the reasons for this expense which he had given four years earlier in the letter to Cooper. His statement of the matter was no doubt exaggerated, but after due allowance is made for a man who was trying to get a favorable contract there was a great deal in what he said. The expenses must have been serious on account of the delays in collecting the tobacco and in disposing at the same time of the cargo of European goods, on account of the expenses of storage and "drinkage" and of commissions to agents and factors, and on account of the bad debts which the agents were almost sure to make. Fitzhugh now promised that if his former offer, which seems to have been substantially the same as that made to Cooper, was taken up, he would load a ship with tobacco at 12s. 6d. a hundred. But if Clayton were unwilling to accept

[a] Va. Histl. Mag., I, 117.

this offer, Fitzhugh made another, to wit, he would take all the goods sent over in two ships, one coming early and the other late in the season, selling in return his tobacco at 12s. 6d. a hundred; and he would do this every year. This was more than the market price, but the excess was calculated to reimburse Fitzhugh for his trouble and for the risk involved in the contract. If we may judge from his letter, he believed that by securing to Clayton a quick dispatch and security from loss by bad debts the latter could afford to give the proposed price for tobacco. If this proposition did not recommend itself to the good judgment of his correspondent, he had others. He would load the two ships, as aforesaid, at 2s. a hundred more than the ruling price of tobacco, and for a commission of 15 per cent on the gross amount of business. If this did not suit Clayton, he would make the level price of tobacco 8s. 6d., instead of counting the price at 2s. more than the market price, and charge the additional 15 per cent. If this was not acceptable, he had still another scheme. He agreed to load the two ships, as before described, at either the market price or at 8s. 6d., to assume all risk himself, and to charge a commission of 25 per cent and £30 in cash for each 300 hogsheads shipped. In justifying the commission of 25 per cent Fitzhugh gives an interesting view of trading expenses. It was the custom, he said, to charge 10 per cent to load vessels, 5 per cent to sell goods, 3 per cent for storage, and as he was sure to deal with the planters "less than 2 per cent will not afford drinkage." Insurance he put at 3 per cent, and the effort to get the ships away in time he thought ought to be worth at least 7 per cent. "But," he added, "I must caution you that I expect the goods bought well and with ready money, and the custom and other incident charges particularly mentioned, and not an advancement of the goods to make up those charges, as is in frequent use and practice."[a] So far as is known, this elaborate scheme was not accepted by Clayton, to whom it was submitted.

Fitzhugh's experience in regard to opportunities to ship was shared by both of the Byrds. The elder of them wrote on July 21, 1690, to ask that some small ship be sent him and promised to load it.[b] Forty-six years later the second Byrd wrote that the complaints of the merchants would be remedied if the ships sent were instructed to take freight from

[a] Va. Histl. Mag., II, 137–139.

[b] To Perry and Lone. See MSS. letters in possession of Virginia Historical Society.

anyone who offered it.[a] The schemes all failed, perhaps because of the great distance between the two places. The trade having become established in the existing way, it was exceedingly difficult for the remote planters to get it changed into new channels. The naturally conservative feeling of commerce, as well as the pecuniary advantage of the merchants, made a bulwark against which the efforts of the more enlightened planters and traders of Virginia were of no avail.

The manner of the trade about which I have been speaking was such that the planter was obliged to allow to his English correspondent much discretion in disposing of the tobacco shipped and in buying goods out of the proceeds. This was frequently due to the uncertainty of the selling price of tobacco. Thus Fitzhugh writes to Cooper that if the tobacco and bills of exchange which he is forwarding shall come to more than the goods which he has ordered he is to send the overplus in linen. At the same time he wants a bricklayer and a carpenter for service on his building and gives instructions for having them sent to him.[b] It might happen, also, that the proceeds would not be sufficient to pay for the goods ordered. In such a case the merchant might exercise his discretion about filling the order. It thus came about that many planters were slightly in debt to the merchants. A sagacious planter would avoid this state of affairs, since it gave the merchant a right to expect that such a debtor would continue to send tobacco to him. Fitzhugh, who was essentially a prudent man of business, said that it was his care to keep a credit with the merchant for "factoridge."[c]

The relations between such a prudent person and the merchant might be very satisfactory, for as long as the planter was not in debt he was a man to be courted. In such cases it is noticeable that terms of intimacy between the two were frequent. Thus Fitzhugh does not mind putting in a piece of news in his letters of business, and Byrd, the elder, frequently sends his and his wife's regards to the merchant and the merchant's family. From the correspondence of the latter we learn also that certain "tokens" were regularly sent

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a From copies of Byrd's letters, formerely in possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

b Va. Histl. Mag., I, 36.

c Va. Histl. Mag., II, 17. An illustration in point is found in a letter of Fitzhugh to Sergeant, in 1694. "I have now sent for nothing," writes the former, "because I know not how my effects may answer. If there be anything coming, sort in coarse goods." Ibid., IV, 415.

to Virginia to be drunk in remembrance of certain friends among the London merchants, and that Byrd, acting for himself and friends on the James, sent certain parcels of tobacco to England with instructions that the proceeds should be expended in wine to be used in the same way.

On the other hand, the relations between these two parties might be anything but pleasant. The very nature of the trade was such that it fell into the credit system from the beginning. When once a merchant had brought goods to America it was no practical thing to carry them back to England because the Virginia market was overstocked. He sought some other way to dispose of them. He might leave them in the hands of an agent, or he might sell them on credit and take a lien on the forthcoming crop of tobacco. In fact, each method was followed. Thus the credit relation got a deep hold on the economic life of the colony. It was the beginning of the expensive system of fall credits in the South. It gave ample room for the work of the lawyer, as we may see from the letters of Fitzhugh. Between the most reliable of the planters and the merchants it might not lead to complications. But there were always people among the Virginians, as among all other peoples, who were not thrifty. Here were causes of the merchant's continual losses. Here was the source of the planter's bitter feelings. The result was a certain jealousy of foreigners of means, which struck deep into the community's consciousness.

Besides this open disadvantage there were a number of unavoidable inconveniences in the trade. One often recurring was the slowness of the planter in finding out how his balance stood. This might happen through accident when the merchant was careful to forward reports, as by the loss of letters. It would more frequently happen through the carelessness of the merchant in not making prompt returns by the ships which took the goods back to Virginia. The slowness of intercourse might well make it two years after the tobacco was shipped before the planter knew certainly what it had netted him. Both Byrd and Fitzhugh had experiences confirmatory of this. The latter writes in 1695 to Cooper:

> I desire you Sr. to send my Account Currant by the first ships & send me two or three duplicates for fear of miscarriage, for not knowing how my Account stands, I dare not send for goods though my wants are very great and pressing.[a]

[a] Va. Histl. Mag., IV, 416.

A similar inconvenience was the irregularity of the mails. The post-office was introduced into Virginia in 1692.[a] Before that time letters were left to the rather uncertain accommodations of the merchant ships. Fitzhugh frequently gives instructions to his correspondent in regard to their letters. Sometimes the letters went astray through being forwarded in any chance ship which came to Virginia. By this means they might be sent in a James River ship and be as difficult to get on the banks of the Potomac, where Fitzhugh lived, as if they were still in London. The direction was to leave letters at Cooper's, who would forward them safely, or to give them to any captain who was coming to the Potomac River in Virginia.[b] This condition of affairs evidently produced serious trouble when, as in 1693, there was not a London ship in the Potomac.[c] Such an occurrence could not have happened often.

The position of Fitzhugh as community trader gave him to a certain extent the position of community banker. He became the owner in this form of business of various small bills of exchange, which he sent to his London correspondent for collection. Many of his business letters contain them. Rarely are they for more than a few pounds each, and the large number of persons who draw them is an indication of the widely extended scope of the direct trade between the planter and the merchant.[d] When Fitzhugh himself gave such a bill, as he sometimes did, he gave notice of it to the drawee.

All kinds of commodities were ordered by the planter, and in the complexity of articles which the Londoner must select in order to fill the orders sent to him a high order of shopping skill must have been developed by the merchant and his assistants. All kinds of furniture for the planter's house, all kinds of clothing and dress goods, books, various tools, saddles, servants, orphan boys to be bred up as secretaries, and a hundred other similarly miscellaneous articles were to be looked after. A merchant who had this trade was a true factor. Besides orders for goods he might be directed to look up family relatives, or to have an old wig made over, or an old sword exchanged for a fashionable rapier. The elder Byrd sent his children to England to be educated, and much of the oversight of them devolved on his business agents. When

[a] Bruce: Economic History of Virginia, II, 240.
[b] Va. Histl. Mag., I, 277.
[c] Ibid., IV, 182.
[d] Ibid II, 140, V. 30, 172.

the daughters had finished school and must stay in England some time on account of the dangers of crossing the ocean during the war with France, their father instructed Perry and Lane to put them out to board at some decent place.[a] To the same firm he also sent instructions in regard to the education of his son, the second Byrd. This boy had been studying in Holland, when his father called him back to London. Then he wrote to Perry & Lane, telling them to get for the boy what further instruction he needed to become "accomplished" and after that to put him to learn business. He wanted the boy to be cared for in a neat and well-provided manner, but not extravagantly. Fitzhugh wrote to his correspondent in 1681:

I desire your care in sending me in those things I sent for and do now send for, which are for my own particular use, therefore I desire you to take care in the goodness of them and what my money comes to more than I have given you advice of, please to send me it in Linnen, of which let gentish holland be finest except one piece of kenting and let there be two pieces of white Dimmety and one piece of colored. I refer the sorting the linnen to yourself, being mindfull of blue Linnen in the Parcel.[b]

On one occasion Fitzhugh was not so successful in his policy of leaving to his factor a certain discretion. It happened that he had ordered some goods from Cooper which had not been sent him. Fitzhugh suspected that Cooper had taken this course because he thought the planter was become extravagant. It brought the following reproof:

I must tell Mr. Cooper it is a Factor that I require, not a Director or a Superadviser, & expect one to follow orders not to dispute the necessity or Inconvenience of them, especially considering it was my own money to be disposed & neither desired nor Requested to run in debt for a farthing. I must acknowledge my employ small and inconsiderable to a Gentleman of your method & circumstance, therefore if you are willing to decline please to signifie the same, for as long as I keep clear of debt I reckon to have a due observance of orders as if I were the greatest merchant.[c]

The commodity the ordering of which prompted the unlucky Cooper to take such liberties with his principal was a quantity of plate which the latter had ordered the year previous.[d] Fitzhugh gives his own view in ordering it. He had just completed the erection of his house, ordered a calash, and begun to enjoy the competence which he had secured.

For now my building finished, my plantations well settled and largely stocked with Slaves, having added about five more than when I gave you

[a] Letters of July 19, 1690, and June 3, 1691.
[b] Va. Histl. Mag., I, 36.
[c] Va. Histl. Mag., II, 373.
[d] Ibid., II, 272.

an account thereof and purchased at least three plantations more than is there mentioned and being sufficiently stored with goods of all sorts I esteem it as well politic as reputable to furnish myself with an handsome cupboard of plate which gives myself the present use and credit, is a sure friend at a dead lift without much loss, or is a certain portion for a child after my decease.

In order that the reader may see what a prosperous Virginia planter considered an ample stock of plate it will be well to enumerate the articles he embraced in this order. They were one dozen each of silver knives, forks, and large spoons; one set castor; a three-quart tankard; a pair of silver candlesticks "less than them sent last year by Mr. Hayward but more substantial;" a silver "salvator plate;" four porringers, two medium and two small; a small basin; a dozen plates; and four dishes, two large and two small.[a] This was an extra store, for he had sent a small order in the preceding year.[b] The quality he wanted to be handsome, but plain, and all the pieces which were suited for it he desired to be marked with his coat of arms. Later Fitzhugh wrote thanking Hayward for sending part of this order—

Which came safely to hand and luckily too, for about 2 or 3 days after the receipt of it, I had the honor of the Governor's company at my house for 3 or 4 days, who first hanscell'd it.[c]

Sometimes the goods did not arrive in as good condition and as opportunely as Fitzhugh's plate. Byrd reports in 1740 that a barrel of queensware had come to hand in a very bad condition. Of all the contents every piece was broken except four pots, and from the nature of the fragments he felt sure that the tradesman from whom his merchant had got them had practiced fraud in shipping them. Byrd (it was the second of the name) complained loudly about the stupidity of the ship captains.

When you desire me—

He wrote in 1736—

to send you a sensible master of a ship to wait upon you it will be difficult to shew my obedience. They are commonly men of no aspiring Genius, and their understanding rises little higher than Instinct, when they go out of their Element. They are most of them airant Sea Calves, and the Tritons that swim under, are just as wise as those that sail upon it. The most that they can be taught to do, is, some times to deliver a letter, and

[a] Ibid., II, 269. [b] Ibid., II, 140. [c] Ibid., III, 9.

if they happen to have superior Parts, they may be instructed perhaps to call for an answer. One may as soon tutor a Monkey to speak, or a Frenchwoman to hold her Tongue, as to bring a skipper to higher Flights of Reason.

The same writer says in 1729:

I beg you will please to employ your Interest with the Trades Men not to send all the refuse of their shops to Virginia. Desire them to keep them for the customers that never pay them. Tis hard we must take off the worst of their People & the worst of their Goods too. But now * * * the Shopkeepers have left off their bands & their frugality, and their spouses must be maintained in Splendour, tis very fit the sweat of our Brows Should help to support them in it.[a]

This Colonel Byrd had a long and vexatious indebtedness to the great London merchant firm of Perry & Lane. It was contracted early in his life in order to buy in the lands of his wife's father rather than have them go into the hands of strangers. He was not able to pay cash for the lands, but he made an arrangement which was in keeping with the business habits of the time. He transferred the obligation which his dead father-in-law had charged on the lands to his own shoulders and took the lands. More than twenty-five years later he was sorely pressed to pay off the debt. It was a source of great annoyance to him. It resulted, as he declared, in a kind of slavery to the creditor firm, which was the famous and long-continuing firm of Perry & Lane. He avowed that they allowed him 25 per cent less for his tobacco than they gave to other people, knowing that they had him for a customer till the debt was discharged. It seems probable that he was able through severe management to discharge the obligation. How much he lost by this forced trade with one firm may be easily imagined.[b]

In conclusion, it ought to be mentioned that not all of the Virginia trade was conducted by the English merchants. There was from an early day in the history of the colony quite an important trade with New England and with the Dutch.[c] Later as the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania came to be settled they too were admitted into the trade relations. From New England came slaves and rum and miscellaneous goods. Fitzhugh bought slaves, and paid for them

[a] It does not appear to whom this letter was written. The author found it among the copies formerly in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

[b] See the author's edition of The Writings of Colonel Byrd, pp. li, lxxxiv.

[c] On this point see Bruce: Economic History of Virginia, II, 300–329.

in tobacco according to a stipulated rate of so many pounds for each slave, the exact rate varying with the age of the slave. For the New England traders, in the later period at least, the Virginia planter had but little respect. Most of them seem to have been small dealers who came into the Virginia rivers trading with such of the inhabitants as would come aboard their vessels. To the planters this was of the nature of chapmen. They complained also that such ships traded in a clandestine manner with the servants of the planters. It can not be denied that the planter had a certain disdain for the average New Englander. Whence this came it is not my purpose at this time to inquire. But it came up in various relations. Byrd expressed it in his characteristic way when he referred to them as the "Saints of New England." "They have a great dexterity," he added, "at palliating a perjury so well as to leave no taste of it in their mouth, nor can any people like them slip through a penal Statute."[a] In his letter to Benjamin Lynde, of Massachusetts, February 20, 1736, Byrd said that he then had a suit in court against a man named Grant, a New Englander, for trading with his slaves.

[a] MS. letter. It is printed in the Am. Histl. Review, Vol. I.

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